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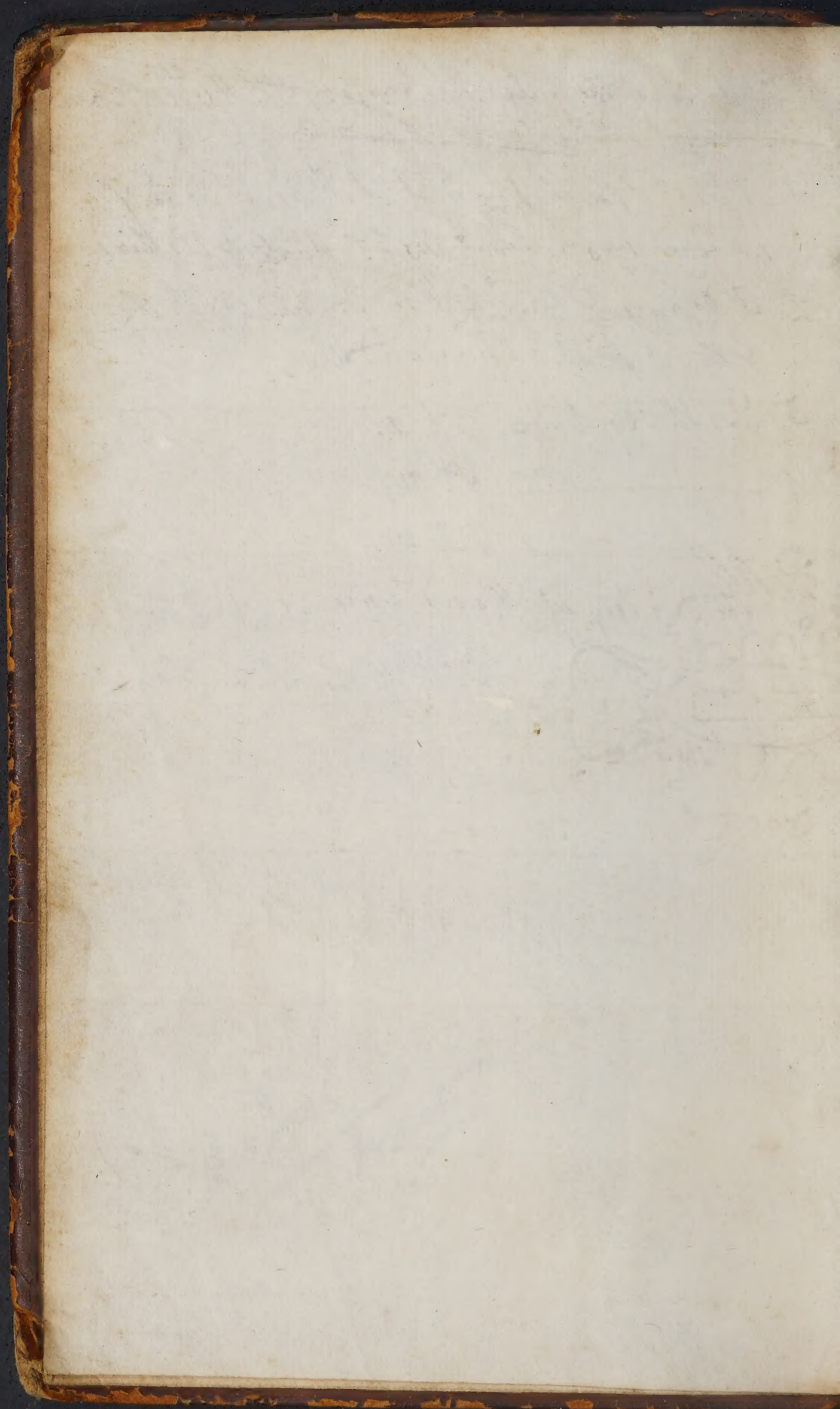
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Withers

Ward

Order of the following Tracts by Mr. Withers of Lon.

1. A true & impartial Acct. of the occurrences at y^e
in Lon 1707. betwth Wm. Agate & Withers.
2. A Defence of the true & impartial Acct. &c
& the Difficulties indicated &c.
3. Truth try'd &c. Pt. I.
4. ————— Pt. II.
5. ————— Pt. III.
6. The History of Resistance.
7. The Duties betwth Trd. & the English than
the French.



P. C. Linn

42

To Mr. W. Granger

These Tracts are presented

by his little Servt. V. D.

Sam. Badcock

Life Sam. Burdett 1707

Edw. Co. Durrish

True and Impartial

ACCOUNT

OF

What Occurr'd

AT THE

Late Conference

IN

EXON.

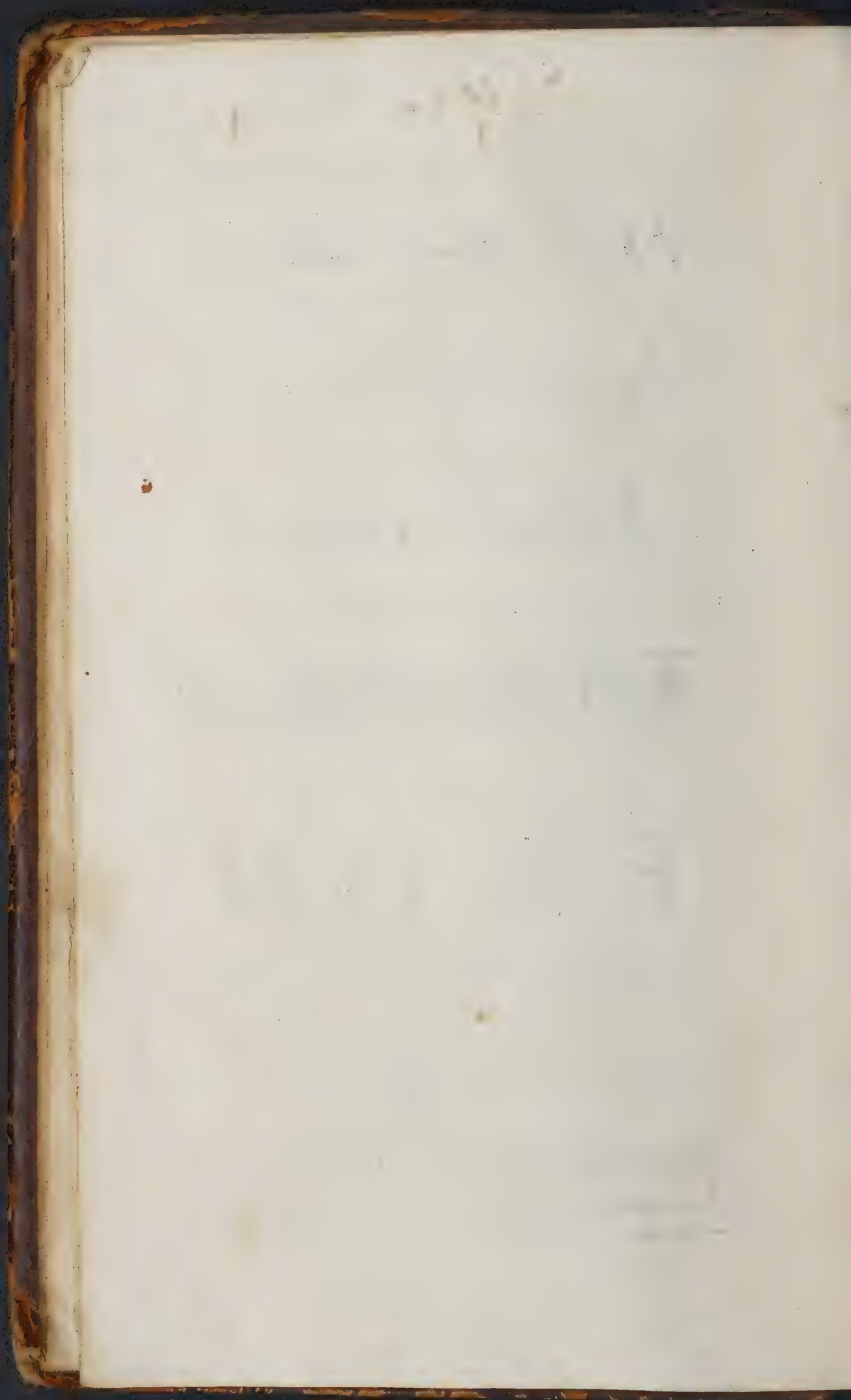
Publsh'd to prevent Misrepresentations.

By JOHN WITHERS.

The Second Edition.

EXON:

Printed by Sam. Farley and Jos. Bliss, 1707.



A TRUE
ACCOUNT

Of the late

Conference at *Exon.*

TH O' there is no Man who wishes well to the Peace and Tranquillity of this City, but heartily desires that the Heats and Distempers, occasion'd by the late intended Disputation. were perfectly allay'd; yet seeing, for some successive Sundays, the Temple has been turn'd into a Treatre, the Pulpit, profan'd by scandalous and false Representations, and too many unthinking Persons harangu'd into extravagant Prejudices against their Neighbours and Brethren: There needs no other Apology for the Printing this Paper, than the necessity of setting that Affair in a true Light, in order to check that lying Spirit that is gone abroad into the World.

'TIS about some two Years since there came hither, under the Notion of a Carate, one Mr. *John Agate*, a Gentleman, who, whatever o-

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ther *Grace* he wants, has an abundant measure of *Assurance*: One that with a fluent Tongue, a fiery Zeal, and a Forehead harder than his very Name, has occasion'd greater Heats, Confusions and Animosities, than any one Man besides, for many Years past. He has taken frequent occasion of late, when none was given him, to exclaim against the *Dissenting Ministers*, as a pack of *Hypocrites* and *Villains*; asserting, That they had nothing to say for themselves; that he would Dispute with one, or any, or all of them. He went up and down thus Bouncing and Vaunting; and, like another *Goliath*, defying all the Host of the *Dissenters*. About five or six Weeks since, he waited on a *Gentlewoman* that usually attends on a *Dissenting Congregation*; When Mr. *Hallett* dining near by, was desired to walk over to the House where this Gentleman was: But being to Preach a *Lecture* early next Morning, for which he was not fully provided then, he was unwilling to engage in a present *Conference*; but consented to meet Mr. *Agate* another time, and debate the matter with him. And 'twas then agreed between them, that they should meet in the same place, on that Day Fortnight; that Mr. *Agate* should bring another *Clergy-man* along with him; that Mr. *Hallett* should desire the Author to accompany him; that the Relations of the Family should be present, with a Neighbour or two; that each of the Disputants should bring a *Scribe* with him, who was to write down what was offered, and when the Business was over, to read his Notes to the Company, and throw
the

late Conference at Exon.

5

the Papers into the Fire; and that no other Company was to be admitted.

IN pursuance to this Agreement, on Dec. 11th Mr. *Agate* came to the Place appointed, in Company with Mr. *John Walker*: (who having Behav'd himself with *Civility* and *Candour* to his Antagonists, nothing in this Paper is intended as a Reflection on him.) A little after came Mr. *Hallett*, and the *Author*; and the Company, who according to Agreement were to be present, having taken their Seats, the latter address'd himself to the People present, in Words to this effect.

' IT not being my Province to Dispute,
' but to be an Assistant to him that does: I
' desire I may be patiently heard, whilst I
' premise a few Things, in which I shall speak
' my own Sense, and the Sense of my Bro-
' ther.

' WE desire the good People here present,
' to take Notice, that in the present Contro-
' versy we are not the Aggressors, but are here
' to act on the Defensive Part. Our Business is
' not to bring an Accusation, much less a
' railing Accusation, either against the *Church*
' of *England* in general, or any particular
' Member of it. We look upon the *Establish'd*
' *Church* as a Noble Part of the *Reformation*;
' and make no Question, but that there are a
' great many Pious and Religious Persons,
' both of the *Clergy* and the *Lay*, belonging
' to its *Communion*. However, since She in
' her

her 21st *Article* renounces all Pretences to
 Infallibility, and confesses she may Mistake
 and Err, we humbly conceive, that in some
 Things which are *Extra-essential* to our *Com-*
mon Christianity, we may very Innocently
 Dissent, and Differ from Her: Tho' in these
 very Instances, we are not so vain as to set
 up our own Judgments for the only *Standard*
 of Truth and Orthodoxy; nor so Censorious,
 as to Condemn and Judge all those who do
 not See with our Eyes, nor Subscribe to our
 Opinions. However we may have been mis-
 represented, or misunderstood, 'tis not the
 Extirpation either of *Episcopacy*, or *Liturgy*,
 that we contend for. And as these are our
 Principles, so our Practices have been agree-
 able hereunto. We have not endeavour'd,
 either in our *Publick Sermons*, or our *Private*
Discourses, to heighten Mens Prejudices, to
 inflame their Animosities, or inspire them
 with a bitter Zeal against their Brethren.
 On the contrary, we have often took occa-
 sion to Inform them, That true *Christian Cha-*
riety is of a generous, large, extensive Na-
 ture, and ought not to be confin'd to a par-
 ticular Party, or Faction; and that Diversity
 of Opinion should cause no Alienation in
 Mens Affections. We hope, we can truly
 say, that what we endeavour, and desire, is
 this, That Glory may be given to GOD on
 high; that there may be Peace on Earth;
 and Good-will towards all sorts of Men. And
 if there be any call'd *Dissenters*, that are of a
 froward, peevish, and censorious Temper,
 they are none of the Persons whose Quarrel
 we

' we espouse. We must therefore solemnly
 ' protest unto you, That 'tis not a Fondness
 ' to make a Noise and Bustle in the Town,
 ' that has engag'd us in this *Dispute*; But that
 ' we are Dragg'd hither by the importunate
 ' *Clamours*, and violent *Accusations*
 ' of this Gentleman †. He has † Mr.
 ' been pleas'd to make very bold *Agate*.
 ' with our *Character*; and pre-
 ' sum'd (I am sure) too far, for One that can-
 ' not pretend to be a Searcher of the Heart.
 ' He has represented all the *Dissenting Ministers*
 ' as a *Pack of Villains*; and Mr. *Trosse* in parti-
 ' cular, as the greatest of all the rest; whose
 ' Age, *Extraction* and Education, to say no-
 ' thing of his *Piety* and Religion, should (one
 ' would think) have skreen'd him from an In-
 ' sult of that Nature. Nay, the People have
 ' been told from the very Pulpit, *That we take*
 ' *as much pains to DAMN Mens Souls, as Jesus*
 ' *Christ did to SAVE 'em*: An Expression so
 ' Derogatory from the Honour of our *Saviour*;
 ' so inconsistent with all the Rules of *Christian*
 ' *Charity*; that we are willing rather to im-
 ' pute it to a *hasty* and *inconsiderate Zeal*, than
 ' to a *premeditated Malice*. We have been
 ' challeng'd and insulted (as we are credibly
 ' inform'd) in *Coffee-Houses*, and other places.
 ' A great deal of Noise and Clamour has been
 ' made; and it has been confidently asserted,
 ' That we act against our own Consciences;
 ' that we cannot speak one Word in our own
 ' Defence; that no *Dissenter* durst look Mr.
 ' *Agate* in the Face, or Debate the Matter
 ' with him: as if his Arguments were such
 ' *Gorgons*

‘ *Gorgons* Heads, as to transform us into
 ‘ Stones. Upon the whole, we are *Arraign’d*
 ‘ for Crimes of a high Nature; to the *Indict-*
 ‘ *ment* we plead *Not Guilty*: ’Tis incumbent
 ‘ on this Gentleman to prove his *Charge*, and
 ‘ make good his *Allegations*; you are to be our
 ‘ *Judges*, and to your Justice, Candour and In-
 ‘ tegrity, we are very willing to refer our
 ‘ Cause.

IN Answer to this, Mr. *Agate* made a
 pretty large Reply; ‘ insisting much on the
 ‘ horrid Nature, and fearful Danger of the Sin
 ‘ of *Schism*; pretending he would by and by
 ‘ make it as evident that the *Dissenters* were
 ‘ guilty of it, as that the Fire was then burn-
 ‘ ing; observing that it was mention’d in the
 ‘ same Texts with *Drunkennes*, *Fornication*, and
 ‘ other Works of the Flesh: But omitting,
 that *Railings* and *Revilings* are inserted in the
 same *Black Catalogue*. And when the Compa-
 ny were in expectation of a present Engage-
 ment, the *Opponents* offered these following
Preliminaries.

I. ’Twas propos’d, That the *Dispute* should
 be manag’d by way of *Syllogism*. This was
 agreed to.

II. ’Twas propos’d, That the Debate should
 be confin’d to *Lay-Conformity*, and no mention
 made of the Terms which *Ministers* must sub-
 mit to. To this the *Respondents* Answered,
 That these Gentlemen being the *Opponents*,
 might attack them on what Quarter they
 pleas’d,

pleas'd, and use only such Arguments as they thought proper for their purpose : But as for themselves, they saw no reason to Consent that their own Hands should be ty'd up; or that all Discourse of *Ministerial Conformity* should be excluded, if they thought it necessary to take notice of it, in order to their own Defence and Vindication.

III. The Third and killing Preliminary was this, That as they would Sign their Arguments, so the *Respondents* should subscribe their Names to all the Answers they should make, and leave the Papers, so subscrib'd, in their *Opponents* Hands, to publish them to the World, if he thought fit. This was a *Proposition* so directly contrary to the *Terms* agreed upon; so impracticable in it self; and might have been so ensnaring in the Event, that 'tis no wonder if the Persons concern'd were startled, and surpriz'd at it, and refus'd their Compliance with it. 'Tis true, Mr. *Agate* began to upbraid them with being asham'd of their own *Principles* : But Mr. *Hallett* told him before the whole Company, That if he would *Write*, he should be Answer'd by *Writing*; if he would *Print*, he should be Answer'd in *Print*; if he would *Dispute*, he was ready for a *present Disputation*. And let the whole World judge, whether any Thing more Honourable could be propos'd, than for the Challenger to make choice of his own Weapons ? Upon the whole, tho' an Argument was offer'd by one of the *Respondents*, the *Opponents* went out of the Room, absolutely refusing to *Dispute*, unless

less their *Preliminary* were consented to: Which the others thought they had no Reason to do.

AND here the *Respondents* wish, That there had been no more Noise made about this matter; that there had been no uncharitable *Censures* or *Reproaches* on either side; that there had been no Wound given to that delightful *Harmony*, that ought to be maintain'd between *Fellow-Citizens*, and *Christian Neighbours*; and that the Town had been left to enjoy its former *Peace*, *Tranquillity*, and *Quiet*: And had Mr. *Agate* observ'd any tolerable measure of *Truth* and *Decency*, these *Papers* had never seen the Light. But ever since the Interruption of the *Conference*, he has made the *Pulpit* ring with *scurrilous Reflections*, and *uncharitable Falsehoods*: Like *Solomon's Madman*, he has been scattering *Firebrands*, *Arrows*, and *Death*; and sending the *Dissenters* to the *Devil* by whole-sale. He, and some of his *Admirers*, have gone *Bouncing* about the Town, as if the *Dissenters* were ashamed of their own *Cause*, and durst not stand the Trial of their own *Principles*. To obviate, if possible, the *Insults* of this pretended *Heroe*, and his *Blustering Tribe*, these following *Reasons* were drawn up by one of the *Respondents*; and for the same *Cause*, are now made *Publick*, and are as follows.

6 REA-

‘ REASONS why we could not comply with
 ‘ the Demands insisted on by Mr. Agate, of
 ‘ subscribing our Names, to all the Answers
 ‘ we should give to the Arguments to be pro-
 ‘ duc’d by him, in the late Conference; and
 ‘ leave the said Answers with Him, in or-
 ‘ der to be sent to the Press by Him, if He
 ‘ thought fit.

‘ I. BECAUSE tho’ we had no design to
 ‘ make any unhandſom Reflections on the Litur-
 ‘ gy, ’tis not impossible but he might constrain
 ‘ us, in our own Defence, to make some Ob-
 ‘ jections to some Part thereof; which, tho’
 ‘ never so modestly offer’d by us, we know not
 ‘ how far a Man of his Invention might improve
 ‘ to be a Depraving of the Common Prayer:
 ‘ Which would expose us to a severe Penalty.
 ‘ And tho’ it was afterwards propos’d, That
 ‘ if any thing of that Nature gave us Unbrage,
 ‘ we might have Liberty to expunge it; yet,
 ‘ perhaps the Force, and Strength of what we
 ‘ said, might lie on such an Objection: And
 ‘ therefore, to publish the Weaker Part of
 ‘ what was said, and omit the Strongest, would
 ‘ be indeed to expose our own Weakness:
 ‘ Which we conceive to be One Design of such
 ‘ a Captious Proposal.

‘ II. WE being only on the Defensive Part,
 ‘ knew not on what side he would attack us;
 ‘ nor what Arguments he would offer: And
 ‘ therefore think it most Unreasonable and Un-
 ‘ just, to expect that our sudden and unpreme-

' *dictated Answers* should be printed with those
 ' *Arguments* he had been a *Fortnight* in prepa-
 ' ring, and perhaps with the Assistance of the
 ' *best Masters* in the Country. No Man being
 ' willing (we suppose) to appear in *Print*,
 ' without some time to Digest his Thoughts,
 ' and Range his Conceptions in their proper
 ' order.

' III. BECAUSE had we intrusted our
 ' *Papers* in his Hands, in order to the Publica-
 ' tion of them, we had no Security that there
 ' should be no *Alterations*, nor *Additions* to our
 ' Disadvantage. And, we conceive, we have
 ' little Reason to trust our *Reputation* in the
 ' Hands of One who Reviles us for a *Pack of*
 ' *Villains*; who hath insulted the *Memory* of a
 ' *Prince* to whom he swore *Allegiance*; and
 ' publish'd a Story from the *Pulpit*, which the
 ' noblest *Judicature* in *England*, and his own
 ' *Superiours* in the *Church*, had, after a strict
 ' Examination, Voted to be a *Malicious, False,*
 ' and *Villainous Report*.

' IV. BECAUSE in the many *insulting*
 ' *Challenges* he gave us, he made no mention
 ' in the least of such a *Preliminary*; And, had
 ' he been a Man of *Honour*, ought not to have
 ' insisted on it then: The offering of a *New*
 ' *Article*, to an *Agreement*, when once made,
 ' being in the Construction of the whole World
 ' a *Violation* of it.

' V. BECAUSE the *End* of the Conference
 ' is the *factious* of a few particular Per-
 ' sons,

sons there present : And this might be done
by a *Verbal Debate*, without more ado.

VI. ' BECAUSE the Method propos'd
of Writing and Subscribing so very much,
would have taken up many Days, if not
Weeks : And the People present and concern'd,
being Persons of *Trade* and *Business*,
could not afford so much time.

' AND whereas we have been insulted by
some, as tho' we were affraid or asham'd to
own our *Principles* : We have this to say :
Our Principles may be found in the *Articles*
of the *Church of England* ; to all which,
save Two or Three, we have subscribed
our Names.

' FOR all these *Reasons*, we conceive this
Preliminary was contriv'd for no other *End*
but to *Ensnare* us as *Criminals* ; to *Expose* us
as *Fools* ; or for a *plausible Pretence* to break
off the *Conference*.

WHETHER these *Reasons* have any weight
in them, is left to the Judgment and Determination
of the Impartial *Reader* : Who is only desired to remember,
that if a *plausible Answer* should be given to Four or Five of 'em,
yet if there be only One that is substantial,
solid and well-grounded, it sufficiently justifies
the *Respondents* in that refusal which they persisted in.
And it seems very evident, that Mr. *Agate* did himself judge these Terms unreasonable,
from this : that his own intended

Scribe

Scribe declar'd, the very Day in which the Conference was to be, That he was perswaded there would be no *Disputation*: Such things being to be offer'd as he did believe Mr. *Hallett* would not comply with.

Mr. *Agate* having abus'd his *Opponents* by a *disingenuous Misrepresentation* of this Affair, and the World allowing it lawful and honourable for an Innocent Person, when falsly accus'd, to weaken the *Credibility* of him that witnesses against him: For this Reason he is charg'd with uttering most *abominable Falshoods* in the *Pulpit*.

PREACHING some Months since, upon the *Queen's Accession* to the Throne: He asserted (as a Cloud of Witnesses are ready to attest) ' That the Scene was so laid, that if the late ' King *William* had not died when he did, the ' Princess must. A most *malicious Calumny*, and *impudent Falshood*, as any Man may be satisfied who will but consult the *Resolutions* of the *House of Lords*, May the 5th, 1702.

OF the same Nature is a *Story* that he told his People, the other *Lord's Day*: ' That the ' *Presbyterians* had brought the *Sacrament* into ' *Disuse* and *Contempt*; and that for Twelve ' Years together, in *Cromwell's* time, 'twas not ' administred in the City of *Oxford*. He might as well have said, the Sun did not shine, nor the Sea ebb and flow. But (if it be possible) to convince Men of the *Confidence* of this *Church-Mountebank*, there be Two Reverend Persons

Persons now alive in this City, Mr. *George Trosse*, and Mr. *John Knight*, who gave leave to have their Names inserted in these Papers. They were both *Students* in that *University*, during *Oliver's Usurpation*; the latter, from 52, to 60: And both aver, ' That the *Sacrament* was frequently administred there, and ' that they themselves did many times receive ' it. And I hope that they who speak of Things on their own certain Knowledge, may be believ'd sooner than a *Whiffler* who was not then born. Add to these the Testimony of Mr. *Hickman*, who was at that time *Fellow* of a *College*, and actually living in that *University*; who in a Book call'd *Bonafus vapulans*, p. 83. has these words: ' No *Presbyterian* in the *U-* ' *niversity* of *Oxford*, that had a *Pastoral Charge*, ' or any thing like it, neglected to administer ' the *Sacrament* for many Years, or for any ' one Year; or refused any whose *Conversa-* ' *tion* was Sober, Honest and Religious. Thus is he convicted of *Calumny* and *Falshood* by the Testimony both of the *Living*, and the *Dead*. There are doubtless some *Reverend Divines* of the *Church of England*, that were *Students* at *Oxford* at the time mentioned: And to them this Paper makes its *Appeal*.

AND let the World judge, whether his *Whim* from *Scotland* be not of a like Nature; viz. ' That the *Scots* left out the *Fifth Petiti-* ' *on*, when they recited the rest of the *Lord's* ' *Prayer*; because they could not find in their ' *Hearts* to forgive their *Episcopal Brethren*. A Suggestion as malicious, as the Story it self
(in

(in all probability) is false. 'Tis a new Discovery to all of that Nation, that the Author of these Papers can meet with in these Parts. Tho' he has had no Opportunity to send so far, for a more certain Account, the Reader (doubtless) may meet with some of that Nation, of whom he may enquire on this Head.

SOME Instances might be given of his Misrepresenting his *Opponents*, in the late *Conference*. And he is challeng'd to name that Man that asserted, That *Schism* is no more than the rending of a *Napkin*. But these Things are mention'd as a *Specimen* of this Gentleman's *Truth* and *Honesty*; and that those who have been impos'd upon by his excessive *Confidence*, may be satisfied, that 'tis not all *Gospel* which he utters in the very *Pulpit*.

SINCE the interruption of the *Conference*, the *Defendants* received Two Letters, with some offers for the renewing of it. In the *First* 'twas propos'd, That every thing said, should be written down, and the Scribe set his Name, and give his *Attestation* to it. In the *Latter* 'twas propos'd, That the Disputants themselves should write what they had a mind to, and such of the Company as were willing should set their Names: That is, Mr *Agate* would sit upon the Catch, with a Pen and Ink in his Hand; and if any Thing for his purpose scap'd his Adversaries, he was ready to note it down, and his Friends to be Witnesses. The *Respondents* did not care to smell to these Terms: And under their present *Critical Circumstances*,

circumstances, are unwilling any thing of theirs should be publish'd to the World; without some time to consider their *Answers*, as the others have had to prepare their *Arguments*. There was ('tis true) a plausible Clause in the Last Letter : That the Respondents, if they dislike'd the Terms there mentioned, should Propose their own. Upon which they resolv'd to turn the Tables on their Opponents, and try, whether those Gentlemen would themselves swallow the Pill they had prepar'd for others; and were willing to give their sudden Answers to studied Objections : And therefore propos'd, That if Mr. Agate would send them his Arguments in Writing, to prove them guilty of a Darnning Schism ; they would, in a few Days, wait on Him with their Answers also in Writing, and Debate the Validity both of the Arguments, and Answers, in the presence of a competent Number of Friends, on both sides. But this Motion was rejected with meer Banter : And that which in themselves was a just and reasonable Demand, was in their Adversaries perfect Frenzy and Extravagance. And those good-humour'd Gentlemen were even asham'd of their Weakness : Which the others were the more surpriz'd at, because they thought Mr. Agate incapable of such a Passion. Here let the Reader judge, whether He ought not to be as ready to Defend his Arguments, as the other to Vindicate their Principles : Especially when so Strong, and Nervous, as their Mighty Author boasts them. Nor was it urg'd on him, that every thing he spoke in haste should be Noted down, and expos'd to publick View. Besides, the

Respondents conceive, there is this great Difference : That their Enemies fight on Plain Ground, whilst they stand on a Precipice. The *Ones* may say what they please; the *Other* must speak with utmost Caution, if they offer any thing by way of Objection to the COMMON-PRAYER. This is a true Relation of what has made so great Noise, to so little Purpose.

BEFORE Mr. *Agate* is dismiss'd, for as much as He has boldly asserted, *That the Baptism of Presbyterian Ministers is invalid*: By which too many of his *Credulous Hearers* have been betray'd into an Opinion equally false, and uncharitable, *That Persons thus Baptiz'd are no Christians*: When the Raving Fit is a little over, and a Lucid Interval returns, He is desired to oblige the World with the Resolution of these following *Queries*.

Query I.

SEEING by the * Statute-Law of this Realm, the King (or Queen) is declar'd *Head* of the *Church of England*; and every *Clergyman*, by his Subscription to the 39 Articles, having own'd, || That to Him (or Her) the Chief Government of *Ecclesiastical Estates*, in all *Causes*, doth appertain; And the late King WILLIAM, being Baptiz'd by a *Presbyterian Minister*, in *Holland*: 'Tis Demanded, What manner

* First of *Edw. VI.* c. 2,
|| Artic. 37.

manner of *Church*, the *Church* of *England* was, if (according to his Principles) for 13 Years together, its very HEAD was no *Christian*?

Query II.

IF our present *Gracious* QUEEN (whom God long preserve) should be remov'd by Death: Is not the Princess SOPHIA like to have a Gang of Loyal, Obedient Subjects, in this Gentleman and his Disciples, who, according to this Charitable Doctrine, can't look upon her as a Member of the Christian Church: But, (as another *High-Flyer* was pleas'd to call Her) || An unbaptiz'd LUTHERAN?

Query III.

THAT unfortunate Prince, K. CHARLES the First, being Born and Baptiz'd in *Scotland*, before the Restoration of *Prelacy* to that Church: 'Tis query'd, Whether He was not then Baptiz'd by a *Presbyterian*; and if so, whether He was a *Martyr*, when according to Mr. *Agate's* rash and scandalous Assertion, He could not be a *Christian*?

Query IV.

WHY such as being Baptiz'd in their Infancy, by *Presbyterians*, do, when they come to Age, chuse to Communicate¹ in their *Parish-Churches*, are admitted to the Sacrament, without being Rebaptiz'd?

C 2

Query

Query V.

WHY Persons so Baptiz'd, are, when Dead, Buried by Him, in *sure and certain HOPE of their Resurrection to Eternal Life*; and God thank'd, for taking to himself the Soul of *our dear Brother (or Sister) here departed*: Seeing, according to the Rubrick in the *Common-Prayer*, such as die unbaptiz'd are not to be admitted to *Christian Burial*?

Query VI.

WHETHER any peevish Jesuit, or Romish Emissary can more effectually promote the Interest of the Pope, and his Conclave, than this Gentleman has essay'd to do, by unchurching, and unchristening Two Parts in Three of all the Protestants in Europe?

Query VII.

WHETHER any thing can more effectually conduce to the destroying Love, and the enkindling Feuds, and Animosities, than to persuade one part of the People, to look upon their Neighbours as without the Pale of the Church; and to treat them no otherwise than a Pack of Jews, Mahometans, or Pagans?

Query VIII.

WHETHER He be not himself a Notorious Schismatick, in that, like the Donatists of old, He confines the Catholick Church to a very small part of it: To about 26 Episcopal Churches in England, and 23 in Ireland? For if He nullifies Presbyterian Baptism, and Ordination, or
either

either of them : He is Challeng'd, and Defy'd to name any of the *Reformed Churches* beyond the Seas, that can pretend to an *uninterrupted Succession of Bishops* ; or with whom He can join in Communion, according to these *Narrow Principles*. Tho' the *Lutherans* have *Bishops*, and *Superintendents*, yet these were most, if not all, at first *Ordain'd* by *meer Presbyters* : A Proof of which is at hand, whenever He pleases to call for it.

'TIS very probable that many among the less Discerning People, have imbib'd strange Prejudices against the *Dissenters* : Because (as 'tis nois'd abroad) they said nothing for themselves, or in their own Vindication. But since these *Wise Men* see little farther than their *Noses*, if they would give themselves the trouble to go up to the *Castle*, or *Guild-Hall*, during the *Sessions*, or *Affizes*, they would see, that no Person under Accusation, whether justly or unjustly, makes any Plea for himself, before some real, or pretended Proof be brought against him. And every one that understands the *Laws of Disputation*, knows very well, that Mr. *Hallett*, and his Friend, could not make their *Defence*, before Mr. *Agate* had produc'd his *Arguments* ; which he would not be prevail'd upon to do.

UPON the whole, seeing He has had the Confidence to affirm, That the *Dissenting Teachers* are asham'd to own their *Principles* ; and many People have the weakness to believe him : 'Tis by these *Presents* made known to Him,

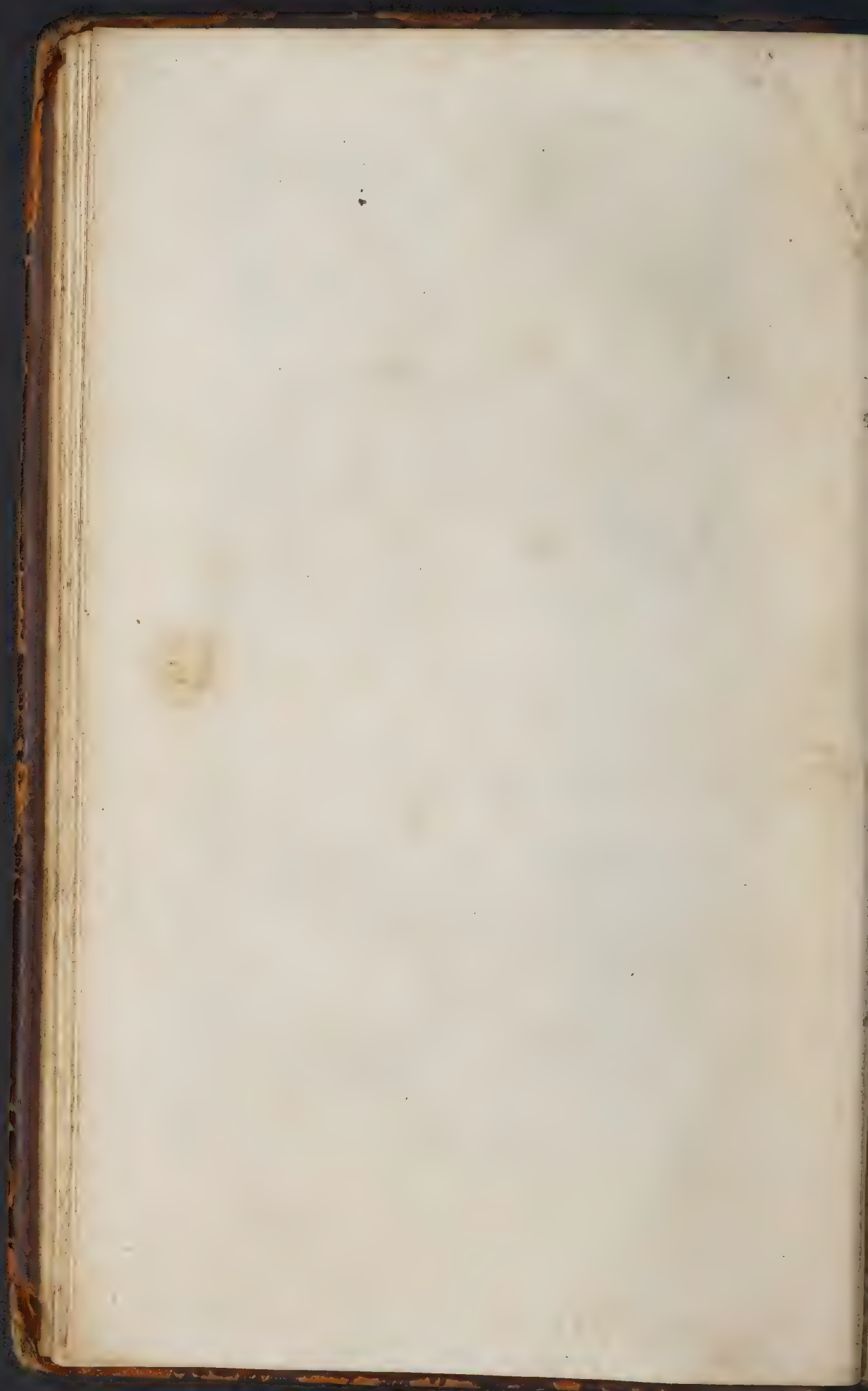
Him, and all the World, that if he will please to communicate his *Arguments* to his *Antagonists*, either in *Writing*, or *Print*, to prove *em* guilty of a *Damning Schism*; and that they have no Authority to Baptize, &c : His *Arguments* shall be consider'd, and a *Reply* made, in the same way.

TO conclude, If any should Object, That this Gentleman has not been treated suitably to the *Dignity* of his *Function*: 'Tis Answer'd, That had He not himself disgrac'd his *Character*, all possible *Deference* and *Respect* should have been paid unto it; That had not the *Pulpit* been first *Prophan'd*, the *Press* had never been *Imploy'd*; and had not the *Dissenters* been *publickly abus'd*, his own *Extravagances* had not been *openly expos'd*.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHEREAS Mr. *Agate* is charg'd with uttering several *Falshoods* in the *Pulpit*, the *Reader* is desired to take notice; That tho' the *Publisher* of these Papers can't be *absolutely Positive* as to every *Numerical Word*, yet He hath abundant Evidence to Prove (if need be) that He utter'd them, if not in all the same Words, yet in Words to the very same *Import*, and *Meaning*.

FINIS.



A
D E F E N C E
O F T H E

True and Impartial Account

Of what Occurr'd at the

Late Conference
In E X O N,

A N D T H E

Dissenters Vindicated
F R O M

Mr. *A G A T E*'s False Accusations,
In his *Reply* to the said *Account*.

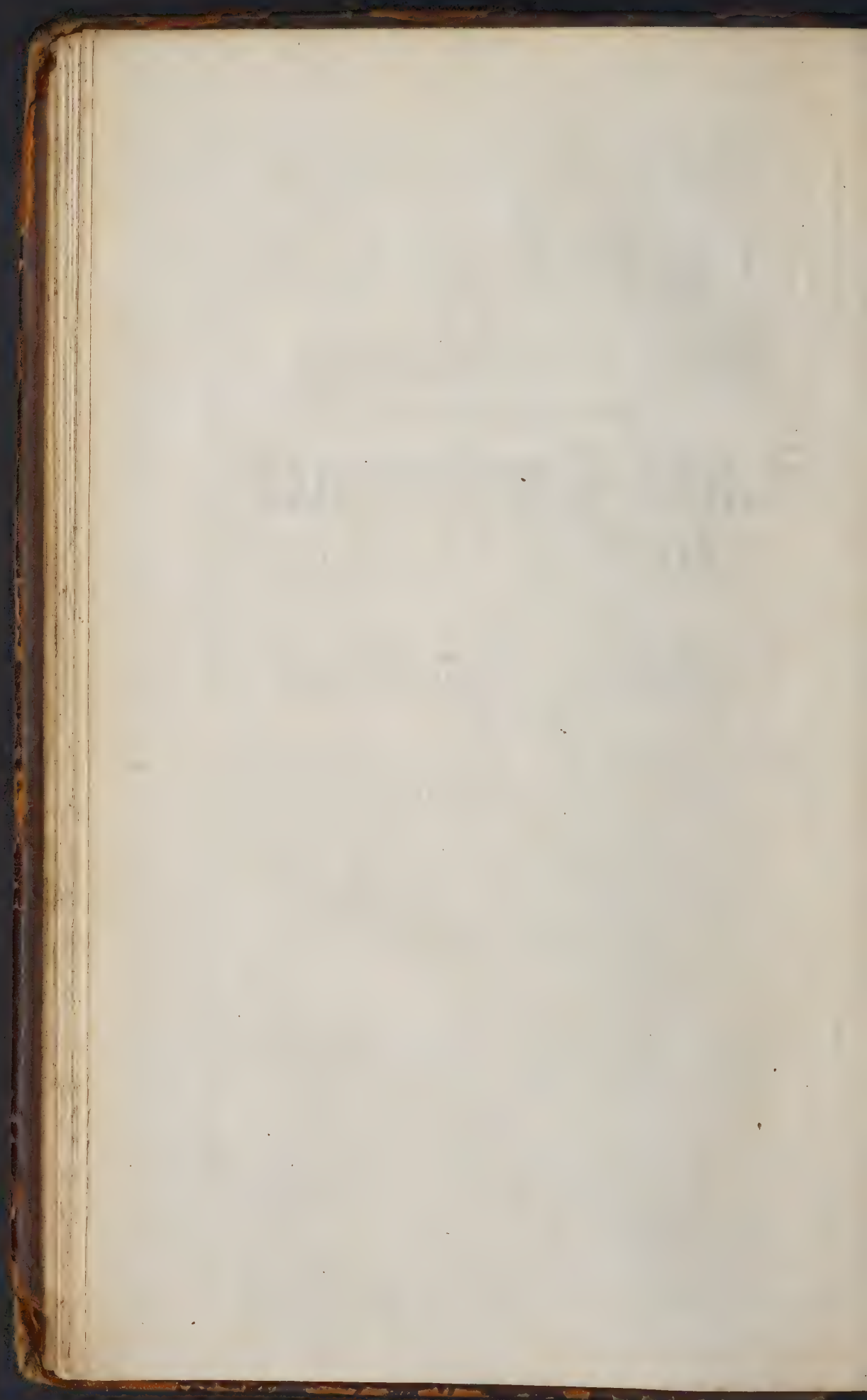
By *JOHN WITHERS*.

Prov. 25. 18. *A Man that beareth False Witness
against his Neighbour, is a Maul, a Sword, and
a sharp Arrow.*

Necessarium est, ut qui falsis dicendis assueti sunt,
audiant vera, & qui quod volunt effutunt,
etiam quæ nollent, intelligant.

Riveti Jesuita Vapulans.

E X O N: Printed by *Sam. Farley* and *Jos. Bliss*,
and Sold by the Booksellers of the said
City. MDCCVII.



THE
PREFACE
TO THE
READER.

WHEN the *QUEEN* receives daily Congratulations upon the Account of the late Happy UNION between the Two Kingdoms, some may be ready to Object, That this *ESSAY* of mine is Unseasonable and Improper, and tends to Encrease those Misunderstandings which Her Majesty would willingly Allay. If any so object, I hope, upon perusing what follows, he will be satisfied, that I am Necessitated to proceed in the Course I have taken. Had Mr. Agate took Christian and Charitable Methods to Undeceive those *DISSENTERS* he looks upon as in an Error, if I had not been Convinced, I'm sure I should not have been Displeas'd: Such a Courteous Attempt, should have been reflected on by me with an equal degree of Gratitude and Thanks; as if he had attain'd the End which he propos'd unto himself. But when we are represented, up and down the Town, as a Pack of Villains; and People taught to look upon us as upon Turks and Jews; we have no Reason to take this Treatment

A 2
kindly,

The Preface to the Reader.

kindly, nor to be Silent under it. As I do not loo-
upon my self concern'd with the Clergy, or Church
of England in General; so I hope I have not fail'd
in that Respect and Deference which is due unto 'em.
If I have made any severe Animadversions on the
Pamphlet that was before me, or its Author, 'tis
no more than the Nature of the Thing did force me
too: There be such Asperities in some Bodies as are
not to be taken off but by a Rough File. No Man in
his Wits will stand upon Complement, and Ceremony,
when another falls upon him with all the Violence that
Rage and Rudeness can suggest. When a Person char-
ges me with what I am not guilty of, I know not how
to Vindicate myself, but by letting the World know
he is a False Accuser. And Solomon has told us,
There is one sort of Men must have an Answer like
themselves, that they may not be Wise in their own
Conceit. If at any time I exclaim and cry out a-
gainst my Opponent, 'tis not because I am pinch'd
by hard Arguments, but because we are all Abus'd
by False Stories. I wish this Gentleman no Harm;
but that his Judgment may be more informed, and
his Zeal better regulated; that Charity and Truth
may be added to his other Gifts; and then, that all
possible Success may attend his Ministry. What I
have to add in this Preface, is an Earnest Desire,
That Judah may not Vex Ephraim, nor Ephraim
Envy Judah: That all our Quarrels and Conten-
tions about Things of an INDIFFERENT NA-
TURE may be swallowed up of a Noble Emulation;
to Outshine each other in the Brightness of our
Graces, and the Purity of our Conversations.

A

A

DEFENCE

Of the True and Impartial

ACCOUNT, &c.

ABOUT *Christmas* last, I presented the World with a *True and Short Account* of the late intended *Conference* at *EXON*; and was constrain'd thereto, in order to Vindicate my self and Friends from publick Calumnies and Slanders. I concluded that little Treatise with a fair Challenge to Mr. *Agate*, to make good the Charge he had alledg'd against the *Dis-senters* in the Pulpit, and promis'd to Debate the Matter with him in Print, and make the whole World judge of our Controversy. After such a fair Proposal, I thought I had just Reason to expect, that in a *Pamphlet* of Eighty Pages I should have met with what had some Relation to that Affair. 'Tis true, that for several Weeks before his Papers saw the Light, his Party were boasting up and down the Town, that his Arguments would be *Unanswerable*: I now find

B

them

them to be truly so; and the reason is, because they are *Invisible*, lock'd up in the Secrets of his own Breast, and communicated neither to Friend nor Foe. When I consider'd what a Formidable Adversary I had to deal with, one that looks big enough in his own Eyes, to be a fit Representative for the whole Body of the *English Clergy*; I look'd for nothing but Chain-shot, and other murdering, cruel Engines: But he, *Merciful* and *Compassionate* as he is! hath only pelted me with a few *Squibs* and *Crackers*, and thrown a pretty plentiful quantity of his own, and others, *Filth* and *Ordure* in my Face. Instead of all these bright *Convincing Arguments*, with which he has made so great a Noise and Flourish in the *Pulpit*; he has amus'd his Reader with Stories of *Children playing in the Streets*, and the Tattle of an *Old Gossip in the Chimney-corner*. He has been Ten Weeks in raking together all the *Dirt* he meets with in the *Streets*, and thrown it at my Door: Whereas, were I as fond, as he seems to be, of the Office of a *Scavenger*, I could easily requite his Kindness; return him an *Ephah* for his *Omer*, and Ten Cart-load for One.

Had my *Antagonist* been a Man of such a Peaceable Temper, as he would fain perswade the World in his Papers, he would not have gone up the *Pulpit*, as he did, the next *Lord's-Day* after we met him, and there make Proclamation in the *Morning*, That in the *Afternoon*, he would give the People an Account of the *Dispute*. This drew together a prodigious multitude of People; and, amongst others, some *Dissenters*, (who were present at the *Confluence*) had the Curiosity to crowd in, and hear what he would say. When this was taken Notice of by some of his dear *Friends*, (who doubtless knew the Infirmary of the Man, and how apt he was to exceed the Bounds

Bounds of Decency and Truth, when talking against the *Presbyterians*) they went out of Church, and gave him Notice of it. Upon which, he told his Auditors, *He would not then gratify their Itching Ears*: And so adjourn'd the Account to another time. But on the succeeding *Lord's-Day*, and *Christmas-day*, and so on, he reassum'd it with a *Vengeance*. He told the People, *We were ashamed of our Principles*; That we had neither *Conscience*, *Honour*, nor *Religion*; That if we could Preach no better than we could Dispute — God bless us! We were — Nay, he robb'd us of our very *Christianity*, and sate us upon the same bottom with *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Infidels*. In one word, He treated us with as much *Contempt* and *Scorn* as 'twas possible for a Little Wit, and a great deal of Malice, to express. He buff'd and bonne'd more like a *Boisterous Hector*, than a *Gospel Minister*. This is that provok'd me, contrary to Inclination, to take Pen in Hand; and if I mingled a little Vinegar with my Ink, Mr. *Agate*, of all Men living, has the least Reason to upbraid me with it.

For my part, before the *Squabble* was by this Gentleman brought into the *Pulpit*, I as little thought of flying to the *Press*, as of running my Head into a *Canon*. He might have hugg'd himself in the Contemplation of his own supposed Merits, and receiv'd the Congratulations of those who think as highly of him as he does of himself, (if any such are to be found) and this without the least Disturbance from me. He might have strutted on his own *Dunghil*, and flutter'd in the warm Beams of his own hot Fancy, and Conceit, without any Interruption. But must he jump into the *Pulpit*, and there Crow, and clap his Wings, as if he had gain'd a mighty Victory, (when, the Truth on't is, he ran out of the

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Pit,

A Defence of

Pit, without offering to strike a Stroak) and no Notice taken of such a *groundless Confidence*? Must we tamely couch down under that Burthen of Reproaches, which he shall please to load us with? And make no attempt to Vindicate our selves, when treated with such Barbarity and Outrage? No Reason can be assign'd for such a Cowardly Submission. For my part, I know *no Law*, that allows *Benefit of Clergy* to *Calumny* and *Falshood*; nor *no Reason*, that, under that *Pre-tence*, it should escape the Lash it justly deserves.

Had my *Antagonist* offer'd any thing of an Argument, I should have thought my self oblig'd to attend his Motions, *Paragraph* by *Paragraph*; but seeing he has not, I presume the Reader will excuse me, if I do not exactly follow him in all his *impertinent* and *wild Vagaries*. I hope sufficient Satisfaction will be given, if I observe this Method:

I. Vindicate my self from such Things as are alledg'd against *me* in particular.

II. Prove the *ACCOUNT*, which I gave of the Intended *CONFERENCE*, to be True in Matter of Fact.

III. Vindicate the *DISSENTERS* from such Aspersions as are cast on *them* in general by this Gentleman.

IV. And then conclude with a few *Remarks* upon the Design, Scope, and Tendency of his BOOK.

As to my self, I am charg'd with being so great a Fool, as to Father another Man's Brat----
Sometimes

The true and impartial Account, &c.

5

Sometimes Mr. *Gilling*, sometimes three or four Pag. 5.
other *Rabbies*, are the Authors of that *Pamphlet* Pag. 75.
which appear'd in my Name. But that others
may not labour under the Scandal of my *suppos'd*
Impertinence, and Weakness, I must crave Leave
to tell the World, That there was not one Sen-
tence in it dictated to me by any Person. 'Tis
true, Mr. *Gilling* spent his *Christmas* here in
Town; and writing a very legible fair Hand,
was so kind as to Transcribe my *Copy* for me, and
assist me in Correcting of the *Press*. And being
at *Autre*, he read my *SPEECH* to four or five
Ministers; whom Common Fame, or Mr. *Agate's*
Fancy, (both alike *fruitful* and *uncertain*) have
multiply'd into some Scores.

And to let the World see, how this Gentle-
man has been mistaken in his Conjecture, Mr.
Gilling has left me this following *Certificate*, to be
inserted in these Papers.

WHereas Mr. *Agate*, in his Reply, &c.
hath insinuated, p. 5. That I am the Au-
thor of that Paper to which he replys; and as-
serted, p. 75. That I made Mr. *Withers's* De-
fence: I solemnly declare, That I had not any
Hand at all in drawing it up; but writing a
more legible Hand than Mr. *Withers*, I did,
for the Ease of the Printer, faithfully Tran-
scribe his Copy; not making any Addition, or
Alteration, without his Order.

Isaac Gilling.

My *Adversary* fancies he has discovered a very
notable Blunder in the *Title Page*: My Book was
publish'd to prevent *Misrepresentations*, when they
were Pag. 6, 7.

were already past. But what, can no Man be guilty of a *Misrepresentation* besides himself? I presume, he has not monopoliz'd that Faculty, though I am willing to allow him a very plentiful Proportion of it. Nor was it impossible for him to persist in the same *Disingenuity* in which he had begun: I did not think so meanly of this *Author's Abilities*, as to suppose, that his *Fountain of Railery*, and *Ill Language*, could be presently exhausted.

Pag. 4. His next Charge against me is, That I pretend *not to bring a Railing Accusation*, and yet ac-

Pag. 63. *cuse and rail*. That I give *my self the Lye*, cry *Peace, Peace*, and yet *curse almost in the same Breath*.

To this I Answer, That when I address'd my self to the People that were present, 'twas but just and reasonable that they should understand the Ground and Occasion of the Intended *Conference*: And that was, His calling of us a *Pack of Villains*. As for the other Things charg'd on him, they are only what he first publish'd in the *Pulpit*. So that if I lick'd up any *Venemous Spittle*, 'tis what *drivell'd* first from his own Lips, and

Pag. 26. not from Mr. Fowler's. I only repeated his own Expressions; and methinks 'tis strange, that the *Eccho* of his own Words should so exasperate, and provoke him. Why must it be *Reviling* in me, barely to mention the Things we are accus'd of; and yet *none* in him, who is the first *Framer* of the *Accusation*? Why must that, which is the *Law of Kindness* whilest in his Mouth, be the *Venome of Asps*, and the *Poison of Dragons*, when 'tis in mine?

However, 'tis pretended my Design must be *Malicious* and *Revengeful*; and I am ask'd, whether I would have his *Blood*? To this my Reply is, Some People are of Opinion, that (the Sea-
son

son of the Year consider'd) a *Moderate Phlebotomy* might do him a Kindness, by cooling the over-heated Mass, and allaying its outrageous Ferment, and so reduce the Man to a more calm and even Temper. Any farther than it may be thus serviceable to him, I assure him, I do not desire one drop of it.

My true Design in Publishing that little *Treatise*, was to hinder the ill Effects of his fiery Invectives; to antidote the People against the Malignity and Venom of his popular Harangues; to weaken his Credibility, that his People (as he rightly conjectures) might not believe him; *i. e.* when he leaves his *Text*, and amuses them with *Lying Stories* from *Scotland*, *Oxford*, and other Places: And my Attempt has had this good Effect, that whereas he had robb'd us publickly of our very *Baptism*, turn'd us out of Christ's Fold, to graze among the common Herd of *Turks* and *Pagans*, he is forc'd, for Shame of the World, to eat his own Words, and confess us to be *Christians*; as shall be seen hereafter this.

But if I must write, why did I *prevaricate*, and not write *the whole Truth*? To this I answer: I wrote nothing but what I shall prove was true; nor omitted any thing which I was oblig'd to communicate. Had I wrote the *whole Truth*, I must have told the World, that this renowned Champion, who is so punctually acquainted with *Don Quixot* and his enchanted Castles, was such a Stranger to the Bible, that at his first Meeting with Mr. *Hallet*, he knew not where to find the word *Bishop*, 'till he was directed to *1 Tim. 3.* but sure he was, 'twas to be found, either in the *Acts* of the Apostles, or one of *St. Paul's Epistles*. I must have told the World, that when Mr. *Hallet* offer'd something concerning *Schism*, he asserted, that now they were gotten into the
very

very Heart of the *Controversy*; and yet within two Minutes, when he was press'd a little too close, the same thing was *Nothing at all to the purpose*. I hope Mr. *Agate* will pardon these Omissions.

I am told, that great Offence has been taken by some, because I stil'd my Antagonist *Church-Mountebank*; as if this were a Reflection on the *Church* in general. I confess, I was at this a little troubled, because as I'm sure 'tis what I never did intend, so I am confident 'tis what can't fairly be inferr'd from any thing I wrote. That there are *Empericks* in *Divinity* as well as *Physick*, the whole World allows; and as to call a pretending *Quack* by his own name, was never yet thought an Affront to the learned Gentlemen of the *Faculty*: So I can't see why the stiling a particular Person *Church-Mountebank*, should be deem'd a Reflection upon those Reverend *Divines*, who are a Glory to their Character, and an Honour to their Function. That there are many such in the Church of *England*, I chearfully acknowledge, and to their Capacity and Merits I am ready to pay as profound a Veneration as most Men alive.

But have I wrong'd this Gentleman by the Comparison I made? When a conceited *Medicaster* mounts the Stage, and brags of his admirable Cures, his noble Cordials and choice Elixirs, pretends to a rare *Catholicon*, that cures *Agues*, *Gonts*, *Feavers*, and all manner of Distempers; and at the same time turns off his poor diseas'd Patients to such or such Physicians, who indeed are Men of Worth and Skill; what other Title do we find ascrib'd to such a paltry *Braggadocio* than that of *Mountebank*? And is not this the very Case of our Opponent, *mutatis mutandis*? Has not he set up for the great Tearer
and

and Confounder of *Fanaticks*? Has not he made his Flourishes in the Pulpit, pretending to Confute the *Schismaticks*, and stop the Mouths of all Gainfayers? To make it as evident that we are all guilty of a *Damning Sin*, as that the *Sun shines*, or the *Fire burns*? And yet, when challeng'd and provok'd to produce his mighty Arguments, he turns us over to Mr. *Burfcough*, Mr. *Bennet*, and others; who indeed are Men of Sense and Learning, and can do something else besides Re-vile and tell Stories: So that as yet I see no reason but to conclude, that the Picture I have drawn resembles the Original very much.

Besides, I conceive I may, in a great measure, be Justify'd by the Example of a very Eminent and Learned Man, Mr. Arch-Deacon *Burfcough**, who accuses Mr. *Stoddon* of playing the *Emperick on the Church*; between whom and a *Mountebank*, there is no more difference than between Five Shillings and a Crown-piece. But the Question is, whom this Character best suits, whether *his* Antagonist or *mine*? And I have abundant reason to conclude, 'tis much more applicable to the latter than the former. This is the Man that picks up every *Grub-street Story* that he meets with, by which the *Dissenters* may be abused, and carries it up into the Pulpit, from whence he Publishes it to his Hearers with the same degree of Confidence and Assurance, that a *Mountebank* dispenses his rotten Drugs amongst the staring *Mob*.

Besides, since he has been harping on this String, he hath had a Rabble dancing after him from all Quarters of the Town, who are sure to find Mr. *Agate* on the *High Ropes*, and never fail

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of

* Vindication of a Discourse of Schism, p. 179.

of being diverted by some extravagant *Whimsy* or other against the *Presbyterians*.

If I have abus'd this Gentleman in any thing, 'tis in that I suggested, as if he were *Uncapable* of such a *Passion* as *Shame* is : For since that, he has given the World a Demonstration to the contrary, in that he was asham'd of his own Performance : For when he had prepar'd a *Discourse* in answer unto mine, and threatned some *Dissenters* (whom he met with in the *Printing-Room*) with *Cutting them down*, by the Keennels of his Reply : The thing appear'd to some of his own Friends so extreamly SILLY and IMPERTINENT, that he suppress'd the whole Edition ; and so stifled the shapeless Issue of his own Brain in the very Birth.

Since he and his *Disciples* have gone *Horoscoping* up and down the Country, erecting Figures to calculate the Nativity of my poor Stripling ; I hope he will give my Friends leave to conjecture as well as his own : They have gotten a strong Conceit in their Heads, that an *Ass* may be known by his Hoof, as well as a *Lion* by his Paw ; and that the *Author* of that Ridiculous and Empty Paper that was suppress'd, has the least hand in the *Pretended Answers* that are given to my QUÆRIES.

They affirm, That this Gentleman told his own Friends, that his Book would be out of the Press such a Day, and such a Week, a great while before it really was ; and therefore conjecture, that the reason of his Mistake lay here ; that the *Oracle* he had consulted did not give in its Answer so soon as was expected ; and that he has sent for Aid farther than *Newton-Busket*.

But

But the great Crime I am accus'd of, is my saying, that 'twas a *Schism* to tear an *Handkerchief* in pieces: And this broken *Handkerchief* is every other turn held up and flutter'd, just, I suppose, as *Caesar's* Bloody Coat was, to fire the People with Rage and Indignation. Pag. 16

For my part, I do not remember that I asserted any such thing at the Conference; but if I did not then, I do now; and what is more than Mr. *Agate* has yet done by any of his Assertions, I'll prove it too, by the best Authority in the World, even that of our blessed Saviour himself, who thus saith, *Mat. 9. 16. No Man putteth a piece of new Cloth to an old Garment: For that which is put to fill it up, taketh from the Garment, and the Rent is made worse.* In the Original 'tis *Σχισμα*, the *SCHISM* (that being the very Word in Greek Letters) is made worse.

Now I would fain ask this captious Author, whether our Saviour talk'd Ridiculously, when he call'd a Rent in a Garment a *Schism*? And if not, why may not I give the same Title to a Rent in an *Handkerchief*? The truth on't is, *Schism* in Greek, is the same thing with a Rent in English; and our Author should have understood his Greek Testament a little better himself, before he had Insulted the *Dissenters* for want of Learning. Pag. 75

That which gave Occasion to the Discourse was this; Mr. *Agate*, instead of proving his Assertions, would be proposing Questions; and ask'd us, whether *Schism* was not a Damning Sin? This brought on some Discourse about the Signification of the Word; and 'twas granted him by way of Answer, that *Schism* was a Sin; that all Sin was in its own Nature Damning; tho' all Sin would not be so Eventually; for then none could be sav'd.

'Twas also urg'd, that there were several *Degrees* of *Schism*; that some *Lower Degrees* thereof might be reckon'd amongst Sins of Infirmity, and be pardoned upon a general Repentance. To this purpose the Case of *Paul* and *Barnabas* was mentioned; between whom there was such a *sharp Contention*, that they parted asunder one from another. Now here was certainly a Fault in One or Both of these good Men; yet I hope it will not be affirm'd, that either of them was in a Damnable Estate. We think that every Defect of Love, every Alienation of the Affections, amongst *Christians*, is a *Lower Degree* of *Schism*. We suppose some such Imperfections as these, may be consistent with a state of Salvation: But then as for the *Higher Degrees* of *Schism*, when it proceeds from Envy or Pride, and is attended with Rancour, Malice and Uncharitableness, this was own'd to be inconsistent with the Life and Essence of Religion: So that I still defy him to name the Man who said *Schism is no more*, i. e. no greater Crime, than the *tearing of an Handkerchief*; this is what he charg'd us with in the Pulpit, and has a Meaning quite different from what we offer'd at the Conference.

Another thing he quarrels with us for is this: That one of us should say, Mr. *Agate* was a *Schismatick* and a *Seducer*. The truth on't is, When he told us we were *SCHISMATICKS* because we drew People from their own Parish-Churches; this was reply'd to by one of us, that if this Principle were true, 'twould prove him a *SCHISMATICK*, because some left their own Parish-Churches to hear him. Our vulgar Proverb says, what is Sauce for a Goose, is so for a Gander too: And if he has really commenc'd *M. A.* he has heard before now of a Maxim in *Logic*; that *A quatenus ad omne valet consequentia*. And to

to let the World see how ready I am to oblige this Gentleman, whenever he offers his Arguments to prove us guilty of *Schism*, I promise to requite his Kindness, and produce those Reasons which make me conclude him guilty of the same Crime.

Secondly, Having wip'd off the Aspersions cast upon my self, I come next to Vindicate my Account of the intended *Disputation*, and shall be a little more Particular in relating the Occasion of it.

Upon the 24th of *November* last, Mr. *Agate* in company of some other Friends, supp'd at Mr. *Gird's* House, a Grocer in this City, whose Wife goes to Meeting, and who is acknowledged by him to be a Woman of good Sense. A- Pag. 10
mongst other ordinary Discourses, one of the Company took notice of the Opposition made in *Scotland* to the intended Union; upon which this Author gave Vent to these passionate Expressions; *I never expected any other thing from the Scots, they are all a pack of Villains; and* (directing his Discourse to the Mistress of the Family, with an Air of Decency and good Manners, peculiar to himself) *so is the old Tross, for whom you have so great a Veneration.* To this she reply'd, she thought it very unhandsome to revile a Person who was not there to vindicate himself. Adding, That if any of those Ministers she heard were present, she believ'd he durst not talk after that free rate. This put his Blood into a Ferment presently, and then the *Dissenting Teachers* were all *Villains*, and he would *Dispute with one, or any or all of them.* This is that very Method, by which that scurrilous Reflection on Mr. *Tross* and his Brethren was introduc'd, without any previous Discourse

Pag. 10. course at all about *Schism* or *Separation*. His Pretence, therefore, of Duty, to undeceive this Gentlewoman, is a meer Sham. These boisterous Expressions favour of a great deal of *Passion*, but little or no *Charity*; and proceed rather from the overflowing of his *Gall* and *Spleen*, than from the Yearning of his *Bowels* towards a mistaken and deluded Soul.

Whereas he would insinuate, as if this were
Pag. 79. only *One Hard Word*, that might 'scape him in a suddain Transport; 'twas, in Truth, his usual Language: And he told Mrs. Gird, and the Company present, That the Gentleman with whom he Tabled, had a couple of Kinswomen who were Dissenters, to whom he us'd to say, That the Old TROSS was a VILLAIN, on purpose to vex 'em. He also justify'd this abusive sort of Language, by applying to himself the Saying of a School-master, who Lash'd his Boys most terribly just as he came from a Sacrament, and reply'd to his Wife (disswading him from that unseasonable Severity) That he could not do God a better piece of Service. Nay, the Gentleman was so far from being Asham'd of his own Rudeness, that, Supping (the Evening after his First Meeting Mr. Hallet) with Mr. Saunders, Mrs. Keat, and several others in Company, he re-asserted, That Mr. TROSS was an Old VILLAIN, and he would prove him so to be.

And meeting me, and Mr. Fowler, a few days after the Conference, he offer'd to give us (upon certain Conditions) the same Thing under his Hand, with this Explication, That by Villain, he meant, an Insincere Practitioner in Religion: Betraying thereby both his Ignorance, and his Confidence: His Ignorance, in that he gives that Definition of a Villain, which belongs to an Hypocrite: His Confidence, in that he pretends to be

a Judge of another Man's Sincerity ; *i. e.* To invade the *Throne of God*, whose sole Prerogative it is to be a *Searcher of the Heart*, and a *Tryer of the Reins*.

A Day or two after this Rancounter, Mr. Gird met with Mr. *Hugh Mallet*, and gave him an Account of some of those frequent Accusations which Mr. *Agate* brought up against the *Dissenting Ministers* ; adding, *It was his Custom to Talk against 'em, not only in his own House, but in Coffee-Houses, and other publick Places, on purpose that they might hear of it again, and be brought to a Dispute, or Conference : That he was very desirous to meet one, or some of them ; And if they knew themselves Innocent, why did they not appear, and Vindicate themselves ? With more to the same purpose.* To this Mr. *Mallet* reply'd, *That he was very confident, Mr. Hallet would give this Gentleman a meeting at any time.*

Mr. Gird has given the same Account of Mr. *Agate's* Disputatious Humour, and repeated Challenges, to his Sister *Cornish* ; and is (I doubt not) a Man of too much Honour to recede from what he has publickly attested. Now, though this Gentleman has made these frequent Bounces in Mr. Gird's House ; and told Mr. *Jos. Saunders* with his own Mouth, *That he would Dispute all the Dissenting Teachers in Exon* : He has the Forehead to tell the World in Print, *That he never gave us One Challenge.*

Pag. 77.

And whereas this Author pretends, *That he was perfectly surpriz'd by a Dissenting Gentlewoman, who gave him an Invitation to her House, and then sent for Mr. Hallet, and my self.* The Truth on't is, the *Invitation* was given a Fortnight, or three Weeks, before, upon his own Offer to wait upon her, and drink a Dish of Tea with her, without assigning any particular Time. On
Wed-

Wednesday Morning, after the Discourse at Mr. Gird's House, her Nephew C-----sh came, and told her, That Mr. Agate would be with her that Afternoon, and meet any of her Ministers: Upon which, she indeed gave some Intimation of it to us, and desired our Company. And had he not expected to meet *One*, or *Both* of us, why did he bring two of his Hearers along with him, when only to drink a Dish of Tea with an Ancient Gentlewoman. Nay, one of the Gentlemen that did accompany him, hath since confess'd to Mrs. Keat, That he had an Intimation given him, as if something might occur which would be worth his hearing. For which Reasons, I can't suppose Mr. Agate was Surpriz'd in this Affair. However, whether he were, or were not, my ACCOUNT is still Unshaken: For I only asserted, That he waited on a Gentlewoman that Day, who usually attends on a Dissenting Congregation; And that Mr. Hallet, Dining near by, was desired to walk over.

Having sufficiently prov'd Mr. Agate to be the CHALLENGER, the next thing, in my Relation, I am to Vindicate, is, The Account I gave of the Agreement made to Burn the Papers. This, Pag. 11. my Antagonist says, is a glaring Falshood; enough to make other People think as Hard of me, as he does. And on this Occasion he Abuses and Insults me, in many places of his Pamphlet. For my part, I was not present when this Proposal was made, but this was the Account given me of the matter, as soon as I came into the Room. And that the World may be satisfied, whether the Lye ought to be laid at his Door, or mine, I have subjoyn'd the following Certificate.

WE, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do Certify, That, being present when the Conference between Mr. Hallet and Mr. Agate was agreed upon, Mr. Agate did consent, That when the Scribes had noted down what should be offered at the Conference, and read it over to the Company, the Papers should be thrown into the Fire, and so burnt.

Jos. Saunders,
Deb. Keat,
Eliz. Gird, Jun.
Mary Cornish,
Anna Saunders.

Nay, several of the Persons mention'd are ready to make Oath, (if Occasion did require it) The Burning of the Papers was Mr. Agate's own Proposal: For when Mr. Hallet objected against the employing Scribes; that abundance had been already written on the Subject; the other made this Reply, *However, let them read their Notes to the Company; and then, if you please, throw the Papers into the Fire.* And in this Mr. Hallet acquiesced.

I am confident, that who ever compares what is now offer'd, with what this Gentleman has asserted, will be ready to conclude, that ENVY, PRIDE, or some such *Evil Habit*, has impaired his *Memory*, and harden'd his *Forehead*, to a very great degree. When an *Author* durst publish so Bold a *Falshood*, whilest there be so many Witnesses to confront him; what will he not dare to do, when the Detection is not so easy? Or

D

what

what Credit does he deserve, when we have nothing but his *Bare Word* for what he offers? The Truth on't is, this is a Circumstance which would have spoil'd his whole Design; which was, To create in the Minds of those that read him, an *high Opinion of himself*, and his own *Abilities*, and to represent his *Antagonists* as a couple of *Cowardly, Sneaking Fellows*, who durst not grapple with such a *Brawny Adversary*. Should the World know the Truth of the Matter; How Mr. Hallet met this *Gentleman* at the Time and Place appointed; How he was ready to engage him, upon the Terms to which he had himself consented; How that *New Articles* were contriv'd, and hammer'd out, quite contrary to those agreed upon: Men would be apt to think, that Mr. Agate's Vaunts and Triumphs were like the *French King's* singing *Te Deum*, when his Armies quit the Field; and that those Trophies he has erected, are the Effects of *Vanity* and *Self-Cenceit*, rather than the *Ensigns of Real Glory*, and *True Honour*. Our Author was aware of this, and therefore strenuously denies this plain Matter of Fact: And as our Modern *BULLIES* will sacrifice their very *Blood* and *Souls* to a Vain Fantastick Notion of *Honour*; so he will run the Hazard of his *Veracity*, that he may maintain the Reputation of his *Valour*.

Before I proceed farther, I think my self oblig'd to take Notice, of an Attempt this Aug. 11. thor makes to fix a Lye on Mr. Hallet; who alledg'd, the first time of Meeting, That he could not then tarry, being to Preach early the next Morning, (though he stay'd Three Hours afterwards) and did not Preach the next Day. The Truth on't is, he was detain'd by Mr. Agate's great Importunity longer than he intended; and Mr. Ball, being in Town, was so kind (upon Mr. Hallet's Ap-

Application to him that Evening) as to excuse him the next Morning Lecture.

Well, at the Time and Place appointed we met our *Antagonists*, as 'tis confess'd on both sides: But here a great deal of Pother has been kept by this Gentleman, because some of the Company, who came there contrary to Agreement, were dismissed; *As if we had some Secrets in our Religion, which our Friends must not be acquainted with.* The Truth of the Matter is this, When we came into the Room, we found four or five *Clergymen*, besides the two *Disputants*: These were indeed desired by Mr. *Hallet* to withdraw; and if he made the like Address to any *Dissenters*, 'twas because he would be thought Impartial; and upon Supposition, Mr. *Agate* would not grant that Favour unto them, which was deny'd his own Friends. However, though Mr. *Hallet* was not willing to have the Room crouded by all such whose Curiosity might bring them there; yet he proposed to his *Opponent*, That whereas there was in House a worthy *Clergyman* of this City, whose Character was well known, he would willingly consent to his being present, provided, he might call in another of his own Friends, who was at that time in Town. He offer'd further, That several, both Churchmen and Dissenters, (above the Company at first agreed on) should be allow'd to tarry. And Mr. *D — y*, a Gentleman who goes constantly to Church, confess'd to Mr. *Tozer* and Mr. *Atkins*, That Mr. *Hallet* took him by the Hand, telling him, He might tarry if he pleased. But Mr. *Agate* being vex'd that his Friend (a *Clergyman* whom he had call'd up from the Country) was not admitted, rejected these Proposals; crying out, *That if one must go, all should be gone.* And when two or three had concealed them-

Pag. 13.

selves in an adjoining Room, they were espy'd out by this Gentleman's Friends, about the middle of the Conference, and between him and them obliged to withdraw.

Before I proceed to take Notice of the *Unreasonableness* of that *Preliminary* which broak off the *Dispute*, I must beg the Reader's Patience to acquaint him, That not only the Gentleman who was to officiate as Scribe, but several *Clergymen* (as I have since been credibly inform'd) declar'd, before the Conference began, *That such Terms would be propos'd, as they believed Mr. Hallet would not comply with*: To which one was so Ingenuous as to add, *He would be a Fool if he did*. Besides, had this *Preliminary* been consented to, Mr *Walker* told us, That his Friend had five or six more to offer to us. And when I urg'd, that the Method propos'd would take up many Days, he answer'd me, *That so it might Weeks, for ought he knew*: Which was the way to keep the whole Town quarrelling and jangling.

Having prov'd by Substantial Evidence, *what were the Conditions agreed upon*, and the strictest Rules of Honour requiring no more than a Punctual Compliance with the Terms consented to; there is no Reason we should assign any other Cause, why this *Preliminary* was rejected, than the *Novelty* thereof, and its Inconsistence with the Agreement formerly made: However, that I may let the Reader see, on what a sandy Foundation this Gentleman's Trophies are erected; I shall make a few *Remarks* on his *REPLY* to my *REASONS*.

To my *First Reason* he replies, That Speaking
 Pag. 20. *against the Common-Prayer, would expose us to as much Danger as Writing; and that the one would be a Depraving as much as the other. But does he not*

not know, that *Litera scripta manet*: A Subscription, for ought I know, might rise up in Judgment against us Seven Years hence, and that which is Innocent and Harmless in it self, and will be so esteem'd under a just and equal Administration, may be Wire-drawn, and made highly Criminal, if a *Jeffereys* should get upon the Bench. Of this Mr. *Baxter's* Annotations on the *New Testament* are a Notorious Instance.

To my *Second Reason* he replies, That the *Op-* Pag. 21
ponents Arguments, except the first Syllogism, must be as sudden and unpremeditated, as the *Respondents Answers*. But this may be confuted by every one that understands the Rules of Disputation: He might easily guess, whether the *Major* or *Minor Proposition* would be deny'd, and ought to be prepar'd for the Defence of both. Besides, had that Method been pursu'd which these Gentlemen projected, by that time a few *Arguments* with their *Answers* had been fairly Written, Review'd, Corrected, Subscrib'd and Compar'd, Time would have slid away, and the further *Debate* must have been Adjourn'd 'till the next Evening; and this for many Days or Weeks successively, as Mr. *Walker* confess'd: So that our *Opponents* would have had the better part of a Day to make Preparation for the Assaulting those *Answers* which we had given in (the Night before) on a sudden, and without any Premeditation. This is, we think, a very Unreasonable Expectation.

To my *Third Reason* he replies, That we were Pag. 23
to have Copies and Counterparts of the Disputation, which would effectually prevent any Additions or Alterations. To this I answer, That when the Proposal was made, I apprehended that we were to have

have his *Arguments*, as Subscrib'd by him, in our Custody, and those *Only*; and that we were to leave our *Answers* with him.

And whereas he says I tell the World, *All* Pag. 19 *the Papers sign'd by both Parties were to be left in his Hands*, the Word *All* is foisted in by him, and not expressed in my *Account*. A Circumstance, which confirms the *Jealousy* we ought to entertain of the Fairness and Candour of his Proceedings.

He has given us another Instance of this Nature, in that Letter of ours which he has Printed; wherein he makes us write false *English*, and say, *When us Ministers were Insulted*; and Printed it in different Characters, to make the *Blunder* more Remarkable: Whilst our Letter ran in these Words (as the Copy which we keep of it will attest); *Whereas their Ministers were Insulted*, &c. For which Cause, as well as the Reasons offer'd in my former *Paper*, we have little Safety to trust our Reputation in his Hands. Tho' if it be so as he says, and the Meaning of the Proposal were, that we should have Counterparts of our *Answers*, as well as the Original of his *Arguments*; I misapprehended the Gentleman as to the former of these, as did Mr. *Hallet* also; and am content that this Reason be Discarded.

To my *Three Last Reasons*, this Gentleman Pag. 24 makes a Reply to this effect: That seeing we Consented to have the Debate Written down, why should we not own it by Subscribing? That when it was once Written, the setting our Name would have taken but little more time than whilst we were Speaking. But this Objection quickly vanishes, if the Reader please but to consider, That when Mr. *Hallet* Consented to the employing Scribes, he expected,

expected, that they should have Noted down what was offer'd at the Dispute in Characters. This had been both a short and an easy Method; nor could it be then expected, that any Man should set his Name, beside the *Scribe* that Wrote it. And we were both Surpriz'd, when such a tedious Dilatory Method was Propos'd, as would have spun out the *Conference* into Days and Weeks.

In making OBSERVATIONS on the *Last Reason* which I offer'd, Mr. *Agate* would infer, That the *Dissenters* are but *Indifferent about Religion*: That they don't care to spend much time to satisfy themselves in Points of SCHISM, though the Issues of ETERNITY depend upon it: But as for the Churchmen present, they were ready to afford any Time on such Occasions. Pag. 25

But to what purpose should these Gentlemen be fond of a Dispute? I hope that they who sit at the Feet of such a *Gamaliel*, are sufficiently Establish'd in the Way that they are walking in: I presume they feel little Inclination in themselves to commence SCHISMATICKS; but that they are fully satisfy'd of the Lawfulness of Joyning in Communion with the Church of *England*: And we freely own, That (provided they live Righteous, Godly, and Sober Lives) they may go to CHURCH here, and to HEAVEN hereafter. As for the *Dissenters*, they have no such Opinion of Mr. *Agate's* Abilities, as he himself seems to have; nor do they imagine, that he can offer stronger Arguments than have been presented to them by other Hands.

Upon

Upon the whole, Mr. *Agate* cannot Deny, but that we met him at the Time and Place appointed. He Owns, *That Mr. Hallet Offer'd to Debate the Matter with him, by Disputing, Writing, or Printing: That we gave it under our Hands, If*
 Pag. 5
 Pag. 37 *he would fly to the Press, his Motions should be Attended there.* I must add, what should have been Inserted in my last *Account*; That tho the Agreement was to Burn the Papers, yet Mr. *Hallet* Offer'd, that the *Scribes* should preserve what they had Written in their own Custody. He confesses that I offer'd an *Argument*, which shall
 Pag. 18 be accounted for in the Sequel of this *Discourse*: If it were as Silly as he pretends, and his Design was to expose us for *Fools*, why did he not embrace the Opportunity; for I Offer'd to set my
 Pag. 27 Hand to it?

All these Things consider'd, let the whole World Judge, whether any thing can be at the same time more Insolent and Ridiculous, than for this Gentleman to *Decline* his own CHALLENGE: To add *New Articles* to an *Agreement* he had Consented to: And after all, to make such Extravagant Boasts, both in the *Pulpit* and from the *Press*, to Bully and Insult us, as if Asham'd of our PRINCIPLES; when he will not be prevail'd upon to give us one *Argument*, tho it has been Publickly Offer'd him to make a Reply thereto.

But Mr. *Hallet* wrote to Mr. *Walker*, *He would*
 Pag. 32 *fain decline the Controversy*; and I hope he gave his Reason for it; because it had put the City into such a Ferment. If this warm Gentleman be such a *Salamander*, as to delight in Flames, I know not why Mr. *Hallet* should be thought the Worse of, if he be of a more sedate and calm Temper. Our Antagonists, in all their *Letters*,
 insist

insist on a sufficient *Attestation* to the *Conference* which was to be renew'd ; & we know no way so proper to Comply with this *Demand*, as to Write or Print the *Debate*. But this will not please the Gentleman with whom we are concern'd ; he is for a Linsey-Woolsey *Disputation* : first Speak a Sentence or two, then stop till tis review'd, and fairly written down ; and so on in a Circle.

This seems to us an Ungrateful Hotch-potch, that we cannot well Relish : But let him stick to Talking or Writing, and He shall find, that the *Combat* will not be *Declin'd*. But this *Knight Errant* gives us the true Reason why we must not handle his Lance, 'tis for fear we should break *the top of it*. i. e. his Arguments must not be seen for fear they should be *Answered*. Pag. 38

Whereas Mr. *Hallet* is reprelented, as if he *Trembled, and grew Pale, as soon as he came into the Room* : He has by him a very Courteous Letter, which he receiv'd, a few Days after the *Conference*, from Mr. *Walker*, in which are these Expressions : *I must certify, That both you and Mr. Withers did appear : That the Dispute never came on ; and therefore, 'tis Wicked for any one to report, That you had nothing to say : And that I observ'd no such thing as your Trembling, when you came into the Room*. Yet one of the First Things Mr. *Hallet* did, was to *Address* himself to this Gentleman ; and they sat opposite to each other all the Time of the *Debate*. The Arguments produc'd, I'm sure, were no such terrible and frightful Things, as that they should throw a Man into an *Ague*. Pag. 28

My *Antagonist* is so kind to his Reader, that, for the Ease of Bad Memories, he Epitomizes my *SPEECH* ; the Substance of which he pretends to be this : That the Church of England is

Pag. 13 *an Erroneous Church, and Mr. Agate a great ROGUE.*— This Language is so familiar to this Gentleman, that he can't forbear complementing himself with it : He knows himself best, and therefore must be allow'd to give the *World* his own *Character* : However, when he draws the *Picture* of himself, he must not blame me for the ugly Features which are occasion'd by his *own Pencil*. If he has made a *Cap*, and others think it fits him, he has no Reason to quarrel with me about it ; for the Expression is none of mine ; nor shall I justify any who apply it as he has done.

'Tis not enough for Mr. *Agate* to Abuse the two *Respondents* he was to Dispute against, their *Scribe* must have his Share in that *Torrent of Reproaches*, which he pours forth against all that stand in his Way. Were the *Character* of this Person to be found only in this Author's *Libel*, a Stranger would be apt to think some *Monster* were intended by him : But, the best on't is, Mr. *Fowler* is very well known in this City, and most Trading Towns all round it ; and his *Reputation* too well establish'd, for a *poisonous Whiff of Breath* to overthrow it.

One great Thing I charg'd my *Antagonist* with, was saying, *The Dissenters took as much Pains to Damn Souls, as Christ did to Save 'em.* To this he Answers, That, speaking of the *Stage-Players*, he asserted, *Such People seem to contend with our blessed Saviour, who shall take most Pains, they to Damn Peoples Souls, or he to Save them ;* and refers unto his Sermon. But this is meer Shuffle and Evasion, for he Preaches without using *Notes*. I shall therefore give the Reader an Account of the *Various Excuses* he has made, at several times, for this *daring, scandalous Expression* ; how Inconsistent they are with one another ; and
prove

prove the Words upon him, as they are by me alleg'd.

When he was charg'd by me with this *desperate Doctrine* at the late *Conference*, he pretended indeed, as he now does, That he spoke 'em of the *Stage-Players*; and that this was the Expression, That *they took Pains to Damn Souls, as Christ did to Save 'em*: But own'd, That this had been Objected to him several times. An Argument, that I was not the *Inventor* of the *Report*. These are the very Words he own'd in my Hearing, as in the Hearing of Mr. J. Hallet, Mr. J. Fowler, Mr. S. Carkeet, and others.

I have heard indeed of some *Topping Fancies*, that have run a Parallel between the Sufferings of K. Charles the First, and those of our *blessed Saviour*. I remember a great *Doctor** was lately censured by the *House of Peers* for his too great *Boldness* on this Occasion. But that there should be a Comparison made between the *Cross* and the *Stage*; the *Dying Agony* of a JESUS, and the *Antick Capers* of a few *poultry Rascals* and *Buffoons*. This is, I am confident, the first time, that ever a Thing of that Nature was heard of.

Our Author, I make no Question, was aware how ill the Similitude would look in the Eyes of the World, and therefore has lick'd it in his Print into a little better Shape; and the Reason why I did not print his Vindication (for which Omission he charges me with *Insincerity*) was this; Because, I am verily perswaded, it was absolutely False: And that it is so, I have the Testimony of a *Witness*, beyond all Exception, Mr. MICH. HYDE, of as Clear a *Reputation* as any in the City, and more *Learning* than most

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Tradei-

* Annals of Q. Anne, Vol. 1. p. 38.

Tradesmen there, who gives this Sensible and Satisfactory Account of the Matter.

‘ Mr. Agate was Preaching on *Psa. III. 10.*
 ‘ *The Fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom ;*
 ‘ *a good Understanding have all they that do his*
 ‘ *Commandments.* Having gone through the
 ‘ Doctrinal Part, he drew Three Inferences from
 ‘ his Text.

‘ 1. He Inferred the Folly of the *Atheist* ; pro-
 ‘ ving, That if the *Existence* of a *Deity* were
 ‘ dubious and uncertain, as it is not, yet it
 ‘ would be Prudence in him to Act agreeably to
 ‘ the *Belief* of a *God* ; for as he cannot be cer-
 ‘ tain there is no God, so how deplorable would
 ‘ his Case be, when, to his fore Amazement, he
 ‘ should find there was a *God*, to avenge his own
 ‘ Quarrel, and inflict the Punishments due to his
 ‘ Impieties ! Or Words to that Effect.

‘ 2dly. His Second Inference was levell’d a-
 ‘ gainst the *Stage-Players* ; and here Mr. Hyde
 ‘ says, ‘ He must do this Gentleman so much Ju-
 ‘ stice, as to own, that he spake as became his
 ‘ Place and Character, and is sorry he deviated
 ‘ so much from it, in

3dly. His Third Inference, which was level-
 ‘ led against the *Dissenting Teachers* ; Men, as
 ‘ he described them, to whom God had given Parts
 ‘ and Abilities for the Service of his Church, and
 ‘ the promoting his Glory ; which they misemploy’d,
 ‘ to the upholding Faction and Schism, and the main-
 ‘ taining of a poultry Cause ; at last gave vent to
 ‘ this Extravagant Expression : *These are the*
 ‘ *Men, who take as much Pains to Damn (or De-*
 ‘ *stroy) Mens Souls, as Christ did to Save ’em.*

That these Words were spoken after the
 Stage-Players were dismiss’d, is what Mr. HYDE
 well remembers, and positively asserts.

My

My next *Witness* is Mr. *H. Mallet*, who a few Days after the preaching this Sermon, was in company with a Gentleman of a very considerable *Estate* and *Reputation*, who happen'd then to be his Hearer; he gave the same Relation of these *hard words* that Mr. *Hyde* hath done, and alledg'd 'em spoken of the *Dissenters*. And tho' there were present several of Mr. *Agate's* own Hearers, and not the most Inconsiderable of his Flock neither, there were none that contradicted it; only one said, *If these were not the very Words, he spake what was just like 'em*. But all assented, That they were levell'd at the *Dissenters*, and Unjustifiable.

Mr. *Mallet*, a little after this, met with Mr. *Agate*, and Expostulated with him about the *Rashness* of this Expression: This put the Gentleman indeed into a Passion; but Mr. *Mallet* is most positive and certain, that he did not in the least pretend, as he hath since done, that these Words were spoken of the *Stage-Players*; but endeavour'd to evade the Force of the Objection by another Quibble. Mr. *Hyde* told me of a *Clergyman*, who endeavour'd to bring off Mr. *Agate* by this Distinction, as if he should say, *They take as much Pains to destroy Souls, as Christ, quatenus homo, i. e. considered as a Man, did to save 'em*. And Mr. *Agate* made use of the same Distinction to another *Clergyman*, as the said *Clergyman* himself inform'd Mr. *Atkey*.

Now there can be no greater Evidence of real Guilt, than when a Man Cuts, Shuffles, and makes various and contradictory Excuses, as Mr. *Agate* has: These Fig-Leaves which he has sewed together, will be found too narrow to conceal the Nakedness of his Cause, and the Shamefulness of his Assertion. What ever Pains or Sufferings our SAVIOUR underwent, He did it as

a Man ; the Deity being incapable either of *ta-king* or *suffering* any Pains.

Besides all this, there are these following Persons, Mr. S. Bere, Mr. W. Arnold, Mr. Ed. Hale, who all aver, They have been told by so many several Persons, and some of 'em of the best Estate and Reputation in his Parish, that Mr. Agate did speak these Words, as I have said them, of the *Dissenters*. And even since the appearing of his *Pamphlet*, some of his own Parish, and constant *Church-men*, have Own'd and Avow'd the same Thing, particularly to Mr. Atke, Mr. Tozer, Mr. Powel, and Mr. Atkins: I could tell their Names, but some of 'em are depending in their Trades, and others loth to bring a Nest of *Wasps* about their Ears. Besides, there has been a Person with me, declaring, before credible *Witness*, a *Readiness* to make Oath of what I have charg'd this Gentleman with, provided it were done before a *Magistrate* that would conceal the *Deponent's* Name ; the Knowledge whereof, might Expose the said Person to great Inconvenience.

The best *Apology* that can be made for Mr. Agate, is this : That when he comes to speak of the *Presbyterians*, he talks not only *without Book*, but *without Wit*, or *Consideration* ; his *Zeal* transports him into a *Frenzy*, and hurrys him beyond all the Bounds of *Reason*, *Truth*, or *Soberness*.

Another Charge I brought against Mr. Agate was, his *Outraging* the Memory of that Glorious Deliverer of CHURCH and STATE, King WILLIAM ; Perhaps every Reader may not understand this *Mystery of Iniquity*, for which reason I shall give some Account of it.

Upon

Upon the Death of the late *King*, between the *Devil* and the *Jacobites*, there was a horrid Lye Invented, to this Effect, That there was found a *Paper* in his *Cabinet*, Intimating a Design, which he and some of his Prime Confidants had laid, to hinder the SUCCESSION of Her present *Majesty* to the Throne of her Ancestors, which none will Imagine could be done, without depriving Her of Her Life: This Villanous Report was most Industriously spread throughout the Kingdom by a Gang of Men, whom Charity, in its utmost Latitude cannot allow to be hearty Friends to our present *Constitution*; When the *House of Lords* came to the Knowledge of this Matter, they Address'd the QUEEN, who in Pursuance of that Address, ordered Six Noblemen (whereof the Duke of *Marlborough* was one) to Examine the late Kings *Papers*; they accordingly did so, and Unanimously Reported, There was not the least *Foundation* for such a Story; but Voted it, a *Villanous and Malicious Report*; and made Application to the Throne to get the *Publishers*, as well as *Inventers* of it, Punished.

This Mr. *Agate*, without doubt, knew well enough, and yet makes *Proclamation* of it in the very *Pulpit*; but not being able to Justify the Expression, he hath hammer'd out an Excuse, after long Consideration: He now Pretends, the Report was mentioned by him with *Dislike*; that he spake it not as his own Sense, but the Words of some Bold Fellows; *Some have dar'd* Pag. 44
to say, &c.

But to Demonstrate the Weakness and Falseness of this Pretence, there are these following Persons, Mr. *Tristram*, Mr. *Powel*, Mr. *Chears*, and Mr. *Baker*, who Punctually remember, and positively aver, That when he had with a great deal of *Eagerness* Asserted, That if the Late KING
had

had not gone off as he did, the PRINCESS must; he immediately Subjoyn'd this Bold Congratulation; But, Thanks be to God, the Snare is broken, and She is Escap'd: By which he clench'd the Nail, and made these Words his own. I hope Mr. Agate will not Challenge and Defy me to produce a more Authentick Legal Evidence; but if he does, I assure him, I know several Persons who can assert the same thing upon Oath: And if this be not to Insult the Memory of a KING that is dead, and to fly in the Face of a QUEEN alive (who ordered Her Attorney-General to Prosecute not only the Authors, but Publishers, of this Vile Calumny) there can be no such thing in Nature. But there are some says our Author, have dar'd to say; Yes! There have been (as I am Inform'd) some Rakes and Jacks, who have dar'd to say so over a Bottle: But I am Confident, that from Berwick to the Lands End, Mr. Agate is the Only Man who has had Front enough to Proclaim so Bold a FALSHOOD from the Pulpit. And tho' there is no need of Collateral Evidence in so plain a Case, yet I shall *ex abundanti* give some.

He was the very Day, in which he Preach'd this Sermon, Challeng'd by some, who had a Veneration for King WILLIAM's Memory, to whom he had the Grace to deny, that he ever spake such Words about the KING, in presence of Captain Turner, Mr. Mortimer, and Others; And to Mr. Fowler, who Upbraided him with this very thing, he had nothing else to say, but that King WILLIAM was a Dutchman; which he severall Times Repeated, and with a peculiar Air of Scorn and Spite; As If 'twere a Scandal to be of that Nation, who are the best Allies and Friends the QUEEN of GREAT BRITAIN has.

To

The true and impartial Account, &c.

To give one Instance more: Some Three Days after the *Conference*, Mr. *Fowler* and my self met accidentally with Mr. *Walker* and Mr. *Agate* at the Place of our *Conference*; when some Discourse arising about Subscribing and Setting of Hands, Mr. *Fowler* ask'd him, whether he would set his Hand to what he said concerning King *WILLIAM*; to which Mr. *Walker* reply'd, *That might Expose him to Danger*. A plain Evidence, that his Friend and Second did not think his *Discourse* on this *Head* so Innocent, as he would fain perswade the World it was,

Upon the Whole, let the *Reader* now Judge, whether he has any Reason to call us *Rebels* and *Villains*: Because, as he *Falsly Alledgeth*, we *Inherit the Principles of such as put King CHARLES to Death*; whilst he has done what he can, to Murther the Reputation of his GRAND-SON, which is the next Degree to the *Cutting of his Throat*; that being to a Man of Honour, as King *WILLIAM* was, as Dear as his very Life.

'Tis not Impossible, but some of Mr. *Agate's* Friends may have really forgotten, and others may be unwilling to remember this *Rampant Language*, both against his GOD and his KING; and if they should, I conceive it may very easily be thus accounted for; his constant Auditors are so Enured to his *Extravagant Rants*, that they take but little Notice of them; whereas, when another Person comes into his *Congregation*, and hears such strange *Romantick Flights*, it strikes him with Horror and Surprize, and makes such an Impression on his Memory, as is not easily Blotted out.

Pag. 46 Another thing I Objected to my *Antagonist* was, his telling the People in the Pulpit, That the *Sacrament* was not Administred for Twelve Years together, in Cromwel's time, in the University of Oxford. In this our Author confesseth He was mistaken; an Ingenuity not common in him; but then, *Tinker-like*, when he mends One Hole, he makes Two for it; 'twas done *Privately*, sometimes in *Exeter College*, &c. A Sly Insinuation, as if 'twere Omitted in all others: Whereas the Truth on't is, the *Sacrament* then was Administred in Publick Churches and College Chapels. Mr. *Knight* can upon his own Knowledge Testify for *Exeter*, *Pembroke*, *Corpus Christi* and *Magdalen* Colleges: Mr. *Tross* receiv'd it at the Hands of Mr. *Hickman*, in the Parish-Church of *St. Aldate*, commonly call'd *St. Toul's*; and I have by me, a Letter from a Gentleman now in *Oxford*, who writes me, That he has in his Hands the Church-Wardens Book of Accounts, who were Officers for the Parish of *St. Martin*, in which stands *Karfax* Church, where the Mayor and Aldermen resort; That this Book contains the Accounts of the Years 1654, & 55. That he finds in many Places, Accounts of Money laid out for buying Bread and Wine for the *Communion*: He gives me an Account of the Justices Names who sign'd the said Book, and they are *Henry Sowtham*, and *Geo. Potter*; and yet Mr. *Agate*, according to his wonted Candour and Sincerity, would fain Insinuate, as if this Grand Duty of *CHRISTIANITY* were Perform'd only *Privately*, *Rarely*, and in one College.

Ibid. But says this Gentleman, If the *Dissenters* are abused in this Particular, they must thank his *Author* for it; 'tis the *Wolf-Stripper* has led him in to the Error. But then, when he has been once Impos'd

Impos'd upon, why does he hearken to him a second Time? Why does he lick up the *Venomous Spittle* of such an Impudent Lying Author? Why does he build upon that *Authority* which has once already sunk under him? Is this to be *A sincere Practitioner in Religion?*

But there were *Four or Five Colleges* in which the Sacrament was not Administred; and were they *Presbyterians* that had the Chief Government? Or suppose it was omitted in Half a Dozen Colleges; there were still above Twenty Churches and Consecrated Chappels; and these were more than Sufficient to Contain all the *Communicants* that then were, or now are, in that City: But because the Ocasion of all the Noise hath been this, that the *Sacrament* was not Administred by the University in *St. Mary's Church* for Twelve Years, I shall give the reader an Account of that Matter.

He is desired to take Notice, that this *St. Mary's* is the *Church* in which the Vice Chancellour, Proctors, and Heads of Houses, use to meet, to hear Sermons on Lord's-days; and 'tis like, that for Twelve Years they did not meet there and receive the Sacrament in ONE BODY; but at the same Time, they did most of them, Celebrate the *Communion* in their own College-Chappels, the very Place in which its *Celebration* is required, even according to the Constitution of the Church of *England*, *Can. 23.* and this is all that gave Occasion for *Lesly* and others to open their *Black Mouths*, and make so loud an Outcry, and for our Author to Bark after 'em.

And if the *University* in *CROMWEL's* Days brought the *Sacrament* into Contempt, because 'twas not Administred at *St. Mary's*; 'twill for the same Reason follow, that the *present University* have brought the *Liturgy* into Contempt; for

'tis the *Custom*, at this Day, to have Prayers read in *Colleges*, and then for the *Doctors*, and others, to withdraw to *St. Mary's*, where they have only a *Psalm*, and a *Sermon*.

And, for once, we'll change the Scene, and suppose *Exon* to be *Oxon*; the *Mayor*, his *Brethren*, and *Common-Council*, are a Body Corporate, as the *University* is: 'Tis very well known, that, for some considerable Time, they have not receiv'd the *Sacrament* in One Body at *St. Peters*; but seeing these Gentlemen have discharg'd this Duty in their own Parish-Churches, should I go into the *Pulpit*, and make an Outcry, That the Chamber of *Exon* have not receiv'd the *Sacrament* for so long a Time, and that by this they have brought this Ordinance into Contempt, the *Whipping-Post*, or *Pillory*, would be thought a proper Instrument to teach me more *Truth* and *Manners*.

Before I leave the *University*, I must take notice of one Story, with which our Author hopes to blacken the *Dissenters*; tho' Wise Men think, by raking in such a Dunghil, he hath only fouled his own Fingers. The Tale, as cook'd up by him, is this. ' A certain Person of *Exeter-Colledge*, employ'd to examine Men for the *Lord's-Supper*, was wont to commit Sodomy with'em. Who this *Utopian Gentleman* was, we are left altogether in the Dark; but who revealed this *Mystery of Iniquity* to our Author? Why, 'twas a certain *Gentleman of Credit*. But whence came it to him? Why, from a certain *dead Dignitary*. And whence had he it? Why, from an *uncertain Report*. And now we have trac'd it to its Original, 'tis the Off-spring of a *Vagabond Lying Gypsie*, call'd *Common Fame*. Has Mr. *Agate* forgot the Old Proverb, *Fama est Mendax*? Is this a sufficient Foundation for him, to build
so

so vile a Calumny upon ? Is it like a *Divine*, a *Christian*, or an *honest Man*, to amuse the World, and blacken a Society of Men by such an ill grounded Story as this is ? *Tertullian* tells us (a), That in his time, when the *Christians* met by Night, to avoid the Rage and Violence of Persecution, 'twas currently reported at Rome, amongst the Heathens, That at these Nocturnal Meetings, they did first pamper their Bodies by high Fare, and generous Wines ; and then blow out the Candles, and so indulge their promiscuous Lusts, Father and Daughter, Brother and Sister, engaging each other in most detestable Impurities. And the same thing was said of the Protestants in Paris (b), at the beginning of the Reformation. But were these Crimes Real, because commonly Reported amongst their Enemies ? And doth Mr. *Agate* think, that I cannot Recriminate, and tell Stories, as well as himself ? Did he never hear of a B---p of *Waterford* ? If not, I make no Question but these Gentlemen, who have furnish'd our Author with a Collection of other Stories, can tell him one from that *Quarter* too. But I look on it as a Dirty Thing to rake in Kennels ; and a most Disingenuous Practice, to object the Crimes of particular Persons to whole Communities, and Societies of Men : And therefore, in this, I shall not follow my Antagonist.

But since my Author refers me to Mr. *Knight*, I have had recourse to him about this Matter ; as also to Mr. *Sam. Tapper* ; who did both of 'em belong to *Exeter-Colledge*. They both aver, That Dr. *Conant*, Rector of the said Colledge,

(a

(a) *Tertul. Apol.*

(b) *Thuani Hist. Lib. 19.*

Apol. pour la Reformation, 2d Part, p. 294.

(a very Worthy Pious Man, and afterward *Arch-Deacon* of *Normich*) was the only Person in all their Time; who did examine Persons in order to their *Admission* to the *Lord's-Supper*. And as they were One or Both in *Oxford*, during the far greater part of *Cromwel's Usurpation*: So they never heard of any other Person imploy'd in that Affair, beside the aforementioned *Doctor*. Thus this *poison'd Arrow*, if it sticks any where, 'tis in the very Bosom of a late *Dignitary* of the Church of *England*. As for that foul Crime refer'd to, they never heard the least Whisper of it: But believe it to be a base *Invention*; whether it be *Mr. Agate's*, or no, they will not pretend to determine.

Another Thing objected to this Gentleman, was his asserting in the Pulpit, That the Scots left out the Fifth Petition of the *Lord's-Prayer*. To Vindicate himself, he quotes *Mr. Wesley*, who
 Pag. 48. tells a Story of a *Form of the Scotch Lord's-Prayer*, printed at *London*; in which, the latter part of that Petition was left out. But by whose Order was this done? Perhaps some or other would make a Prayer for the *Scotchmen*, (just as *Mr. Agate* made a Speech for me) on purpose to abuse 'em. Had this Prayer been Printed at *Edinburgh* by the Command of the *Privy-Council*, or *General Assembly*, it had been something to his Purpose; but nothing at all, as he has recited it. But I have a better Argument to prove the Falsity of this Report, than the Conjecture of this Author. The *Lord's-Prayer* is full and entire in the *Assemblys Catechism*; and this the Children in *Scotland* more generally learn, than those in *England* do what we call the *Church Catechism*. This being considered, I cannot but look on this Tale as an Abuse; and am confident, the Reader

der will not meet with One single Person of that Nation, who will not Concur with me herein.

Another thing I charg'd my *Antagonist* with, was his Denying the Validity of *Presbyterian Baptism*: This he would fain Evade, when he sees the ugly Consequences with which this Doctrine is attended: He Disowns indeed these *very Words*; but he spake the *same thing*, thô in *other Words*; as I shall make Evident, to the Satisfaction of all that read these Lines. He laid down these Four Propositions in the Pulpit:

I. That *Schism* is a *Damning Sin*,

II. That *all the Presbyterians in England are Guilty of it*.

III. That *their Teachers have no more Commission to Baptize, Preach, &c. than any Common Tradesman*.

IV. That *those Children Baptiz'd by them, are no more Christians, than if Baptiz'd by their own Parents, &c.* These Two Last he Owns in Print. Pag. 51

Now the Question is, What he means by this Phrase, *no more Christians*, in the last Proposition? This I shall make appear can Infer no less, than that they are *no Christians at all*.

'Tis a *Maxim* allow'd of by all *Expositors* and *Criticks*, That when a Word or Phrase is of a Doubtful Signification, the Sense must be found out by a like Word or Phrase in the same Author. Now when Mr. *Agate* Asserted in his Third Proposition, that the *Presbyterian Preachers* had *no more Commission to Baptize, &c.* His Meaning was, that they had no Commission at all

all. So, when he says in his next Proposition, that Children *Baptiz'd* by such are **no more Christians**, &c. His Meaning, according to this Rule, must be, that they are **no Christians at all**.

Besides, Children *Baptiz'd* by *Lay-Men*, are thereby made *Christians*, or they are not: If they are not, then my Charge against him still holds good: But if they are, then the Sense of Mr. *Agate's* Fourth Proposition will be only this; The Children *Baptiz'd* by *Presbyterians* are **no more Christians** than if they **were Christians**: So that if this Proposition has any Sense at all, 'tis this; That the *Baptism* of such is **Null**, and they **no Christians**. And this was the Sense in which his Congregation generally Understood him; insomuch, that some of the tender Matrons of his *Flock*, who had more Zeal than Knowledge, and more Credulity than Reason, were Grievously Concern'd about their Friends and Relations, who went out of the World with only a *Presbyterian Baptism*.

That we may understand Mr. *Agate's* Meaning more fully on this Head, it may not be amiss to consider how he has express'd his Mind on other Occasions. On *Christmas-Day* last he preach'd at St. *David's* (as I have the Account from Mr. *Powel*, who wrote his Sermon in Short-hand, as well as others who very well remember it) His Text led him to Treat of the Incarnation of our Saviour; and as St. *John* inferr'd, That because God so loved us, we therefore ought to love one another; so this Author must needs show, his great Dexterity and Skill, in drawing an Inference quite contrary to that of the Apostle's; to this Effect, That because the Church of *England* is a part of that Church which Christ Redeem'd, that therefore they must not only Adhere Firmly

ly to it, but shew no Countenance to its Enemies, &c. At last he comes to Answer an Objection. Perhaps you'll say, those People should be Treated with greater Gentleness, and Tenderness: That many of them lead inoffensive Lives, &c. To this our Learned Casuist Replies in these words, 'Tis possible that Turks, Jews and Pagans, may be possess'd of some good Qualities; but they be Turks, Jews, and Pagans Still. So these Dissenters, tho' they may be Temperate, Chast, Sober, &c. Yet they be Presbyterians still; they be Schismatics still.

And if this be not a sufficient Indication of his Goodwill, he told Mr. Jos. Saunders and others, in so many express Terms, that they were Out of the Covenant, and that there was not One Promise in the Bible belonging to 'em. Adding to some then present, That he pray'd for them as for Infidels and Pagans.

From all these passages tis very evident, that I did this Gentleman no Wrong, when I Charg'd him with Denying both the Baptism and Christianity of those call'd Presbyterians.

But the Truth on't is, Upon consulting Wiser Heads, there appear so many Ill Consequences attending this Desperate Doctrine, that he durst not stand up in Vindication of it. This rash precarious Notion he has advanc'd; 'tis such a Deform'd and Ugly Monster, it's own Father is Asham'd to own it; Tho' when all is done the Brat must be laid at his Door.

I am Confident, upon the whole, that it is very Evident, Mr. Agate did Endeavour to make the World believe, that the Presbyterians are no Christians. Whether he spake his own Thoughts, or attempted to Inspire the Minds of Men with Rage and Bitterness against their Brethren, I cannot say: Twas upon this Account I Publish'd a

few QUERIES, to let Men see the Consequences of such a Doctrine. 'Tis but retract these Hard Assertions, and a School-boy may Answer every one of 'em. And had not this Author receded from his own Scandalous *Positions*, as Weak and Silly as he pretends my Questions are, they are such a BONE, as He, and All the *High Flying Tribe* in England, might sooner have broke their Teeth about, than have made the least Impression on it.

However, tho' our Author durst not Publickly Declare in Print, such a *Baptism* to be Invalid, he Insinuates, as if 'twere of no more Value, than that of a *Lay-Man* or a *Midwife*; and that our Church don't think fit to Reiterate Baptism when Administer'd by such. Endeavouring thereby to fill Mens minds with Unreasonable Prejudices against such a *Baptism*,

This Author seems extreamly loth to yield such a *Baptism* to be Valid, any more than that of a *Lay-Man* or *Midwife*: But ONCE, for the sake of the Princess *Sophia*, he Confesses such a *Baptism* sufficient to make a Christian; and that is ALL We Desire. However, I shall crave the Reader's Patience, to make a few Remarks on what this Gentleman offers about this Matter.

First, If that Maxim, *Quod fieri non debet, factum valet*, be as Universally true as he seems to imply, Why will it not hold good in respect of Ordination as well as Baptism? When the former is given by *Presbyters*, why may not the Action be Valid, as to its Substance, tho' *Uncanonical*, as to its Performance? Or, Why should this Rule hold good in one CASE, and not in the Other? I defy him to give one Reason, why Ordination by *Presbyters* should not be as Effectual as Baptism by *Midwives*.

Secondly,

Secondly, When he says, *Our Church thinks not fit to Reiterate Baptism given by a Midwife*, I desire to know, what Church it is that he is speaking of? The Church of *England* has no where thus Declar'd it self; on the Contrary, its 27th Article runs in these Words, *They that receive Baptism Rightly, are Grafted into the Church.* A plain Intimation, that where *Baptism* is not *Rightly Receiv'd*, 'tis not an Instrument of *Grafting* Persons into the *Church of Christ*. And whatever this Church did formerly, 'tis very evident, that for these Hundred Years, it has been Wiser than to allow of such a Custom.

If we consult the *Primitive Church*, we are assured by Dr. *Cave* *, (who understands the Sense of Antiquity better than this *Romance Reader*) ' That tho' the Power of *Baptism* was in case of ' Necessity allow'd unto *Lay-Men*, yet it was ' ever deny'd unto *Women*; whom the Apostle ' has so expressly Forbidden to Exercise any *Ministry* in the Church of God; and accordingly ' Censur'd in the Apostolical Constitutions, to ' be not only Dangerous, but Unlawful and Impious; and that those *Hereticks* who allow'd of ' this Preposterous Course, were Universally ' Condemn'd.

But if by *Our Church*, Mr. *Agate* means the Church of *Rome*, I confess, that *Midwives* are by it not only *Allow'd*, but *Commanded*, to *Baptize* Infants, in case of great Danger. But I could never yet see one Argument which could Tempt me to believe, that they are *more Christians* after, than they were before.

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Thirdly,

* In his *Primitive Christianity*, Part 1. p. 308.

Thirdly, I would ask this Gentleman, whether (by advancing this Notion) he has not done Dis-service to his own *Character* and *Function*? For if a *Tinker*, *Cobler*, or *Old Woman*, may Administer a Valid *Baptism*, and the Church of Eng-
 Art. 27 land determining, That in Every true Baptism the Promises of Forgiveness of Sin, and of Adoption, are Visibly Sign'd and Seal'd; will not a covetous Mind be tempted to Infer, that if all these Glorious Advantages may be so easily obtain'd, the Ministerial Office must be less Necessary, and Useful? Mr. Agate seems by this to put an Argument into a Prophan Mouth against his own Order.

Fourthly, The Church of England (in the Article just now Mentioned) asserts, that *Baptism* Seal both Pardon of Sin, and Adoption. Now, if those Glorious Privileges are, in this Ordinance, conveyed to us, this must be done by Vertue of, and in Compliance with, some Promise, which CHRIST has made us in his Gospel. But those whom CHRIST hath promis'd to be with, in the Administration of *Baptism*, are such, as are Commission'd by him to Preach the Gospel, and teach all Nations, as well as to Baptize. This evidently appears to him that Consults Mat. 28. 19. If therefore, CHRIST hath no where commanded *Lay-men*, or *Women*, to Baptize, nor promised to Concur with them in such an Act, what Reason have we to expect those Blessed Advantages, which a due Performance of it will convey unto us? Should I steal the QUEEN's Great Seal from the Lord-Keeper, and affix it to any Grant or Patent; this would not give me a Lawful Title to any Privilege or Honour so surreptitiously procured. However, what I
 have

have offer'd (I'm sure) argues more the Nullity of *Laymens* and *Midwives Baptism*, than any thing Mr. *Agate* has yet said proves the validity of it.

Tho' I am not oblig'd to take any notice of those Remarks which He has made upon my *Queries*, when He Himself durst not Justify those hard uncharitable Principles which gave Occasion to 'em. However, that he may not think himself neglected, I shall consider what he has offer'd on those Heads.

My first *Query* was to this effect, If *Presbyterian Baptism* be null (and the *Late King* having no other) I demanded, what manner of Church, the Church of England was, if, for 13 Years together, its very Head were no Christian.

To take no notice of these sly Reflections he cast on the Memory of the late King; what he replies is to this Effect. That by the Head of the Church, we are to understand such a Civil Headship as may be attributed to an *Heathen*, as well as a *Christian Prince*: Provided He be invested with a Lawful Authority. But that the Supremacy Lodg'd in the *English Crown*, implies something more than what is here intended, may, I presume, be easily evinc'd by the *Law of the Land*, the *Canons of the Church*, and the *Oath* which the *Clergy* took at their *Ordination*. Pag. 53.

If we Consult the Laws of the Land, it says in exprefs Terms, That all Authority of Jurisdiction, Spiritual and Temporal, is deriv'd and deducted from the Kings (or Queens) Majestys as Supreme Head of these Churches. But perhaps it will be said, that this was Enacted by a Company of *Laymen*, when the *Clergy* had been lately aw'd into a tame Submission, by the Terrors of a *Premunire*. We will therefore see in the next place, 1 E. 6. c. 1

place, what was the sense of the Clergy in *Convocation*: They by the 55th Canon require all Ministers to Pray for the King, (or Queen) as *Supream Governour in these Realms, over all Persons, and in all Causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Temporal.* Now Mr. Agate does either Pray for the Queen in these words, or not; if not, then how do's He perform his Oath of *Canonncal Obedience*? But if he Prays for Her in these Terms, He then owns Her the *supream Governour in all Ecclesiastical Causes*: And I presume he would be loth to complement her with such a Title, were she a Pagan, as she is a *Christian Princess*. Let us next see the Oath that all the Clergy take at their Ordination, or at least did take, before the late Revolution *I A. B. do testify that the King's or (Queens) Highness is Supream Governour in all Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Things, or Causes.* I would ask of my Antagonist, whether the Primitive Christians ever took such an Oath to Nero or Dioclesian? Or whether he would thus Swear to the Turk or Great Mogul, if he liv'd in their Territories?

Pag. 53 Mr. Agate says the Headship of the Prince is altogether *Extraessential, and Accidental to the Church*. But Her Majesty seems of another Mind, and in her Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, dated April the 8th, 1707. She Asserts her Royal Supremacy, to be a FUNDAMENTAL part of the *Constitution of the Church of England*: And am Confident most Readers will believe the Queen and her Council as soon as this Gentleman. 'Tis true, there have been, and still are, Christian Churches under *Infidel, and Pagan Princes*. But then these are not *National Churches, or Churches by Law Etablised*, as the Church of England is; here the *supream Legislator* seems to be more than an *Accidental Part*.

My

My Second *Quary* was, Whether the *Princess Sophia* were not like to have hopeful *Subjects* in those, who (as complaint was made in the House of Peers,) look on her only as an *Unbaptized Lutheran*.

Here Mr. *Agate* is contented to allow a *Presbyterian* Baptism sufficient to make a *Christian*, for which this *Illustrious Princess* is doubtless much oblig'd to him. And if he will needs know the reason, why I conclude the two *Princes* last mention'd, to be Baptiz'd by *Presbyterian Ministers*, tis because there was no such thing, as a *Protestant Bishop*, in the Country in which they were Born. Pag. 55

My third *Quary* was, How King *Charles I.* who was Baptiz'd in *Scotland* among the *Presbyterians*, could be a *Martyr*, if no *Christian*? To this Mr. *Agate* replies, That *Episcopacy* had been abolish'd but eight Years in *Scotland* when he was Born, and that 'twas not Probable his Father would take a *Presbyterian Novice* into his *Domestick Service*. But Pray Sir, why not such for his *Chaplains*, as well as for *Bishops*? for 'twas but Six Years afterwards, before *Episcopacy* was restor'd to the *Scottish Church*. And the New *Bishops* which King *James* made, had only a *Presbyterian Ordination*; Which yet was thought sufficient by our then *English Prelates* (a), at whose hands they receiv'd *Episcopal Consecration*, there being None in *Scotland* to perform that Office for 'em. Pag. 56

But

(a) *Spotswood's Hist. of Scotland*, L. 7. p. 514.

But to take a more exact Account of this matter (For we are loth to loose our Interest in the Royal Martyr): He was Born in the Year 1600. And tho' (by reason of the Tumults and Confusions during the Minority of his Father) the *Presbyterian* Government was not fully Establish'd till 1592; Yet the Truth on't is, this is the Government which had prevail'd for many Years before. The few *Bishops* they had, had only the Name, the real Power and Authority was exercis'd by their *General Assemblies*. In 1578, the *General Assembly* (b) Enacts amongst other things, that *Bishops shall not Empire over Presbyteries, but be subject to the same*. In 1580, an Assembly at *Dundy* condemn'd the Office of a *Bishop*: And in 1586, the *Bishop* of *St. Andrew's* is forc'd to renounce all *Supremacy* over other *Pastors*. At last, in 1592, the *Presbyterian Government* was fully settled. In 1606, *Bishops* were restored, but None found in *Scotland* to give them *Episcopal Consecration*; for which Reason they came to *London*, to receive it there. Upon the Whole, if it be true as this Gentleman pretends, that *Episcopacy* was abolish'd but eight Years before the Birth of King *Charles*, and if the Sees were fill'd till that time, twill follow, that within the Compass of Fourteen Years the whole Bench of *Scottish Bishops* Dy'd; which, tho' possible, is very unlikely: Twill also follow, that King *James* made *Bishops*, and *Archbishops* of those who had not been Fourteen Years in Holy Orders; which is much more Improbable.

In

(b) *Ibid.* L. 6. p. 303.

(c) *Ibid.* p. 346.

In my fourth *Query*, I demanded, *Why Persons Baptiz'd by Presbyterians are admitted to the Sacrament in the Church of England?* Mr. *Agate* Replies to this, that such a *Baptism* is as Valid as that of *Laymen*, and such are believ'd to be *Christians*. But if he believes us to be such, why did he set us upon the same foot with *Turks and Pagans*. As for the *Baptism* of *Midwives*, that has been already Consider'd. Pag. 57.

My Fifth *Query* was, *Why Persons Baptiz'd by the Presbyterians, are bury'd in sure and certain Hope of their Resurrection to Eternal Life, &c.* And here our Author opens and makes an *Outcry*, as if I had Counterfeited the Privy Seal, or alter'd one of the Commandments: I have printed *Their* for *The*, and for this I am *Incorrigible, Obstinate and Insincere*; and I know not what besides.

And to prove me so, Mr. *Agate* saith, That pag. 58 when a Minister Buries any Person, he does not declare his *Sense in relation to that particular Persons rising again to a State of Bliss and Glory*; and that I, to my Shame, have perverted the *Sense of the Common-prayer*. But if I make it appear that the *Sense* is the same, I hope the World will not have much the worse Thoughts of me; the Words in the *Common-prayer* are these, *Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God of his great Mercy, to take unto himself the Soul of our dear Brother here departed, we therefore commit his Body to the Ground, Earth to Earth, Ashes to Ashes, Dust to Dust, in sure and certain Hope of the Resurrection to Eternal Life, &c.*

Now here 'tis Evident, That that Soul which God is said of his GREAT MERCY to take unto himself, belongs to that very Individual Body which is Interr'd in *Sure and certain Hope, &c.* And

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therefore I would fain know, with what Sense, and with what Propriety of Speech, a Damn'd and Miserable Soul can be said to be taken by God unto himself in **GREAT MERCY**? And if the Soul be happy, so will the Body too. 'Tis indeed an Act of **GREAT MERCY** in God to take a Soul to the Joys of Heaven and Fruition of himself; but to take a Soul and adjudge it to Everlasting Torments, this is an Act of *Great Wrath* and *Strict Justice*: But now to call it an Act of **GREAT MERCY**, is certainly one of the oddest Figures that was ever heard of. Upon the whole I therefore thus argue:

That Body which belongs to a Soul that God takes to himself in **GREAT MERCY**, must be suppos'd to Rise again in a State of *Bliss* and *Glory*.

But every Body that is bury'd by the *Common-prayer*, belongs to a Soul whom God is said to take to himself in **GREAT MERCY**:

Therefore every Body that is thus interr'd, must be suppos'd to Rise again to a State of *Bliss* and *Glory*.

In another place the Minister thus delivers himself; *We give thee hearty Thanks for that it hath pleased thee to deliver this our Brother out of the Miseries of this sinful World.*

Now the giving of Thanks necessarily supposes some Favour granted, or some Mercy bestow'd: We have Infinite Reason to Thank God for *Translating* our Friends from Earth to Heaven; but to give God *Thanks*, yea, *Hearty Thanks*, for taking them out of this miserable World, and fixing them in a Condition Ten Thousand times
more

more Miserable, this is what hath an harsher sound than that *Sour Doctrine of Absolute Repro-* Pag. 72
vation, which he declares such an Abhorrence of.

And when to all this we add this Expression in the *Collect*, we pray, That we may *Rest in Christ*, as our Hope is that this our Brother doth, I presume the Reader will be pretty well satisfied, that I have not perverted the Sense of the *Common-prayer*; and that the Clamours that are raised against me on this Head are Groundless and Unreasonable: Tho' after all that has been said, I had no Design at all in changing *The* into *Their*; the Strength of my Objection lying in Reading the Office for Burial to such, as (according to Mr. *Agate's Rash Positions*) were *Unbaptiz'd* and no *Christians*: Nor did I ever hear that Mr. *Agate* Objected this to any of my Friends, before the appearing of this *Pamphlet* in the World.

My Sixth Query was, Whether any *Peevish Jesuite* or *Romish* Emissary can more Effectually promote the Interest of the *Pope* and his *Conclave*, than this Gentleman hath Essay'd to do, by Unchurching and Unchristening Two Parts in Three of all the *Protestants* in *Europe*?

In Answer to this, Mr. *Agate* takes Occasion to let the World know he is no *Irish-man*; which some are apt more easily to believe, because no Venomous Creatures are (as 'tis said) produc'd in that Soil. Whether he Unchurches the *Protestants* beyond Sea, may be conjectured by what hath been already said, and shall be further offer'd.

But here he stops our Mouths, by telling us, we are the Spawn of the *Jesuites*, and that *Priests* Pag
and *Jesuites* preach in *Conventicles*. If he knows Ibid

any such, he should discover 'em, if he loves his QUEEN or Country; and if he does not, he ought to Blush and be Asham'd, for Amusing the World and Abusing his Neighbours, by such a Scandalous Insinuation.

Can. 11 As for Preaching in *Conventicles*, 'tis what we Disavow: *Conventicles* are by the Church of England, Defin'd to be other Assemblies and Congregations of the QUEEN's Born Subjects, than such as by the Laws of this Land are Held and Allow'd. Now our Meetings are Allow'd by the Law, and therefore no *Conventicles*.

Pag. 38 I confess I have read a Book, which Mr. Agate seems to refer to, call'd, *Foxes and Firebrands*, (another such Laudible History as that of St. George and the Seven Champions) and deserves just so much Credit. To give an Instance of this Renowned Author, he tells one *Devonshire* Story, concerning one *Nowland* a *Dominican Friar*, who after several Rambles beyond the Seas, came at last to Mr. Hughes's House at *Plymouth* (who is said to be a great *Independent Minister* *) & there to serve him first as an Under-Gard'ner, next as a chief Gard'ner, and lastly advanc'd to be his Butler; and there by his Canting and Praying, put a Trick on this Old Gentleman and all his Elders. *Credat Judeus Apella!* Now every-body that heard of Mr. Hughes must know, that he was far from being an *Independent*; and whoever knows *Plymouth*, can't believe that he should have a Garden there capable of Employing two Men; two Gard'ners, a Butler, and other Servants; 'tis an Equipage fitter for an *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, than a *Vicar* of *St. Andrews*. Now, when an Author blunders so wretchedly about a thing

* *Foxes and Firebrands*, Part 2. p. 104.

thing done in his own Days, what Credit does he deserve, when he tells a Story of *Faithful Cummin*, pretended to be Transacted an Hundred Years before? Which that accurate *Historian, Camden*, takes no Notice of; and which has such palpable Marks of *Forgery* upon it, as have been manifested by *Dr. Collins* and Others. But to say no more of *Faithful Cummin*, nor yet of *Bishop Goodman*, I shall crave Leave to relate one Passage concerning our *Author's* Dear Self, as I have by me the *Account* from a Gentleman of Unspotted Reputation in the Country.

He was *Preaching* some time since at *Colaton*, where he told his Congregation, That there had been a great deal of CONTROVERSY in the CHURCH, about the Presence of CHRIST in the *Sacrament*. He Insinuated, That if he should hit the Right on't, they must not Impute it to any Learning of his above other Men. But a Man might have a *Lucky Hit* in an Instant, which much Study or Learning might not produce. After a *Preamble* to this Effect, to raise the Peoples Expectations, they were at last blest'd with this New Discovery: *Christ has a Natural Body, and a Spiritual Body: His Natural Body is in Heaven, and his Spiritual Body is in the Sacrament.*

From which I may fairly *Argue*; That if Christ's Spiritual Body be in the Sacrament, his Spirit, or Human Soul, may be there too; and if the whole *Human Nature* be there, the *Divine* cannot be absent from it. This is an Expedient which will justify the *Papists* in that divine Adoration which they give the Consecrated *Host*: But it looks with an Untoward Aspect on the Church of *England*, which accuses them of *Idolatry* upon that account. Were the *Dissenters* satisfy'd of
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the Truth of this Doctrine, I am confident there are none would be *Averse* to *Kneeling* at the Sacrament; but all would think themselves Oblig'd to cry out with *St. Thomas*, *My Lord!* And, *My God!* I will not positively Assert from hence, that *Mr. Agate* is a *Jesuite*; but so much I may be bold to say, That two or three such LUCKY HITS more, might make a Man as Tight a *Catholick* as most in *Italy* or *Spain*.

Pag. 59 But our *Author* says, That I and my *Fellow-Schismatics* are the very *Spawn* of the *Jesuites*: But if *Resemblance* bespeaks *Relation*, there are some of our *High Tantivy Gallants*, who look as if spit out of their very Mouths. And whoever reads the History of the *Edict of Nantz* will find, that this Gentleman Inherits the very Spirit and Temper of those *Zealous Missionaries* in *France*, who made use of *Arguments* as hard as *Steel*; and found their *Swords* and *Bayonets* effectual Instruments to confute *Hereticks*, and stop the Mouths of all *Gainsayers*. They were for *Quarrelling*, *Challenging*, *Disputing*, &c. So is He. Were they for *Preaching* the People into *Rage* and *Madness*? So is He too: And had he but a *Regiment* of *Dragoons* to Back his *Pious Exhortations*, he might do as great *Feats* as any of 'em all, and promote as *Numerous Conversions*, *à la mode de France*.

As for the creeping of this sort of *Vermin* into *Conventicles*, and *Preaching* among the *Presbyterians*, he is defy'd to give One Instance of it. Tho' if he could, I can't see any Advantage his Cause would gain thereby. *Satan* may Transform himself into an *Angel of Light*; and these cunning *Shavers* may put a *Trick* upon *Honest Men*. Witness the *Irish Priest*, one *Courtney*, who came to this City, as I have been credibly inform'd, about *Twenty or Thirty Years* since,
from

from St. Omer's, pretending to be a *Convert*, and was admitted to Preach in several publick Churches, 'till his *Rogueries* were discovered; when he march'd off to the place from whence he came.

My Seventh *Query* was to this Effect; Whether he has not taken a direct Course to destroy Love, by perswading People to look on their Neighbours as *Jews* and *Pagans*?

To this our *Author* answers, *That People learn* Pag. 60
no such thing of him. I hope they will never practice his *Barbarous Doctrine*, but that it has been inculcated on them by their *Ghostly Father*, I have already prov'd.

My Last *Query* was, Whether Mr. *Agate* be not a *Schismatick* himself, in that, like the *Donatists*, he Confines the Catholick Church to a small part of it? And if he continues to Nullify *Presbyterian Baptism* or *Ordination*, he was Challeng'd to Name any of the Foreign Churches with whom he can Joyn in Communion.

The Sum of what this Gentleman replies is to this Effect; *That the Donatists were not Condemned because they confin'd the Catholick Church to a very small part of it, but because they set up separate Meetings, as the Dissenters do.* He asserts further, *That the Protestants beyond the Seas would* Pag. 61
have Episcopal Ordination if they could, and think themselves Unhappy because they han't it. In Opposition to these Pretences I shall prove;

First, That the *Schism* of the *Donatists* lay in their confining the Catholick Church to a small part of it.

Secondly,

Secondly, That Mr. *Agate* is, upon those Principles he has espous'd, a *Separatist* from all the Churches in the World, except the Episcopal Churches in *England* and *Ireland*; and that in this he Resembles the *Schismatical Donatists*.

Thirdly, That the *Protestant* Churches beyond the Seas are so far from *Desiring*, that they *Despise* the Pretended Necessity of Episcopal Ordination; and have no other than what is *Presbyterian*.

1st, The *Schism* of the *Donatists* consisted in their confining the Catholick Church to a small part of it; the Original of which, was a Squabble about a *Fat Bishoprick*. There being a Vacancy in the See of *Carthage*, *Cecilian* was by the Suffrages of the People chosen, and consecrated by *Felix* of *Aptungis*, a Neighbouring Bishop. This is what some few Persons were disgusted at; and amongst others, one *Lucilla*, an intriguing cunning Woman and very rich, who had been reprov'd by this good Man for some Ill Things she had been guilty of. They affirm'd *Cecilian* to be unfit for such a Dignity; pretending, that he and his Ordainer were both *Traditors*, (i. e. Such as in times of Persecution secur'd their own Lives and Liberties, by delivering the Sacred Volumes to be burnt.) These *Malecontents* moreover solicited and brib'd the Bishops of *Numidia*, a Neighbouring Province, who to the number of Seventy, with their *Primate* or *Metropolitan*, came to *Carthage*, and Summoned *Cecilian* to answer what should be Objected to him. But he, disowning their Authority, and distrusting their Justice, refus'd to appear; upon which, this Sham Council proceeded to depose

pose him, and ordain'd one *Majorinus* in his room: But still the greater part of the People of *Carthage* adhered to their own Choice, as did many of the Neighbouring Clergy in *Africa*. However, the Noise and Clamour about this matter grew at last so very loud, that it reach'd the Ears of the Emperor, who appointed first a Synod of Bishops at *Rome*, then another at *Arles* in *France*, to examine this matter, and try, whether *Cacilian* were guilty of those Crimes that were objected to him, or such as might Invalidate his Ordination. By both these he was honourably acquitted, and his Title Recogniz'd by the Imperial Court, and all the famous Churches of *Asia* and *Europe*. This is that enrag'd the Faction of *Majorinus* to such a strange degree, that they renounc'd Communion with all those Foreign Churches, and confin'd the Catholick Church to their own Party, and such as did approve of their wild Actions*.

Now from this short Relation 'tis very plain, that the Foundation of this *Schism* was laid by a Council of Bishops; and I would fain learn of my *Antagonist*, what *Separate Meetings* those *Prelates* set up in their respective Cities? They were possess'd of the publick Churches; they had the *Ecclesiastical Authority* for 'em; *Secundus* of *Tigisis*, their *Metropolitan* to lead 'em on; and the Major part of the People in many places sticking to them. They had of their Faction at one Council, held by them at *Bagai* †, no less than Three Hundred and Ten Bishops. 'Tis
I true,

* Eo temeritatis processerunt, ut dicerent Ecclesiam Catholicam in sola parte sua permanisse, & in aliis Orbis partibus quasi contagione Communionis Extinctam. Du Pin. Hist. Donat. p. 11.

† Ibid. p. 16.

true, at *Carthage* they set up Opposite Bishops and Churches; but 'tis as true, that in many other Cities, especially in the Province of *Nu-midia*, the *Donatists* were the more Numerous part, had the Bishops on their side, and drove away the *Catholicks* from amongst 'em; who must then gather themselves into *Separate Assemblies*. For 'tis the Minor part, that may most properly be said to make a *Separation* from the *Major*.

By this it appears, that the very Malignity and Venom of *Donatism* consisted in their uncharitable Censuring and Condemning their Fellow-Christians; Nullifying their * *Ordination* and *Baptism*; setting them (as Mr. *Agate* does the *Presbyterians*) upon the same foot with *Infidels* and † *Pagans*; And appropriating the Name of the *Catholick Church* ‡ to their own Party. And whosoever will please to consult St. *Austin*, or *Optatus*, will find, that the Arguments they chiefly make use of in their Disputes with this perverse Generation, are aim'd, and level'd against this very Notion; and that in the management of this *Controversy* they produce those *Texts*, which foretel the large Extent of *Christs Kingdom*; As that He should have the *Heathen* for his *Inheritance*, and the utmost parts of the *Earth* for his *Possession*; with others of a like Nature. Which Scriptures were urg'd by these great Men, as proving against these wild, and hair-brain'd *Sectaries*, that the *Catholick Church* could not be confin'd, as they pretended, to a Corner of *Africa*:

* Sacerdotium quod in nobis annullare visus es; post nos Re-baptizatis. *Optat. de Schif. Donat. L. 2. Sect. 9.*

† Cai Sei, Caia Seia adhuc Paganus es, aut Pagana. *Ibid. L. 3. Sect. 11.*

‡ Eam (sc. Ecclesiam) tu Parminiane apud vos solos esse dixisti. *Ibid. L. 2. Sect. 1.*

frica: So that Mr. *Agate* blunders, and talks like one that understands but little of the matter, when he asserts that the *Donatists* were not condemn'd by the *Fathers*, because they confin'd the Catholick Church to a small part of it. As to their setting up *Separate Meetings* in the same City, 'tis a Mistake as to Multitudes of them: The first Authors of this Dissention, were (as I have observ'd) no less than 70 *Bishops*, with an *Archbishop*, follow'd by the greater Part of their *Flocks*. I hope our Author will not pretend that these *Prelates* did separate from themselves, or that they did gather Churches, out of Churches that were their own before.

Pag. 62

2dly, Having shewn what the *Donatists* were, my next Business is to prove, That Mr. *Agate* (like them) is a *Separatist* from all the Churches in the World, except those of the Episcopal Party in *England* and *Ireland*; and that (according to his own narrow Principles) there is no Church besides these, that he can joyn in Communion with. This I shall endeavour to do by an Enumeration of Particulars.

And I begin with the *Greek Church*. That that part of Christ's Vineyard, which at first was planted by St. *Paul* and watered by *Apollos*, has had its Fence broken down, and the Wild Beasts of the Forrest turn'd in upon it, is too sad and certain a Truth to be deny'd. Those Churches which were once the Glory of the whole World, have for many Ages lain Bury'd in their own Dust, and Entomb'd in their own Ruines: But notwithstanding all the Ravage and Devastation that has been made amongst them, there are still in the *Eastern Parts* of the World, vast Multitudes of profess'd *Christians*, who Glory

in the Name of a Crucify'd Jesus, notwithstanding all that Contempt and Scorn which this Exposeth them unto. But then, as the Oppression which they Groan under is very Grievous, so the Ignorance, Folly and Superstition, which they are plung'd in, is sad and dreadful, to be lamented (if it were possible) with Tears of Blood. I shall not insist upon all the Fooleries, by which the Worship of the *Greek Church* hath been Deprav'd; such as their Invocating Saints and Angels; their Venerating Pictures, and the like; but shall take Notice of one thing, which must render their Communion Intolerable to any *True Protestant*; and that is the Divine Adoration they give to the Consecrated Elements; which the *Common-Prayer-Book* (in its Declaration concerning Kneeling) has declar'd an *Idolatry to be Abhorr'd of all Faithful Christians*. Sir Paul Rycant*, who was for many Years our Consul at *Smyrna*, acquaints us, ' That after Consecration, the
 ' *Greek Priest* addresseth himself in these Words
 ' to the Elements; *Thou art my God, Thou art*
 ' *my King, I Adore thee Piously*: And so covering again the Chalice, which contains both
 ' Species, he Elevates it, and the People Worship. Nay, he tells us †, That even before
 ' Consecration, the Bread and Wine are carry'd
 ' in Procession through the Church, and the
 ' People Worship, Bow, and make the Sign of
 ' the Cross; and that the Priest hath no other
 ' Apology to make for this Absur'd piece of Devotion, but that the Elements are in an immediate Capacity and Disposition to be converted into the true Body and Blood of Christ.
 Here's

* *Present State of the Greek Church*, p. 198.

† *Ibid.* p. 196.

Here's Homage paid to the Sacrament, when Christ hath not so much as a *Spiritual Body* present; and therefore I take it for granted, that our Author cannot hold Communion with the *Greek Church*.

I may add, nor yet with the *Armenian*, because of their Affinity with the other in most of their *Religious Rites* and *Ceremonies*. Besides, both one and the other are condemn'd by Mr. *Agate* every time he reads the *Athanasian Creed*, upon the account of their denying the Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father.

As for the *Nestorians*, *Maronites*, and other Eastern Sects, they are more separated from the *Greek Church*, than the *Presbyterians* from the Church of *England*; and therefore cannot but be, to this Zealous Author, the First-born of all Abominations.

Will he go into *Africk*, and seek for Churches there that he can hold Communion with? We find one considerable National Church there, which is that of the *Habassines*: Concerning them we are Inform'd *, *That they make their Religious Applications to Saints and Angels, and have a peculiar Veneration for the Virgin Mary*. And this is a sort of Devotion, which I presume our Author is not very fond of, or at least durst not own himself to be so.

But let us cross the Seas and come over into Europe, and here we find the Grand Division of Christians to be (besides those of the *Greek Communion*) into that of *Protestants* and *Papists*. As for the latter, they pretend indeed to be the *Catholick Church*, the *Pope* to be the Center of Uni-

* *Ludolph. Hist. Ethiop. L. 3. c. 5.*

Unity, the Successor of *St. Peter*, and the Vicar of Christ himself. What kind Inclinations this *Author* may have towards this Body of People, I will not pretend to determine: But 'tis well enough known, that his great Friend, and admired Author, the *Wolf-stripper*, would fain accommodate the matter between the *English* Convocation and *French* Clergy.

But to dismiss those Infallible Gentlemen: Are there any amongst the *Reformed Churches* that Mr. *Agate* can hold Communion with? None, besides those of the *Episcopal Persuasion* in *England* and *Ireland*; unless he will eat his own Words, and renounce his own Principles. He has declar'd *Presbyterian Ordination* (unless in
Pag. 60 case of Necessity) to be *Undoubtedly Null and Invalid*; tho' what these Arguments are which put the Matter out of doubt, he has not yet been so good Humour'd as to let us know.

If this Conceit of his be true, the *Protestant Ministers* beyond the Seas are all Degraded at a clap; and as the Notion has been carry'd by Men of the *High Taintivy-Stamp*, such Churches are said to have no *Lawful Pastors*, no *Sacraments*, no *Gospel-Promises*; but left to the *Uncovenanted Mercies of God*, as the *Heathens* are.

As for the *Protestants*, they are Divided into *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*. 'Tis very well known, that the former have no Superiour Officers to those of *Presbyters*; and I hope the Reader will not expect, that I should multiply Quotations to prove that which no body questions or denies. The *Lutherans*, 'tis true, have *Bishops* and *Superintendants*; but these had in the Beginning of the *Reformation*, no other than a *Presbyterian Ordination*, and therefore could Communicate no other to their *Successors* ever since: For, according to the Maxim made use of by our *Adversaries*,

ries : *Nemo dat quod non Habet.*

But, that I may not do as my *Antagonist* has done, Assert without any Proof, I shall evince, That the *Lutheran Divines* think a *Presbyterian Ordination* sufficient; and that they proceeded upon this Principle, in the Reformation of Religion, both in *Germany, Denmark, and Sweden.* If we begin with *Martin Luther*, he was so far from supposing *Ordination* to be the peculiar Province of a *Bishop*, that he himself (tho' a meer *Presbyter*) Laid Hands on *Nicholas Amstdorf (a)*, and consecrated him Bishop of *Naumbourg* in *Saxony.* For which he is Banter'd and Insulted by the *French Historian (b)*, as setting up himself a *Pope* in *Germany*, whilst he pretended to pull down him at *Rome.* Besides this, we find mention of *Rorarius (c)*, and others, Ordained by *Luther*, about the Year 1525; and two more at *Isleb*, a little before his Death. Little did he dream of a Generation of *Protestants*, that were to arise in the World, who would look upon the Administrations of an *Idolatrous Mass-Priest* more Valid and Authentick, than those of a *Reformed Pastor.*

Next to *Luther*, the most Eminent Reformer was *Phil. Melancthon*; a Person Renowned, thro' all *Europe*, for his extraordinary Learning, and no less Famous for the Excellency of his Temper, and the Moderation of his Principles. He was so far from judging a *Bishop's* Hand necessary to the conferring a *Valid Ordination*, that he was himself principally concern'd in the Consecration

on

(a) Sleidans Hist. of the Reform. l. 14.

(b) Faisoit le Pape a Wittemberg. Maimbourg Histoire du Lutheran. Liv. 3.

(c) Melchior Adamus in Vit. Luther.

on of Prince *George* of *Anhalt*, to the Superintendency of the Church of *Mersburg*: And in his Letters-Testimonial, drawn up by *Melancton*, 'tis said of that Excellent Prince, That he was piously and rightly (a) called to that Ministerial Function.

Thus *Tossanus* (b) was Ordained by *Bucer*, and some others.

Lyserus (c) was constituted Superintendent of the Churches round about *Wittemberg*, and the Ceremony performed by *Jacobus Andreas*.

Whoever, upon the whole, will please to read the Lives of the *German* Divines, will find they had only a *Presbyterian* Ordination. Which, according to our Charitable Author, must be undoubtedly Null, and Invalid. This forc'd from the Learned *Dr. Maurice* (d) an Acknowledgment, That the first *Lutheran* Bishops were Ordained but by *Presbyters*; a Wish, That those of the *Ausburg* Confession had took more care to preserve the Ancient Form of Church Government: And a Complaint, That their Principles about Ordination were too Loose; i. e. They were not of the Doctor's Mind, about the Necessity of *Episcopal* Ordination.

But, leaving *Germany*, let us go next to *Denmark*, and we shall find that the *Protestant Religion* was introduced there by *Frederick* the First. The Instrument GOD was pleased to make use of for the accomplishing this great Work, was *John Bugenhagius* (commonly called *Pomeranus*, from the Country in which he was born): This was

(a) Rite ac pie vocatus. Adamus in Vit. Georgii Anhalt.

(b) Ib. In Vit. Tossani.

(c) Ib. In Vit. Lys.

(d) Vindication of Prim. Church, p. 373.

was the Man who, tho' a meer *Presbyter* himself, Ordain'd Seven *Bishops* at one time (a), the *King of Denmark*, and all his *Court*, being present. And *Maimbourg* says of this Prince (b), That he ABOLISHED *Episcopacy* Entirely out of his Dominions. And so indeed he did, considering *Episcopacy* as an Office derived by an *Uninterrupted Succession* from the *Apostles*, and invested with the sole Power of *Ordination*. For the First *Protestant Bishops* in *Denmark* had but a *Presbyterian Ordination*; and their Successors, ever since, could have no other communicated to 'em. Had our *Religious QUEEN* been of Mr. *Agate's* Mind, She would scarce have accepted a ROYAL CONSORT from amongst that People, who (had his rash and scandalous Positions been true) are without the Pale of the *Visible Church*; having no *Lawful Ministers*, no *Valid Baptism*, nor any Interest in the *Covenant of Promise*.

Before I leave this Country, I shall crave Liberty to observe these following things of this *Bugenhagius*. He was the great *Apostle* of the North, principally concern'd in Modelling and Reforming several Hundreds of Churches in *Denmark* (c), *Pomerania*, and the adjacent *Provinces*; and refused Three *Rich Bishopricks* when offer'd to him.

There is one *Protestant Kingdom* more, of which nothing has been yet said, and that is *Sweden*. The *Reformed Religion* was Introduced there in the Reign of *Gustavus Ericson*, by the Zeal and Industry of *Olaus Petri*, and his Brother *Lawrence*, who both Studied at *Wittemberg*, where

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they

(a) Adamus in Vit. Bugenha.

(b) Il abolit entierement l'episcopat. Hist. de Luther. Liv. 1.

(c) Micæl. Synag. p. 741.

they imbib'd the *Principles* of their great Master *LUTHER*. There were (as there still are) in the *Swedish Territories* Seven *Bishops* (a), and One *Archbishop*: All which, as *Puffendorf* informs us, were *bitter Enemies to the Reformation*, and did what possibly they could to oppose it. They were not only *Eager Papists* in their *Principles*, but *Rebels* in their *Practice*; and sacrificed their *Loyalty* and *Duty* to their *Bigottry* and *Superstition*. When the King perceived the *Obstinacy* of these *Prelates*, he first took the *Archbishop* into *Custody*; then sent him an *Embassy* into *Poland* (b), from whence he never afterwards returned into his own Country, to disturb the *Progress* of the *Reformation* there. The *Bishop* of *Skara* (to avoid the *Punishment* due to his *Rebellion*) fled into *Denmark*. Another retired to *Dantzick*; and the rest (c) absconded in their *own Houses*, and so continued in *Silence*. So that the *New Protestant Bishops* could have no *Ordination*, but what they received at the *Hands* of the *Reformers*, who were *Presbyters*, and *No More*.

Thus have I gone through all the *KNOWN CHURCHES* of the *World*: And tho' Mr. *Agate* was not so kind as to produce One *Argument* to prove Me a *Schismatick*, I have proved him, by good *Authentick History*, to be a *Separatist* from all the *Churches* upon *Earth*, except those of the *Episcopal Perswasion* in *England* and *Ireland*: And that he is more truly the *SPAWN* of the *Schismatical DONATISTS*, than the *Dissenters* are of the *Jesuites*. And if

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(a) Heylins *Cosmog.* p. 501. 2d Edit.

(b) *Puffend. Introd to Hist.* p. 472, &c.

(c) *Dupins Ecclesiast. Hist. Cent.* 16. l. 2. c. 31.

Presbyterian Ordination be, as he pretends, Null, he is again *Challenged* to name that One Church, that he can hold *Communion* with out of these Two Islands. *Dic quibus in terris, & eris mihi magnus Apollo!* Hence the *French Protestants*, refug'd in *Germany*, address themselves in these Terms to the *English Prelates*. ' If *Episcopacy* be of *Divine Right*, it follows from hence, that neither the *Churches* of *France*, nor those of *Holland*, nor those of *Germany*, nor those of *Switzerland*, &c. have truly had neither *Ministers*, nor *Sacraments*, since the *Reformation* (a).

I confess, Truth is not to be determined by multitude; and that the *Visible Church* was generally corrupted before the *Reformation*: But certainly, we should be very Cautious how we condemn all the *Protestant Churches* on t'other side the Water, meerly for want of what the *Scriptures* have no where declared to be absolutely Necessary. I have been the Larger on this Head, upon the Account of that Notion of *CATHOLICK UNITY*, which has been set off by some *Writers* with such a pompous Train of Words, and of which the poor *DISSENTERS* are Pretended to be such *Sacrilegious Infringers*. Now if this Phrase signifies any thing, 'tis a being United to the *Catholick Church*: But where is this *Church Catholick* to be found? Why, in a Corner of the World; in a Small Part of *Britain*; just as that of the *Donatists* was (b), in a Part of *Africa*. That *Catholick Church*, to which these Gentlemen are United, 'tis an *Universal*, consisting of about Forty Nine Particulars (for so ma-

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(a) Collect. of Letters, print. 1690. p. 34.

(b) In Particula Africae: In Angulo parvæ Regionis. Optat. de Schism. Donat. l. 2. Sect. 1.

ny Episcopal Churches there are in England and Ireland): 'Tis the whole Ocean included in the British Channel.

Thus I have Largely Proved, That we must STAND, or FALL, as to the *Validity* of Our Ordination, with All the Protestants beyond the Seas. My Antagonist is sensible, that it would sound extremely Harsh, to Treat them with the same barbarity and violence as he has done Us; and therefore Infinites, as if Necessity might excuse them; and asserts, They would have Episcopal Ordination if they could, and think themselves Unhappy because they han't. But to prove this, he produces not so much as One Single Testimony. 'Tis a Proposition as contrary to Truth, as Light is to Darknes: And in this he is Confuted by his own DEAR-JOY the Wolf-stripper; who tells us, That the German Princes (a) are Presbyterian Lutherans. This is almost the Only Truth in his whole Book. And yet here our Author contradicts him, whilst at the same time he follows him in the worst of all his Lyes and Forgeries.

3dly, But that I may not do as my Antagonist has done, Assert without offering any Proof, I shall evince, That Foreign Protestants do not think themselves Unhappy for want of Prelatical Ordination; which was the next Thing I proposed to do.

1. And in the First Place, I may argue from the Universal Practice of Foreign Churches; and what that is, has been already shewn.

2. He

(a) Wolf stript, Edit. 4. p. 37.

2. Had *Foreign Churches* been fond of *Prelatical Ordination*, this Defect might easily have been supplied from *England*. What great Difficulty is it for Two or Three *Divines* to come hither from *Germany* and *Denmark*, and here receive *Episcopal Consecration*, as the *Scotch Bishops* did in the beginning of *King James the First's* Reign? Or had they desired it, one or other of our *English Bishops* would doubtless have made a Trip to them, in order to prevent the Cessation of a *Gospel Ministry* amongst 'em.

3. I add, in the Third Place, that there have been *Bishops* who have embraced the *Reformation*, and might have Perpetuated the Succession in *Foreign Churches*, had they thought it Necessary. In *France*, there were declaring for the *Protestants*, the *Cardinal de Châtillon*, Bishop of *Beavais*, and Brother to the Renowned Admiral *De Coligni**; the Arch-bishop of *Aix*; and the Bishop of *Troies*. Those Prelates, upon their Conversion from *Popery*, never dream'd of the *Absolute Necessity* of *Episcopal Ordination*; and therefore, made no Provision for the perpetuating of it.

If we go into *Germany*, I find *Dr. Durell* quoting a Passage out of the Works of the Prince of *Anhalt*, to this effect; That the said Prince was very desirous of being Ordained by the Bishop of *Brandenburg*†, who had embrac'd the *Reformation*: But that he being Dead, there was not another in all those Parts to perform that Office. Hence I observe, That had the *Lutheran Divines* been desirous of *Episcopal Ordination*, they had a
Bishop

* Dupins Eccles. Hist. Cent. 16. l. 4. c. 2.

† Durels View of the Govern. &c. p. 295.

Bishop of that *Communion*, who might easily have Consecrated others, and so continued the Succession to this Day: But there was no such Thing attempted; and upon his Demise, there was never another of that Character left.

However, 'twas not long before PROVIDENCE brought a New Convert into Germany, the Famous *Paul Vergerio*, Bishop of *Justinople*; one that was several times employ'd by the Pope as his *Nuncio*, and stood fair for a *Cardinal's* Cap, had he not postpon'd the Glory of this World, to the Salvation of his Soul, and the Purity of Gospel-Worship. This Great Man, upon his abandoning Popery, lived several Years amongst the *Presbyterian Grisons*, and at last came and settled at *Tubingen* * under the Protection of the Duke of *Wirtemberg*. About the same time, *Herman* †, Arch-bishop of *Cologne*, endeavoured to introduce the *Reformation* into his Diocese: But in this he was Opposed by his own Chapter, Degraded by the Pope, and Expell'd his Territories by the Victorious Army of the German Emperor. Now, 'tis certain, had the *Lutherans* been tinctured with a *Jure Divino* Principle, they might easily have had recourse to those Prelates, in order to restore the broken Line.

4thly, That *Foreign Churches* do not think themselves Unhappy for want of *Prelatical Ordination*, I prove, in the next place, from their Publick Confessions. That of *Ausbourg* ‡ (to which the *Lutherans* do generally subscribe) asserts, That no Jurisdiction belongs to Bishops as such,
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* *Sleidans Hist.* l. 21.

† *Ibid.* l. 18.

‡ *Cap. de Potes. Eccles.*

by a Divine Right, but the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, the Censuring Scandalous Offenders, and the like, without one Word of the sole Power of Ordination.

If we consult the † *Wirtemberg* Confession of Faith, the Opinion of St. *Hierom*, that a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are the same Office, is there mention'd, with Approbation. And at the Synod of *Sendomir* || in *Poland*, 'twas agreed between the Divines of the *Lutheran* and *Calvinistical* Perswasion, that a *Superintendent* (the same thing with a *Bishop*) should be chosen, and continue in his Office 'till the next Synod, when he was to be either Confirm'd or Discarded, as the Synod should think fit; and this was far enough from Owning the Divine Superiority of such an Officer.

But the most Illustrious Testimony of the *Lutheran* Churches is to be met with in the *Smalcaldick* Articles, (so nam'd from the Place where they were first drawn up;) in them the Equality of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, as to the Power of Ordination, is strenuously Asserted; and these Articles were Subscrib'd by most of the *Protestant* Electors, Princes, and Ministers, to the Number of several Hundreds, if not Thousands: And after all this, for Mr. *Agate* to Assert with such a Shameless Confidence, that Foreign Protestants would have *Episcopal* Ordination if they could: 'Tis a Banter upon Humanity, and an Affront to the common Reason of Mankind.

Having seen what the *Lutherans* say in their publick Confessions, it may not be amiss to examine the Opinions of some of their most eminent

† Cap. de Ordine.

† Art. 1. de Superintend.

nent *Divines*. I shall begin with *Chemnitius* *, an extraordinary Man, who has wrote a learned *Confutation* of the *Determination* made by the Council of *Trent*. In his *Examination* of the *Decrees* concerning the *Sacrament of Order* (as they are pleas'd to term it) he asserts the Opinion of *St. Hieroni*, concerning the *Identity* of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, to be consonant to the *Holy Scriptures*; and tells us, that the *Papists* made the same *Objections* then against the *Protestant Ministers*, that some do now against us, viz. That they were *Thieves* and *Robbers*, because they came not in by the *Door* of *Episcopal Ordination*. And here by the way we may observe from whose *Quiver* those *Arrows* came, which with so much *Spite* and *Fury* have been shot at the *Dissenters*. This *Notion*, as this great Man observes †, would, if admitted, totally have *Subverted* all the *Protestant Churches*. In *Opposition* to these *Papish Conceits*, *Chemnitius* asserts, That when *Mention* was made of the *Laying on* the *Hands* of the *Presbytery*, *1 Tim. 4.* it was for this end, Lest any should *Imagine* (a) it were any *Difference* whether *Timothy* were *Ordain'd* by the *Apostle* or by *Presbyters*.

Nor have the *Modern Lutherans* receded herein from the *Sentiments* of their *Fore-fathers*; witness *Micralius* (b), who asserts, That 'tis not by a *Divine Law* that a *Presbyter* came to be less esteem'd

* Contendunt omnes esse fures & latrones, non per verum ostium Ingressus, qui in nostris Ecclesiis Ministerio verbi, & Sacramentorum funguntur. Chem. Exam. Conc. Trident. part 2. p 249.

† Ibidem.

(a) Chemnit. p. 250.

(b) Micrel. Syntag. p. 378.

(c) Seckendorff Hist. Lutheranis. L. 3. Sect. 19. p. 228.

esteem'd than a *Bishop*: Witness also *Seckendorf* (c), who thus speaks of the *First Reformers*, in a Book written in Vindication of them; ' *Luther* and *Melancthon* never determin'd the *Episcopal Office* such as was to be met with in the *Papal Church*, with all its Power and Jurisdiction, to be necessary. Neither did they acknowledge an *Essential Difference* between *Bishops* and *Pastors*, which is manifest from all their Writings never retracted: But the learned *Quensted* (d), who was but lately Professor at *Wuttemberg*, *Luther's* own Seat, is yet more express, ' *Distinctio Episcoporum*, &c. The *Distinction* which the *Papists* dream, and the *British Divines*, (*Papaturientes Britanni*) agreeing with the *Papists* in this, pretend to be between *Bishops* and *Presbyters*, is not of *Divine Command*, but only of *Humane Appointment*; not proceeding from the *Especial Institution of Christ or his Apostles*; not founded on *Scripture*, but introduc'd by *Humane Agreement*: It is also False, that *Ordination by God* was committed to *Bishops* only; for there is no *Difference Jure Divino* between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, as to the *Power of Ordaining*, but the *Power of Ordaining Jure Divino* doth belong to both. Thus he.

By this time the Reader may see what little Credit is to be given to Mr. *Agate's Confident Assertion*, that the *Foreign Churches* would have *Bishops* if they could. Whereas Mr. *Agate* sometimes Insinuates, as if *Presbyterian Ordination* might be allow'd of in case of *Necessity*, this is nothing but a Dust rais'd to blind the Eyes of the *Vulgar*: I have prov'd, that most of the *Foreign Churches* labour under no such *Necessity*; but the

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(c) Seckendorfi Hist. Lutheranis. L. 3. Sect. 19. p. 228.

(d) Quensted System. Theol. Pal. Anno 1685. Part. 4. p. 409.

Truth on't is, this Plea is not allow'd of by our Men of High and Rigid Principles. If any People in the World could plead Necessity, the *French Ministers* are the Men; they could not have *Episcopal Ordination* in their own Country, and yet, when they fled to *England* for Refuge, were forced many of 'em to submit to Re-ordination, in order to prevent their Exclusion from the Publick Charity of the Nation.

But before the *Protestant Churches* be dismiss'd, it may be expected that I take some Notice of a Letter, said to be wrote from *Geneva*, which is pretended to bear hard upon our *Dissenters* here in *England*: Now seeing this hath made some Noise in these Parts, I hope the Reader will pardon me if I make a few Remarks upon it.

First. Whatever the present Sentiments of the Church of *Geneva* are, I find the same Church in the Days of *Beza* * declaring its Dislike of the *Cross* in *Baptism*, and the odd *Responses* which *Godfathers* are forc'd to give; with some other things.

Secondly. I observe this Letter does not say we are *Damn'd Schismatics*, much less, that we are no *Ministers*; only, if these Gentlemen were in *England*, they would Joyn in *Communion* with the *Establish'd Church*, or be *Occasional Conformists*; which might be, without Censuring and Condemning those that have not the same Satisfaction that they themselves have.

Thirdly.

* A Pamph. called the Judgment of Foreign Divines, An. 1660. p. 14.

Thirdly. I conceive the present Circumstances of *Geneva* ought to be consider'd, whose Situation is on the Borders of *France*, in the very Mouth of the *Lions Den*; and every one knows, it's Her Majesty who has put a Hook into the Jaws of that great *Leviathan*, who in his own Conceit, had swallow'd up all his Neighbouring little States; therefore it becomes this City, in Policy, as well as *Civility*, to speak with utmost Deference and Respect of a Church, from whose HEAD they probably in a great Measure expect Safety and Preservation.

4ly, I add, that we have no Assurance that our Case has been fairly stated to those of *Geneva*; would the University of *Oxford* oblige the *World* with that Letter, to which that from *Geneva* is an Answer, we might be better able to make some Conjecture of the whole.

There were Letters formerly obtain'd from *Monsieur Claude* *, and other *French* Ministers, which appear'd to have been grounded on a Misinformation, as if we did deny the Possibility of Salvation in the *Episcopal Church*; and the said learned Man complains, that his Letter was Publish'd without his Consent or Approbation; and Exhorts the *Bishops* to recede from several Things insisted on; and calls particularly that Oath, which he was Inform'd all the Clergy took; acknowledging the Divine Right of *Prælacy* (*une Gehenne à la Conscience*) a Rack to Conscience. It's very well known, that the *Bishops* themselves have been hinted at in the *Oxonian* Pulpits, as if they did betray the Cause they

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were

* His Letters, p. 269.

were by *Oath* and *Interest* oblig'd to support ; and Complaints were made by several of those reverend *Prelates* in a late Session of the present Parliament, of the *Calumnies* & *Slanders* cast on their Lordships by the *Inferiour Clergy* *, and of *Heats* and *Passions* fomented in the Universities. Now, what I would Infer from hence is, If the *Bishops* have been Misrepresented in their own Country, by those of their own Church, it's not impossible but that the poor *Dissenters* may meet with the same (not to say a worse) Fate from 'em in *Foreign Climates*.

Thirdly, Having Vindicated my self, and my *Impartial Account*, I come to consider some of those *Reproaches* cast upon the *Dissenters* in General ; and I shall begin with that *Thread-bare Cant* of *Rebellion*. This Mr. *Agate* Renews on all Occasions, and with it supplies the place of Argument and Reason : The *Dissenters* are *Traytors* and *Villains*, and cut off the *King's Head* ;
 Pag. 56. and we are said to be *Rebels from our Original* : Tho' the Noise he makes on this Occasion will signify but little with such as have read our *English Histories*, yet for the Undeceiving of others, who may have been Prejudic'd by reading his *Book*, it may be necessary that I take some Notice of it.

As for the Unhappy War between King *Charles* the First and the Parliament, it is certain, that it began on a *Civil Account* : That Encroachments were made on the Liberties of the People, and Taxes rais'd without Consent of *Parliament*, is too true to be deny'd ; and a noble Peer (the
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* *Annals of Q. Ann, Anno 1705. p. 207, 209.*

E. of R---r *) who argued strenuously for the *Occasional Bill*, yet owns, that Arch-Bishop Laud, tho heartily in the Interest of King Charles I. did many things which very much Injur'd him, *i. e.* By Straining the *Prerogative* too high, and Imposing too much on the *Prince's Good Humour*; and that which disgusted the *Gentry* against the *Bishops* then, was the Preaching up the *Unlimited Power* of the King. My Lord Clarendon † has left upon Record, ' That in order to get Money, Unjust Projects of all kinds, many Ridiculous, many Scandalous, all very Grievous, were set on foot. And he calls the *Determination* about *Ship-Money*, *A Logick*, which left no Man any thing that he could call his own. This is what alienated the Minds of the Subjects from their Prince; and some have since talk'd of *running Nature* upon a less Provocation.

As the War began upon a *Civil*, not a *Religious* Account; so the same celebrated Historian assures us, There were not in all that Parliament above Five or Six that were Disaffected to the Government by *Bishops*, and that the Earl of *Essex*, the Parliaments General, was as much devoted as any Man to the *Book of Common-prayer*, and his Chaplain always a most *Conformable Man* ‡. And it's well enough known, that several of the most Active Persons in that Parliament and Army, who lived 'till the *Restoration* of K. Charles the Second, were Advanced in his Court, and Dy'd in the *Communion of the Church of England*; the Earl of *Radnor*, &c. So that however *Black* and *Criminal* that *Rebellion* was, the *Church* is as much Concerned therein as the *Presbyterians*:
And

* *Annals of Q. Anne, Anno 1705. p. 203.*

† *Hist. L. 1. p. 67, 69. ‡ Ib. Vol. 1. p. 233.*

And though those *latter*, as well as the *former*, did generally adhere to the Parliament; yet the *Destruction* of the KING's *Person* is what they never did intend; which evidently appears in this, That all the *Gentlemen* who were Favourably Inclined towards them, were Imprisoned, and Secluded the *House of Commons*; by *Cromwel* and his Victorious Army, before the *Fatal Act* or *Ordinance* was past, for the pretended *Trial* of the KING. Nay, the *Presbyterian Gentlemen* were not only so Outragiously Treated, but the *Eminent Ministers* of that Perswasion made an open and publick Protestation against the *Intended Execution* of their Prince: This was publickly Printed, and may be seen at large in *The Rights of the Protestant Dissenters*, First Part, p. 71. with the Names of 58 of the most Famous of the said Ministers, in and about *London*.

And as they publickly protested against the *Execution* of the *Father*, so they as zealously endeavour'd the *Restoration* of the *Son*; and Mr. *Wood* himself *, who wrote against the *Dissenters* with almost as much *Malignity* and *Rancour* as Mr. *Agate*, yet confesseth, *They* did contrive the bringing in of King *CHARLES* the Second: And 'tis well enough known, Mr. *Love*, and some others, lost their Lives in the Prosecution of that Design. Now that the *Presbyterians* should be Upbraided with what they did so solemnly disown, and with so great *Hazard* protest against, 'tis like the rest of Mr. *Agate's* Arguing; that is, 'tis most unreasonable, invidious and unjust.

But,

* *Athen. Oxon.* Part 2d, p. 74.

But, says our Author, *the Party have given an Universal Approbation to the Calves-Head Clubs.* Pag. 70
But did they ever meet in Council about this Grand Affair? Or how does he know their Minds? For my part, I believe there are no such *ridiculous Cabals* in these Parts, nor did I ever hear any one Person declaring his Approbation of 'em; and therefore, must reckon this among the rest of his *Forgeries*: For I am sure the *Dissenters here* were Fasting January the 30th last, and our Meeting throng'd, when he said in the Pulpit, *We were Feasting on Calves-Heads.*

But suppose they that were concern'd in the Death of the KING had been *Presbyterians* (as indeed they were not) what is that to me? I was not Born Twenty Years afterwards; nor was King CHARLES the first Prince that met with Hard Usage in the World; his own *Grand-Mother* (who tho' an Ill Woman, was yet as much a *Sovereign* as himself, and from whom he derived his Title to the Crown) had her *Head* chopt off at *Fotheringay-Castle*, Anno 1587, at the Sollicitation of a *Church of England Parliament*, and the *Arch-bishop of Canterbury* * first named in the Commission amongst her *Judges*.

If we leave that Unfortunate Queen, and descend to King JAMES the Second; it's well enough known by whom he was Dethroned, even by such as had many of 'em Sworn, *That 'twas not Lawful, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or any Commissioned by him*; and had Jayl'd and Banish'd the *Dissenters* for refusing such an Enslaving, Bowstring Oath. 'Tis true, they did not cut off his Head, but would have *Shot him to the Heart*, had not his Caution been greater than his Courage, and kept him out of Harms Way.

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* History of England, Part 2d, p. 519.

If we look back upon the Reign of the late King *WILLIAM*, there were some who pretended to be Zealous Adherents to the *Church of England* Principles ; who sent over *Charnock* to sollicite for a *French Army*, to Invade their own Native Country ; who framed a *Conspiracy* to Murther the *Lord's Anointed*, and so involve the Nation in Blood and Confusion ; and were afterwards fairly Hang'd for it. GOD forbid I should be guilty of such *Disingenuity* as Mr. *Agate* is, and impute to the *Church of England* in general the Designs of a few *Barbarous Miscreants*, who were of *Her* Communion : But what I affirm is this, That the *Presbyterians* are no more Accountable for the Actions of *Cromwel* and *Bradshaw*, than the *Church* is for the Attempts of *Perkins* and *Friend*.

But let us come to the Glorious Reign of Queen *ANNE* : Are there any of the *Dissenters* who refuse to Recognize Her Majesties Just and Lawful Title to the Crown she wears ? I never heard of any. But Mr. *Agate's* Dear Friend and Author, the *Wolf-Stripper*, and Mr. *El---*, who stands up as his Second, are both of that Number. Are there any among the *Dissenters* who have wrote *Scandalous Memorials*, who have *Affronted* the QUEEN, *Bullied* Her prime *Ministers of State*, and threaten'd to rouse *Nature against Principle* ? I am confident he cannot mention One. But it's well enough known, these *Paper-Kites* have come from another Quarter, and flown all over the Kingdom. Has not Her Majesty complained of some, so very Malicious*, as to Suggest in Print, as if the CHURCH were in *Danger* ; and of others, who have made *Invasions*

* *Annals of Queen Anne*, Vol. 4th, p. 184.

vasions on the *Royal Supremacy*? And the *Dissenters* are not the Persons hinted at in either of these Complaints. As for Our Parts, we can *Vie LOYALTY* with any of Our *Opposers*, and *Defy* their *Groundless Clamours* on *this* *Oc*casion: We Love the *QUEEN* as *Affectionately*, We Pray for Her as *Heartily*, and Pay our Taxes as *Cheerfully*, as any Subjects belonging to Her *Dom*inions.

But has our *Author* behaved himself with that *Modesty*, *Deference* and *Submission* as becomes an *Obedient Loyal Subject*? How he hath *Trampled* on the *Ashes* of his late *Sovereign*, has been already shewn. Her *present Majesty* has solemnly and frequently declared Her self to be the *Common Mother* of Her *People*, and Her *Resolutions* to *make all Her Subjects safe and easy*; but, in *Defiance* to all these *Royal Declarations*, Mr. *Agate* mounts the *Pulpit*, and gives the *Lie* unto 'em all: *Is it possible*, says he, *the Queen should have any Respect for the Presbyterians*? *Can she have any Kindness for that party of Men*? No, sure this is impossible, she can never forget the *Sufferings* of her *Grand-Father*; only their *Number* is so great, she is afraid of them. What is this but a *scandalous Ins*inuation, as if she had neither *Courage*, nor *Sincerity*? When all *Europe* knows Her to be One of the most *ILLUSTRIOUS INSTANCES* of both, that the *World* ever saw. Now for a *Man* to object *Disloyalty* to others, and make such *se*ditionous *Harangues* himself; 'tis at once so *Insolent* and *Ridiculous*, that none but Mr. *Agate* could have been guilty of it. If he thinks fit to deny this *Matter of Fact*, I have sufficient *Evi*dence to attest it.

P.47,48. Another Thing our *Author* lays to the Charge of the *Presbyterians*, is their bringing the *Lord's-supper* into *Disuse* and *Contempt*. But how so? I never heard they render'd it Despicable by making it a Qualification for Selling *Ale*. Here Mr. *Agate* instances in divers Places where, as he says, the *Sacrament* was omitted for divers Years together. I shall crave the Reader's Patience, whilst I make a few Remarks on these Relations.

I. I observe, That *one* or *some* of them are absolutely False in Matters of Fact. Our *Author* asserts, That the *Sacrament* was not Administred at *Oakhampton*, from the Year 1643, 'till 1651. To confute which Report, I have by me a Letter from Mr. *Simon Hussy*, to Mr. *Atkin* of this City. This Mr. *Hussy* was Son to the Minister, who Dy'd in 43, and Brother to him who succeeded in 51. He writes his Friend, That he lived in that place about Six Years after his Father's Death, during which time he has seen the *Sacrament* Administred; and remembers how the Communicants did kneel round the Rails of the Communion-Table. I have also a Certificate under the Hands of Two of the said Parish, testifying, That last *Easter* Monday they happen'd to look into the Church-Book, and found no less than Ten Pounds charged on the said Parish for Bread and Wine, made use of at several Communions in the Year 1649. 'Tis not improbable, but Falsities might be detected at other places, as well as at *Oakhampton*, were there an Inspection made into their publick Records. I hope the *Gentleman* who has furnished our *Author* with these Memoirs, and who (they say) intends to set up for a TALE-MONGER, will consider, that every Spiteful Relation, every
Vulgar

Vulgar Rumour, or Old Wives Fable, will not be a Foundation sufficient to sustain the weight of a Just and Solid History.

2. I add in the next place, it does not appear by any thing Mr. *Agate* offers, That the *Ministers*, who are said to neglect these Duties in their respective Parishes, were *Presbyterians*. For ought I know, some of them might conform in 62. However, when he mentions several places in this County, in which the Sacrament was said to be omitted from 43 'till 51; 'tis evident from all our *Histories*, that for some considerable part of that time, all *Devonshire*, except *Plymouth*, was in the Possession of the *Cavalliers*, 'till after *Naseby* Fight, *Cromwel* and *Fairfax* came down into the West, and carried all before 'em. Now if in this Interval there were a Neglect of this Duty, it ought to be laid at the Doors of the *Episcopal Clergy*; and not of those who durst not show their Heads in the KING's Quarters. And whereas 'tis asserted, That *Mr. Knight* omitted it Two Years at Little Hempston; he was there but a Year and Four Months, being *Curate* to an *Episcopal Rector*; and if there were a Fault, the latter ought to bear his Proportion of the Guilt.

3. I crave leave to offer further, that some of the Places mentioned might be Daughter Churches, and if the Inhabitants did Communicate in the Mother-Church, or in a Neighbouring Parish, the Matter is not so much. Here be some Churches in *Exon*, in which the Sacrament has not been Administred, as far as I can learn, for very many Years: But the Inhabitants resort to other Churches; and perhaps this might be

the Case of some Places in the COUNTRY.

4. But to conclude this Point: If the *Sacrament* were omitted in any particular Place, this is only the Fault of *particular* Persons, and ought not to be imputed to the *Presbyterians* in general: They were so far from Countenancing such a *Disuse*, as is pretended, that the *Directory* says in expresse Terms, *The Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated*, p. 23. And the Sense of any Society is to be collected from their publick Declarations, and not from the Practice of a few private Men. And seeing our *Author* has told so many *Stories*, I hope the Reader will pardon me if I relate one. I have by me an *Information*, to be depended on, 'That
' during the Life of the late *Incumbent* of *Luppit*,
' (who Dy'd some Two Years since) the *Sacra-*
' *ment* was Administred but Once in that Parish
' Church for Five Years together.

Pag. 47 But Mr. Baxter, (says this Gentleman) to his Eternal Shame, has told us, That he did not Administer the Sacrament of Baptism, or the Lord's-Supper, for Eighteen or Twenty Years together. Mr. Baxter indeed has something of this Nature in his Reply to Dr. Stillingfleet, p. 76. but all this while he was neither Rector, Vicar, nor Curate, nor yet the Pastor of any Congregation. This Book was written in the Year 1680, about Eighteen Years after the *Act of Uniformity* had silenced him: During this Term, he sometimes went to Church; and Preached in his own House between Sermons; at other times he Preached Occasionally for some of his Brethren in their Meeting-Houses; but took no *Pastoral Charge* upon himself: The Law excluded him the *Publick Churches*. Had he Administred the *Sacraments* in Private, Mr. *Agate* would have
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condemn'd him as a Vile *Schismatick*; and yet has the Ingenuity to pretend, he ought to be Ashamed and Confounded, for omitting that very Act which would have made him (in our *Author's* Sense) guilty of a *Damning Sin* if he had done it. By this Instance, let the whole World judge the Sincerity of this Gentleman.

Mr. *Agate* having told the World, that he should take it as a Favour, if Mr. *Tross* would let him know, how often he Administred the *Sacrament*, whilst he was in the *Ministry*, before the *Restoration*: Mr. *Tross* is willing to Gratify him, and to let him know, that he was not in the *Ministry* at the time mentioned, but was a Student in the *University* 'till the Return of King *Charles*, or very near it; so that he can be no Villain upon this Account. Pag. 47.

Another thing charg'd on the *Dissenters* is, That little Regard which they are pretended to have for the *Lord's-Prayer*; and Mr. *Long* is quoted, as telling us of some, who in the late Times did *Thank God they had forgotten it, and Abhor the teaching it their Children*: But Mr. *Long* has not told us who the Persons were that he speaks of; perhaps some *Quakers*, *Ranters*, or such like *Whimsical Enthusiasts*, might talk after this Mad Rate; but that the *Presbyterians* should entertain such an *Abhorrence* of it, appears Incredible from hence; that 'tis Inserted in the *Assembly's Catechism*, which their Children generally learn, and did in the Days alluded too, repeat in their *Publick Churches*. Besides, the *Directory* recommended it to be us'd in the Prayers of the Church, *Not only as a Pattern of Prayer, but as a most Comprehensive Prayer in it self*, p. 19. And there is never a *Lord's-Day*, but the *Dissenters* in *Exon* Joyn with their Minister in the Use of it. 'Tis true, there be some who
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conceive, that as our Saviour gave this *Form* to his *Disciples* in the beginning of his Ministry, *Matth. 6.* So he intended it should continue in Use no longer than 'till his Resurrection from the Dead, and the more plentiful Effusion of the Holy Ghost on his *Apostles*; and the Reason which they offer is this: Our Saviour but just before his *Crucifixion* tells his *Disciples*, that for the future they should *ask the Father in his Name*, *John 16. 23, 26.* Now in the *Lord's-Prayer*, there is no Mention made of the Name of Christ; and he himself said, Verse 24. *Hitherto you have asked nothing in my name*; tho' he had taught 'em the *Lord's-Prayer* some considerable time before: And Dr. Hammond thus Paraphrases this Text; *After my Departure you shall use a new Form of Prayer, which as yet you have not used.* I am so far from thinking that this proves either the Unlawfulness, or Inexpediency of using this *Form*, that I generally repeat it in the Pulpit. But I here mention this as the Sense of others; and as there are not many of my Acquaintance that totally *Disuse* it, so I hope there are none who do *Contemn* it. If that great Man our *Author* takes notice of did put on his Hat at the Hearing of it, as the *Doctor* was no *Presbyterian*, so this was a Peculiarity of his own, for which I am not responsible.

Pag. 70 Another thing the *Dissenters* are accus'd of is,
 Pag. 73 That they are of an *Implacable and Bitter Temper*, and *Peevishness* is said to be Essential to 'em; but there are Two or Three Considerations that will abundantly Justify the *Dissenters* in *Exon* from that *Calumny*.

i. 'Tis

1. 'Tis very well known, that the Clergy of this City do in a great Measure depend for their Subsistence upon the Voluntary Contributions of their Parishioners; and that what they can Legally demand is Inconsiderable. Now the *Dissenters* who are of any Substance, do generally Contribute to the *Rector* or *Vicar* of their respective Parishes, and several of 'em more than Four times as much as the Law requires. This is an Argument they have no such *Animosity* against the Clergy as is pretended.

2. They have given one Evidence more, that they are not of a *Revengeful Bitter Spirit*, in that they have not Prosecuted Mr. *Agate* (as they might have done) for his Scandalous Reflections on the late KING; I have already shew'n, they want not sufficient Witnesses to prove the *Fact* upon him beyond all Evasions. He pretends to be Inform'd of *One gone to London, that is Employ'd to take Advice, whether they can Prosecute him*; but this is pure Imagination: Who would give a Lawyer Twenty Shillings for his Advice, when we have the Opinion of QUEEN and LORDS in the Case, who have Determin'd, That the Publishing that *Vile Calumny* is an Iniquity to be Punish'd by the Judges? Mr. *Atkin* has assur'd me, he never threatned him with a Prison, nor any thing like it, but told him, he was confident no *Dissenter* in *Exon* intended his Prosecution. But if you will believe the Gentleman, his *Brains are in Danger, did not his Gown secure him*. Alas! Alas! 'Tis pity such a *Mint* should be spoil'd; if there be any Hazard in the Case 'tis this; they may be Disorder'd by the too great *Acrimony* of his Blood. But tho' his Gown has done no Service to his Skull, yet if it has

Pag. 77

Pag. 4

has sav'd his Neck from wearing the *Wooden Ruff* (with which a *Lay-Brother* was very lately grac'd in this City, for Reviling the Memory of King *William*) I think it has done him *Knights Service*. I know no Person that calls him *Devil*, or such Opprobrious Names; if there be any, I do not Justify 'em, and could easily tell like Stories of some of his Furious Tribe, if 'twere worth the Readers Entertainment.

But Mr. *Agate* says, he has been *Hue-and-Cry'd* about the Country for a *Rogue*, a *Villain*, and a *Rascal*. For my part, I was not at all concerned in the Paper to which he refers: But if that Person be the Author of it who is reputed so to be, I know Him to understand the *Rules of Civility* and *Good Manners* better than to Treat a Man of Mr. *Agate's* Character with these Opprobrious Terms. 'Tis said in that Paper, *That to the great Grief of the Author, some Rogue, Villain, &c.* In which words, there is a plain Distinction made betwixt the real *Author*, and the *Rascal* that is supposed Feloniously to steal away that Notable Piece that was enquired after. Mr. *Agate* had Bully'd the *Dissenters* in the *Pulpit*, as being *Asham'd* of their Principles: Upon which, some Working Fancy or other was willing to return the *Banter*, and let the World know, how much he was Ashamed of his own *Preface*.

Amongst all the *Accusations* brought against the *Dissenters*, there is scarce any thing more Surprising than what we find pag. 50. where they are said to have *Altered and Corrupted the Bible it self to serve their Cause*. This appears the more Astonishing to him that considers, That one *Objection* which they make to the *Common-Prayer-Book*, is the using an Imperfect Translation of the *Psalms* therein, whilst we have in our *Common Bibles* a Translation much more Correct, and better

ter agreeing with the *Original Hebrew*. But what is the Cause of such an Hideous Outcry? Why, in Mr. *Baxter's Paraphrase on the New Testament*, the Careless Printer had put in *Ye* instead of *We*, *Acts 6. 3.* That Mr. *Baxter* had no design to make the Alteration, is evident from hence, That in the Second Edition of his *Book*, the Error was corrected. And his *Annotations* on this Verse, plainly suppose him to have read it as it ought to be; for he says, *The Chosen Persons must be appointed, or authorized by the Apostles.* A sufficient Evidence that he read *We*, and not *Ye appoint*.

But the Alteration of one single Letter is a small Matter, compar'd to what the *Dissenters* are accused of by this *Gentleman* in the same Page: He tells the World, They have abandon'd Pag. 50
the *Apostles Creed*, and *Ten Commandments*: and that when 'twas put to the Vote, Whether they should use the *Creed* and *Commandments* in their *DIRECTORY*; it was carried in the *Negative*; they would have nothing to do with 'em. And for this he quotes my Lord *Clarendon*, 2d Vol. Pag. 8. I have consulted that *Noble Historian*, and can assure the *Reader*, there is not One Word of this Nature to be found in the Page to which this *Gentleman* refers us, neither in the greater nor lesser Edition: And therefore I can't say, how much he has disguis'd or misrepresented his Author. As to Matter of Fact, 'tis most certain that the *Ten Commandments* are inserted into that *Catechism* which was compos'd by the *Assembly of Divines*; and therefore it must be absolutely False, that they should resolve to have nothing to do with 'em. For my part, I never Baptize a Child, but one or both of the *Parents* Promise to teach it the *Creed*, *Lord's-prayer*, and the *Ten Commandments*: And most of my Brethren, as
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far as I know any thing of the Matter, do the same.

Fourthly, Having Vindicated my self, *Account*, and Friends, I come to my Fourth Proposal, which was, to bestow some General Remarks on the *Book* of my *Antagonist*.

1st, I Remark the great Disingenuity of this Gentleman, in quoting one he knows to be a *Lying Author*; and that is, the Author of *Cassandra* and the *Wolf-Stript*; for both these *Poyson'd Arrows* came out of one and the same Quiver. He has read in the *Wolf-Stript*, that the *Sacrament* was not once Administred in the University of Oxon from 48 to 60 He is forc'd to own this to be a *Mistake*, and if his *Authors* have Wrong'd the Dissenters they must answer it. But why doth he follow this Author in his *Lyes* and *Forgeries* a Second Time? When he picks up Stories out of a known *Impostor*, and Abuses his Innocent Neighbours by 'em, he makes the Guilt his Own, and ought to be Responsible for it. Subornation of *Perjury* is as bad as *Perjury* it self; and 'tis Criminal in the Eye of the Law to put off False Money, as well as to make it: And tho Mr. *Agate* did not Coyn that horrid *Calumny* about Burning the BIBLE in *Scotland*, &c. yet he knew out of whose *Forge* it came, and that it had his Image and Superscription Enstamp'd upon it who is the *Father of Lyes*.

Should I produce a *Crop-Ear'd Witness* in any Court of *Judicature*, what would the Judge and Jury say? And for Mr. *Agate* to tell Scandalous Vile Stories after one that he knows to have Publish'd an egregious *Falsbood* concerning *Oxford*, this is what few will believe to be Consistent with the Sincerity of a good Christian, or an

an honest Man. Why does he run after that *Ignis Fatuus*, that *Vagabond wandering Light*, which hath once already led him into the *Bogs* and *Briers*? This (to use his own *Epithet*) is *such a glaring Insincerity, as will admit of no Apology.*

2dly, I Remark that Air of Insolence, with which the whole *Book* is Written. Mr. *Tross* is nothing but a *Formal Outside*; Mr. *Hallet* neither fit to *Write, Talk, or Print*: 'Tis but give him Liberty to hold the Scales, and we are all Lighter than Vanity it self.

For my part, I expected no Quarter from him, and scorn to beg it at his Hands; but why he should fall foul on all the PARTY, I can see no Reason; unless with *Haman* the *Agagite*, he thinks it Scorn to lay Hands on one single *Mordecai*, and therefore the whole Body of the *Dissenters*, like all the *Jewish Nation*, must fall a Sacrifice to his *Implacable Resentments*. Indeed, were Mr. *Tross's* Character unknown, I should think my self Oblig'd to offer something here in his Vindication, whom Mr. *Agate* has Treated like a *Villain*; but no Man, I'm confident, in the West of *England* will think it necessary. The Moon loses nothing of its Splendor, tho' Dogs bark at it; and the Reputation of this Aged Gentleman and Reverend *Divine*, suffers not much more; tho' a Creature of a more Noble (and therefore more Criminal) Nature may open his *Black Mouth* against him. The Treatment he has met with from one that Writes himself *M. A.* is so extremely Base and Rude, that the Dirtiest Drab or Vilest Scoundrel in the whole Town, would blush and be Asham'd to be thought the Author of it. Were Mr. *Tross* a *Flaming Bigot*, this might Excuse this Author's *Choler* in some measure; but the whole Country knows the con-

trary: Insomuch, that 'tis no unusual thing for his Assistance to be desir'd, even by *Churchmen* themselves, when in their dying Moments. So that I conclude this Author, by attempting to stain the Luster of Mr. *Tross's* Fame, acts but the part of that silly *Insect*, who singes its own Wings, when it hurls it self with all its spiteful Force against the bright and flaming Taper.

Tho Mr. *Hallet* has been Treated with such Contempt by this Gentleman, I may adventure to Undertake for him, that he will meet his *Antagonist* before any *Dignitary* of his own Church, where Mr. *Agate* may Examine him through the whole CIRCLE of *Arts* and *Sciences*, provided Mr. *Hallet* may afterwards have the same Liberty in relation to his *Opponent*. Whatever he thinks of himself, we have no such Formidable Apprehensions of him. Notwithstanding all the Noise and Roar that has been made, we take him to have nothing of the *Lion* but his Skin, and that 'tis quite another sort of *Animal* enclosed in it. I can find no Demonstration that he has given of any Extraordinary Learning, except his *Punctual Acquaintance* with *Don Quixot* and Two or Three *Scurrilous Libels*; but 'tis the Humor of some Men to be Haughty and Imperious, and Nature will have its Course.

And this, not only the *Dissenters* feel the Effects of, but even the Clergy of the City (tho Men of ten times more Sense and Learning than himself) have been Reproach'd in the *Pulpit* (as I am credibly inform'd) as being *Meally-Mouth'd*, because they do not Rant as Wildly and Extravagantly as himself.

Nor

Nor has he carry'd himself much more Modestly towards his *Ecclesiastical Superiours*, the chiefest Dignitaries in the Church; witness his late *Harangues* at *Collaton* and *Autre*, where he told the People, that the *Pillars of the Church* began to fail, that some who had suffer'd to Bonds & Imprisonments, did now forsake its Interest. And one in particular, to whom he gave the Name of a great Man, or some such Discriminating Title, who had been a *Champion for the Church in his Youth*, did now when *Grey Hairs* were on him, decline its Interest.

There are Two or Three *Bishops* still living, who in the Days of *King James* made a Noble Stand against *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, and were for that Cause Imprison'd; but why they should be Accus'd of Forsaking the Interest of the Church, I can't Imagine; unless it be, that he who sets up for the *Body of the Clergy* was Over-look'd in the last *Promotion*, without having the least Regard done to his Extraordinary Merits. However, give me a Man of Mettle; to trample on the poor *Dissenting Shrubs*, is what every Mean and Vulgar Foot may do, but to hurl the *Flaming Bolt* against the *Cedars of Lebanon* themselves, this argues him to be a true Son of Thunder. To Banter and Abuse a few *Fanatics*, this is what Porters and Carmen may attain unto; but to Out-brave both the *Miter* and the *Crown*, this has an Air of Greatness in't; this argues a *Gygantick Mind*, a Soul exalted above the common Level of Mankind!

*Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris, & carcere dignum,
Si vis esse Aliquis! —*

3dly, Another

3dly. Another Thing which argues the *Unfairness* of this *Adversary*, is, the imputing of the Faults of *particular* Persons, to the *whole* Body, or Society, to which they belong. For my part, I don't pretend to reckon every *Dissenter* in the Catalogue of *Saints*: We have some *Tares* with us, and he hath some *Wheat* with him. Perhaps there are some *Ill Things* done by those who go to *Meetings*: And are there none of his own *Gown* who have Slurr'd their *Character*, or Disgrac'd their *Function*? Whilst I am Transcribing these Lines for the *Press*, I read in the *Publick News* of a Riot in *Cambridge*, and a Man Murder'd by the *Students* there: Should I lay that Blood at the *Church's* Door, I should do just as our *Author* has done throughout his Book; but I don't approve the Method so well as to imitate it. Should I go to the *Gallows*, or the *Goal*, and draw a Character of a *Church-man* from those Villains, who pretend to that Title; the whole World would exclaim against me, and that justly too, for such an Unfair Procedure.

Pag. 69. But Mr. *Agate* does not only impute the *Faults* of particular Persons to the *Dissenters* in general, but even the *Crimes* of such as never were of their *Communion*. Thus he Objects to the *Presbyterians*, the turning some *Churches* into *Stables* in this City; when, the Truth on't is, this was done by those Soldiers which the *Rump*, or *Committee of Safety*, sent down on purpose to keep these People in Aw, and to hinder them from Rising, and Declaring for King *CHARLES* and a *Free-Parliament*. And if the *Round-Heads* kept Guard in *St. Stephen's Church*, the *Cavaliers* did the very same thing in their Time, and prophan'd it as much as the other; as I am assured by a Person who was an Eye-witness of it. And

I can name a *Gentleman* who turn'd another *Church* into a *Lumber-Shop*, and was so far from being a *Dissenter*, that, I am told, he became one of the most *Zealous Opposers* of 'em.

After all the *Noise* that has been made about *Sacrilege*, has he forgot how 'twas but a few Years since, we had a *Church of England Army* at *Port St. Mary's* in *Spain*, who Robb'd *Churches*, Prophan'd *Altars*, and serv'd the Images of *Christ* and his *Saints*, as bad as the *Scots* are pretended to have done. But, the *Truth* on't is, where *Armies* are, *Disorders* will arise; and we are no more *Accountable* for the *Sacrileges* of *Cromwell's* Soldiers, than he is for the *Rapes*, *Barbarities*, and *Outrages* of *Goring's* Crew; who for their horrid *Villainies*, are *Infamous* to this very Day thro' all the *West of England*.

Under this *Head*, I think my self oblig'd to take Notice of a Story this *Gentleman* tells us upon his own knowledge: 'Twas his *Misfortune* Pag. 69 to be present, a few Years ago, at the Tryal of a *Presbyterian Minister* in *Cambridge*, who had confidently affirm'd, That the *Common-Prayer* had Damn'd more Souls than ever the *Bible* had Sav'd. But if it were not his *Misfortune* to have a very *Treacherous*, or a very *Malicious* Memory, he would have told us, That tho' there was a Person Try'd for such Words, yet his *Jury* brought him in *Not Guilty*: And if Twelve Men acquit him on their *Oaths*, we have no reason to *Condemn* him on Mr. *Agate's* Bare Word: Nor is the Person here intended a *Presbyterian*, nor does he go under that *Denomination*.

4thly. I Remark further, That many of the Stories in Mr. *Agate's* Book are in part or altogether False: A few of which I shall take Notice of, beginning with a Story which he tells us from

Pag. 50 from Scotland; How that on March 15. 1704, the Puritans there dress'd the Common Hangman and his Man in the Habits of Clergymen, took the Effigies of our Blessed Saviour, carried it in Procession to the Cross, and having prepared a Fire, they burnt the Garments of the Priests, the Crucifixes, the consecrated Bread, the Bible, the Effigies of our dear Saviour himself, by the Hands of the Common Hangman. This Tragical Story he concludes with a See! See the Effects of a Fanatical Reformation! But to give some Answer to this Malicious Story.

I desire the Reader to consider, that the first Publisher of this Calumny is the very same Man who had confidently affirm'd, That the Sacrament was not ONCE Administred in the University of Oxford for Twelve Years together. This Mr. Agate confesses to be a Mistake, and I have prov'd to be a most Egregious Falshood: This one Consideration is enough to shake the Foundation of the whole Story, and make Men suspect the Ingenuity of him that produces the Testimony of a known convicted Lyar.

But this Affair has been set in a True Light by the *FLYING-POST* of Febr. 20. 1705; the Author of which Paper being a Scotchman, and concern'd for the Honour of his Country, printed an Account of that Matter, extracted out of the Publick Records of the Kingdom. There is first an Order of the Privy-Council, requiring the Magistrates of Edenburg to burn some Popish Trinkets, that Her Majesty's Advocate had seiz'd upon. There is next the Order of the said Magistrates, in these words:

Eden-

Edenburg, March 15. 1704.

THE which day, the Lord Provost, Bailles, Common-Council and Deacons of Crafts, Ordinar and Extraordinar, being convened in Common Council, in Obedience to an Act of Her Majesty's Privy-Council, ordered several Popish Vestments, Crucifixes, one Chalice and Patine, and other Trinkets, to be publickly burnt at the Cross; an Inventor whereof follows: Imprimis, An Chalice and Patine for the Ilastic. Item, Four Crucifixes. Item, Two Surplices. Item, Three Colliers. Item, Four pair of Beeds, or Chapelets, with some relicts of Saints. Item, Two Vestments. Item, Several Altar-cloaths. Item, A Card. Item, An consecrated Stone. Item, Several Pictures, with Indulgences and Pardons; and particularly one with this Indulgence following, viz. The Arch-bishop of Mechlin has granted Indulgence of Forty Days to those who shall bow their knee before this Image once a Day, considering devoutly the infinite Charity of Jesus Christ, who has suffered for us the bitter Death of the Cross: And if any will perform this Devotion oftner, he shall so oft have new Indulgence for Five Days more extracted.

Adam Walter.

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And now let the Reader judge, who are nearest Related to the *Jesuites*, the *Presbyterians*, or these *Gentlemen*, who cannot hear of a few Beads, Crucifixes, and *Popish* Trinkets burnt, but CHRISTIANITY must be Outraged, and our SAVIOUR Executed in *Effigy*! As for the burning of the *Bible*, it is absolutely False; unless, perhaps, he will say, that some Sentences of Scripture are to be found in the *Mass-Book*. But *this Image* was the Image of our SAVIOUR. Suppose it was; I ask of this *profound Divine*, Whether the making CHRIST's Image in order to Bow down before it, be not expressly forbidden in the Second Commandment? And if it be, what other Obedience can we pay the *Divine Law*, than to destroy it when once it was made, and so remove this Stumbling-Block out of Peoples way? Did not the *Jews* design the *Golden Calf* a Representation of the Incomprehensible *JEHOVAH*? Yet *Moses*, *Exod.* 32. 20. mov'd with an Holy Indignation, did burn it in the Fire, and stamp it to Powder. I hope this was not an Executing the *Almighty* in *Effigy*. Was not the *Brazen Serpent* a Type of CHRIST? Yet when the People burnt Incense to it, good *Hezekiah* broke it in pieces, and was commended for so doing.

But did not the Church of *England* do the very same Thing, for which this *Gentleman* so bitterly Exclaims against the *Scots*? It is well eno' known, that our Churches in the Times of *Popery*, like those in *France* and *Spain*, were full of *Images* and *Pictures*, to which the deluded People paid a Religious Adoration: And what Course did our First Reformers take with them? Why, *Queen Elizabeth* sent out her

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Injunctions, the 23d of which requires *, *That they take away, utterly extinct, and destroy, all Shrines, covering of Shrines, all Tables, Candlesticks, Trindals, Pictures, Painting, and all other Monuments of Idolatry and Superstition; so that there remain no Memory of the same.* And the 35th requires, *That no Persons keep in their Houses any Abused Images, &c.* In Obedience to these Commands, the Image of CHRIST, as well as others, were removed out of Churches, destroy'd, and utterly extinct: Which is as much as all the Bonfires in Scotland are able to effect.

This is the *Method* the Church of England took; and this, according to Mr. Agate's Logick, was a *Fanatical Reformation*, and a Contempt cast on *sacred Things*: As if Pictures, Beads and Crucifixes had a *Holiness* instamp'd upon them by a *Popish Consecration*.

Upon the whole: I doubt not but the Reader will conclude, that this Matter was *Innocent* in its *Original*, tho' the *Application* be *Malicious*: And that this *poison'd Arrow*, which hath been aim'd and level'd at the Scots, recoils into the very Bosom of his own Mother the Church of England. Unless he be willing, it shall pass for One of those *Bolts* which are soon shot, but wound no Body.

Another *absolute Falshood* he hath publish'd concerning the same People, is this, That if any of Pag. 68
the *Episcopal Clergy* in Scotland, offers to *Officiate* in a *Private Meeting*, he runs the Hazard of his Life. He might as well have said, That the Scots are all *Canibals*, and eat one another: But to confute this *horrid Calumny*, I shall pre-

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* Sparrows Collection, p. 74, 77.

sent the Reader with part of a Speech delivered by the Bishop of S---m in the House of Peers, but the other Sessions of Parliament: He assures their Lordships *, That *he was particularly acquainted with the Scotch Affairs; that the Episcopalians were not forbid to Worship GOD their own Way; and that there were at that very time Fourteen Episcopal Meeting-Houses at Edenburg, as open as the Churches, and as freely resorted to: Though in several of them the QUEEN was not Pray'd for.* If the Testimony of so Eminent a Prelate needed any to corroborate and strengthen it, I could add the Names of several, who assure me, That they have been Eye-witnesses to what his Lordship hath affirm'd: And therefore must reckon this as another of this *Author's palpable Falshoods.*

And of the same Nature is a Story that he tells us in the same Page, That *the Presbyterians there have utterly abolished Episcopacy, and Their Liturgy.*

This is a perfect NEW DISCOVERY, and he would very much Oblige the World, if he would give us the History of this *Scotch Common-Prayer-Book*, that hath been so wickedly destroy'd: Sure I am, it is no where to be found, unless it be reserv'd, amongst other Rarities, in one of *Don Quixot's* Enchanted Castles; and with those I am not, I confess, so punctually Acquainted as our AUTHOR is.

The

* Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. 4. p. 206.

The Truth of it is, the *Scotch* Bishops themselves, for many Scores of Years, have had no such thing as a *Liturgy*, nor the least Shadow or Resemblance of it: This is such an horrible Blunder, as sounds extreamly Ill in the Mouth of One that Tramples on the *Dissenters* for want of *Learning*; nor can I imagine how this Gentleman expects to be believ'd, in giving us an Account of the Constitution of the CHURCH for Fifteen Hundred Years together, whilst he is so Scandalously Ignorant of the *Ecclesiastical* Affairs of the Age in which he lives, and the very *Island* in which he drew his first Breath.

Another Matter of Fact, to which Mr. *Agate* Pag. 43
has given a False Invidious Turn, is thus Related by him: *Mr. Powel, and another of the Party, came to Church to hear him on Christmas-Day, and one of them being over-charg'd with Liquor, spew'd about the Church, and bedaub'd a poor Fellow's Holy-day Cloaths*; and so leaves the World to guess, whether 'twas not Mr. *Powel*: When the Truth of the Business is this; the Person guilty of this Indecency, was one with whom Mr. *Powel* had no Acquaintance; he was no more nor less than an Apprentice Boy, and his Master has assur'd me, that he came home and went to Dinner very well, without the least sign of a Distemper'd Head. And whereas our *Author* pretends this Lad was one of the *Party*, I must acquaint the World, he was *Baptiz'd* neither by a *Lay-Man*, nor a *Midwife*, but by a *Clergyman*; and that his Father, who is a Man of good Consideration in the Town, goes continually to Church. And whereas Mr. *Agate* pretends, that had not he prevented it, this *sober Dissenter* had been Prosecuted by the Fellow whose Cloaths were so bedaub'd. I have by me a Certificate under the Hands of Mr. *Joh. Alford, Nich. Breckington* and
Phil.

Phil. Brockington, that they discours'd this very Man, who solemnly protested to them, that *Mr. Agate* did never hinder nor dissuade him from such a Prosecution.

Pag. 79 One Story more he tells us, of a Gentlewoman in his own Parish, who would have suffer'd her Husband (a Churchman) to Expire, without the Assistance of a *Clergyman*, tho' he desir'd it, rather than send for him, or ask his Leave to send for another. Now the Truth of it is, (as she can prove by sufficient Evidence) that her Husband dying of a Consumption, she frequently Urg'd him to send for a *Clergyman*, which he a great while Delay'd to do, and Declar'd particularly against *Mr. Agate*, as a *Turbulent Man*; at last, upon his Wife's repeated Motion, he consented that *Mr. Walker*, of whom he was a constant Auditor, should be sent for; but he refus'd at first to come without *Mr. Agate's* Leave. When this Message was return'd, she Declar'd, that if *Mr. Walker* would not come, she would send to another; and her dying Husband expressed his Dislike of such an Un-necessary Scruple, and gave Orders to send for *Mr. Hooper*. And now, what little Temper or Compassion has *Mr. Agate* shew'n, in endeavouring to Expose this poor Woman to the Reproach and Censure of the World? What is this, but to add Affliction to the Afflicted? *St. James* tells us, that pure Religion is to visit the Fatherless and Widow, i. e. to afford what Relief and Comfort we are able; but instead of this, *Mr. Agate* has Trampled upon one that Providence had laid low, and instead of Oil, poured Vinegar into the Wound, that the Finger of God himself had made. But *Solomon* has told us, That the Mercies of some Men are Cruel.

I have made some Enquiry concerning the Story this Gentleman tells from *Aberdeen*, and have this Account from One of that Nation, who is well Vers'd in the Affairs thereof. That after the *Revolution*, one Dr. *Keith* (an *Episcopal* Divine) was continued in the Old Town of *Aberdeen*, and if he omitted the *Sacrament*, it's chargeable on him and his Friends. After the Death of Dr. *Keith*, most of the Parishioners being Violent *Episcopalans*, would choose such a Minister, as was by Law Unqualify'd, not having taken the Oaths to the Government; and that upon this Account the Church was kept a while Vacant: By which it appears, that the Omission spoken of ought not to be laid at the Door of the *Presbyterians*. Pag. 48

5thly, The last thing which I Remark, is the Grand *Impertinence* of the whole Book. 'Tis nothing else but a *Collection of Stories*, either *False* in themselves, or *Maliciously* apply'd. Here is *More than Enough*, to Irritate an Unwary Reader's Passion; but nothing at all to Inform his Judgment. He may, for ought I know, have made some Men greater *Bigots*; but cannot see how he could hope to make any *Converts* by this Performance.

The whole Design of the *Pamphlet* seems to be a perfect Contradiction to that of the Gospel; the End of the One is to promote Peace and Love; but the End of the Other, to encrease *Feuds*, and set the World together by the Ears. Here is Abundance said to encrease Mens *Prejudices*; but not one Word to satisfy their *Scruples*.

But

But tho' this Gentleman has not produc'd One Argument to support his *Confident Assertions*, yet he has told Two Stories, which perhaps may pass with some for Demonstration; but so Unluckily are they Jumbled together, that the One is a Confutation of the Other; and the *Latter* Overthrows what he would fain Establish by the *Former*: But as they are Recited by him, the Reader may expect that I make some Remarks upon 'em.

Pag. 51 There was, 'tis like, about *Alexandria*, one *Ischyra*, who was Depos'd by a Synod there, because Ordain'd by Colluthus a meer Presbyter. And the second Council of Sevil Depos'd two Deacons and a Presbyter, because the Bishop caus'd a Presbyter that stood by to pronounce the Words of Ordination, being unable to read himself, by reason of his sore Eyes. Ergo, the Dissenting Teachers have no Power to Baptize, &c.

In Answer to these Two Instances, I shall begin with the *Latter* of 'em: And would fain know of this Gentleman, whether in the Case last mention'd, there be any thing wanting (according to his Own Principles) that is Essential, and Absolutely Necessary to Ordination? Here was a *Bishop* that laid on Hands, that presided during the Solemnity, and had the Direction of the whole Affair: He being the Prime Agent, the Act of *Conferring Orders* was certainly his Own. 'Tis Her Majesty that Prorogues the Parliament, tho' the Lord Keeper pronounces the Words at Her Command 'Tis the Chancellor that makes the Decree, tho' an Inferiour Officer Earolls and Writes it down. So here, 'twas the *Bishop* that Invested these Men with an *Ecclesiastical Character*, and the *Priest* was only his Instrument, or Minister.

I therefore thus Argue: If these Persons were Lawfully and Sufficiently *Ordain'd*, and yet Degraded from their Ministerial Function, it follows, that *Ischyra* might have an *Ordination* Valid in it self, tho' the same Fate attended him as did the others. If the Council of *Sevil* Depos'd Men for Weak and Insufficient Reasons, why might not the *Synod of Alexandria* commit the same Error?

'Tis further to be Remark'd: That in this, as well as in successive Ages of the Church, a Non-compliance with those *Ecclesiastical Canons* and *Constitutions*, which were far from having a *Divine Authority* Enstamp'd upon them, was thought a sufficient Cause of Degradation in a *Clergyman*. Thus the 17th Canon of the *Nicene* Council Depos'es all such as put Money out to Use; and yet I am pretty confident, Mr. *Agate* will not pretend, that this in it self *Incapacitates* a Man for the *Sacerdotal Function*.

But to give an Instance that more exactly corresponds with the Case before us: The same Council Decrees, *That if a Bishop Ordains a Clerk belonging to another Diocess, without the Consent and Approbation of his own proper Bishop, such an Ordination shall be esteem'd to all Intents and Purposes Null and Void* *. And the Canons commonly ascrib'd to the *Apostles* have Determin'd, *That if a Bishop Ordains any one out of his own Diocess, that the Ordainer, and Ordained, shall be both Degraded* †. Now 'tis most certain, that these *Ordinations*, tho' they may be *Irregular*, yet they are not Null and Invalid, even in the Opi-

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nion

* *Ἀναθεὶς ἐστὶν ἡ Χειροτονία*, Can. 16, Con. *Nic.*

† *Can. Apost. 34.*

nion of the most Learned Defenders of *Episcopacy*. Mr. Arch-Deacon *Burscough* asserts †, That every Bishop is *Virtually* all; and that one Bishop Ordaining *Presbyters*, does it as effectually as if all other Bishops had assisted at it. These Things being considered, I conceive I may thus argue: That as on the One Hand we may not infer, that Bishops have no Inherent Power of Ordaining out of their own *Diocesses*, because Persons so Ordain'd were degraded by the Council of *Nice*; so neither will it follow on the other hand, that *Presbyters* have no inherent Power of Ordaining at all; because *Ischyra*s was Degraded when Ordain'd by such: For the Argument is as strong against the former, as 'tis against the latter. And the Truth on't is, that Ministers in both these Cases were Degraded, not because their Ordination was absolutely *Null*, but because 'twas contrary to the Canons and Constitutions that did then prevail in the Church. If Bishops consented to have their Power limited and contracted within narrow Bounds for the sake of *Government*; why might not *Presbyters*, for the same Cause, part with one Branch of that Power with which their Order was at first invested?

Besides, 'tis too evident to be deny'd, That *Councils*, and *Ecclesiastical Synods*, from the 3^d Century, and downwards, did lay Claim to an Authority greater than ever *CHRIST* gave them, and enact those Laws and Constitutions for which they were not sufficiently authoriz'd by the Grand Charter of *Christianity* the Gospel. Thus the Council of *Neocæsaria* * made a Decree, That if a *Presbyter* Married a Wife, he should for that cause

† Discourse of Schism, p. 37.
 * Con. *Neocæs.* can. 1.

cause be degraded. Now I would fain know, who gave these good *Fathers* an Authority to restrain Men those *innocent* Liberties, which GOD and Nature had allow'd 'em? What Power had they to lay such a Yoke on the *Disciples* Necks? Nay, *Socrates* tells us *, ' That the Famous Council of *Nice* it self was about to make a *Law*, obliging all Clergy men, who had been married before their Entering into Holy Orders, to dismiss their Wives, had not one *Paphnutius* had a little more Wit and Consideration than the rest, and so diverted them from that Unreasonable Project.

But the same *Historian* observes, That though they who enter'd into Orders when married, were allow'd to keep their Wives; yet, if any were Ordained being Single Men, they were not permitted to Marry afterwards.

What I would infer from these Instances is this: That though an *Ecclesiastical Synod* might Depose some Persons, because Ordained by *meer Presbyters*, it does not follow, that they had a Lawful Authority so to do; for we find other *Synods* pretending a Power (which certainly CHRIST never gave 'em) to degrade Men from the *Ministry* for being Lawfully Married. And others have soar'd so high, as even to put *asunder* those whom GOD had *joyn'd together*: So that we may not Argue from a *Matter of Fact* to a *Matter of Right*. If *Councils* stretch beyond their Line in one Case, they may do so in another. These things being *impartially* considered, 'twill appear, that though this Author has told Two STORIES, he has not produced One ARGUMENT.

P 2.

But,

* *Socrat. Hist. Eccles. L. I. c. 11.*

Pag. 51 But, instead of *Reason* and *Demonstration*, I am Challenged to shew, *Where Presbyterian Ordination has been esteemed Valid, for the first 1500 Years after Christ.* This Gentleman is certainly One of the *strangest Disputants* a Man shall ever hear of: He tells the People, both from the *Pulpit* and the *Press*, That Our *Ordination* is absolutely *Null*: He won't so much as give us One Argument to make good his Assertion, and yet calls upon me to prove what he denies. This is just such a Comical Humour, as if I should Indict a Man for *Felony* or *Treason*, and instead of making good my Allegations, should bawl upon the *Prisoner* at the *Bar* to prove himself Not Guilty. But though I am not obliged in Honour to Answer his Challenge, yet, to let the World see how ready I am to Gratify such a good Humour'd Gentleman, instead of One Instance, I will give him Two.

And the First which I produce shall be as good as a Thousand others; 'tis that of *Timothy*, who is Charged by *St Paul*, not to neglect the Gift, which was given him by Prophecy, with the Laying on of the Hands of the Presbytery, 1 Tim. 4. 14. Here is a *Presbytery*, or a Company of *Presbyters*, Laying Hands on *Timothy*; and this is the very Act by which *Holy Orders* are conferr'd. *Timothy* is required, 1 Tim. 5. 22. to Lay Hands suddenly on no Man. All *Expositors* agree, That in this Phrase the Power of Ordaining is imply'd. Now if the Imposing of Hands infers such a Power in *Timothy*, it infers a like Power in those *Presbyters* he was Ordained by.

Though there be no need of lighting a Candle to the Sun, or adding Instances to one found in the Bible; yet I shall present the Reader with One

One more out of St. *Hierom* *, who has left it on Record, ' That at *Alexandria*, from the * *Ep. ad Evag.*
' Days of *Mark* the Evangelist, even to the
' Time of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, (i. e. near 200
' Years) the *Presbyters* chose one out of their
' own Body, and placing him in a Higher De-
' gree call'd him a BISHOP: Just as an Army
' makes an Emperor, or Deacons chuse an Arch-
' Deacon.

Thus have I shown the Weakness of those Instances produced by my *Antagonist*, and given some *Instances* (according to his Demand) to Justify the *Authority* by which the *Dissenters* Officiate in Sacred Things.

Though it be Incumbent on my *Antagonist*, who is both the *Challenger* and the *Opponent*, to prove his Allegations, and make good his Charge against us, as all that understand the *Rules of Disputation* know very well; and though I am not at all obliged to prove the *Negative*: Yet, to let him see that I am not Ashamed of my Principles, and to silence his blustering Clamours on that Head, I will present him with the following Argument, which he shall have in Mode and Figure.

If we are not Separated from the Church of *England* in any thing in which we are obliged to be United to it, then we are not guilty of a *Damning Schism*.

But we are *not* separated from the Church of *England* in any Thing, wherein we are obliged to be United to it.

Ergo, We are not guilty of a DAMNING SCHISM.

All that I have to do here, is to prove the *Minor Proposition*, and to shew that we are not separated from the Church of England, in any thing in which we are Oblig'd to be United to it. The things wherein we ought to be United to the CHURCH are, 1. Faith. 2. Love. 3. Worship. And some will likely add, 4. Government.

1. We ought to be United in the same Faith; all Churches are requir'd to *Contend earnestly for the Faith delivered to the Saints*, Jude, Verse 3. And in this respect, there is no Disagreement between us and our Brethren; we Subscribe to the same Articles of Religion as they themselves do; we own the same Canonical Books of Scripture, and acknowledge them to be a compleat and perfect RULE of Faith and Manners. *Dissenters* and *Churchmen* are fed with the same sincere Milk of God's Word, rejecting those *Poisonous Drugs*, with which it hath been Adulterated and Abus'd by the *Synagogue of Rome*; we build on the same Golden Foundation, and leave the *Hay* and *Straw* to the *Papists*, to be consum'd in the Imaginary Fire of their own *Purgatory*. Hitherto then we are safe enough.

2. We ought to be United in Love; to be *Knit together in Love*, as the Apostle expresseth, Col. 2. 2. This is indeed the Grand Characteristic of a *Christian*; and as it were, the Nerves and Ligaments by which the *Members of Christ's Mystical Body* should be *Crusyn'd*. True Charity is the Glory of a *Christian*, the sweetest Flower in all his Garland, and the brightest Jewel in all his Coronet of Graces; 'tis a Transcript of the *Divine Perfections*: For God is Love, and without this, a *Cherub's Tongue* would be but as *sounding Brass*, and as a *tinkling Cymbal*. It's not only
Con-

Confess'd, but frequently Insisted on by Us, that we ought to be thus United to the CHURCH Establish'd by Law; and to love the Members of it, not only as *Men* or *Fellow-Citizens*, but as *Fellow-Christians* and *Protestants*, and *Heirs* of the same HOPE.

This is indeed what my *Antagonist* will not be Convinc'd of; and having his Own *Charity* confin'd to a *Party* or a *Faction*, would fain persuade the World, that Ours is so too. He tells Us, *That the Church of England, instead of being Own'd as a Noble Part of the Reformation, has been Treated as a Jezebel, the Whore of Babylon, the Mother of Harlots and all Abominations, &c.* Perhaps these *Roses* have been found in the Garden of *George Fox*, or some of his *Quaking Brethren*: But what is that to Us? We are as little concern'd with that *Wild Fraternity* as he himself is; for we are Saluted by those *Whimsical Enthusiasts*, with the same Obliging Language. If there be any other *Dissenters* that allow themselves in such a Rude Uncharitable Method, let *Baal* plead for it self, I will not be their *Advocate*. And I must crave Leave to tell the Reader, that among the *Dissenters* with whom I have any Conversation, I know none so Bitterly inclin'd.

Pag. 64

3. As *Christians* are Oblig'd to Unite in *Faith* and *Love*, so also in *Worship*. Now this may be consider'd, either in relation to its *Essence* and *Substance*, or in relation to those *Ceremonies* with which it is Cloth'd, or those various *Rites* and *Circumstances* with which it is Attended.

As for the Substance of *Divine Worship*, we are heartily United to the Church of *England*; it's one and the same Incomprehensible BEING,
that

that is the Object of our Religious Worship and Adoration : We make our Addressees to one and the same GOD, hoping and desiring to be Accepted, in and through the Mediation of the same JESUS : We Celebrate the same *Mysteries*, and Participate of the same *Sacraments* : We are Baptiz'd in the Name of the *Father, Son, and Holy Ghost* : We Commemorate the *Passion* of our dear Lord and Saviour, in that *Ordinance* which he himself Instituted, when he bid his *Disciples, Do this in Remembrance of me.* Thus far we are all United ; and when St. Paul mentions the grand Terms of *Christian Concord*, he takes Notice of no more than *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, One God and Father of All*, Eph. 4. 5, 6. And where there is a Concurrence of all these, there Persons may be said to be *One Body*, and *One Spirit* to Enliven and Animate that BODY, Verse 4.

But Mr. *Agate* perhaps will say, we are not all ty'd together by one and the same *Bell-Rope* ; we don't Worship GOD in the same Places ; nor use the same *Liturgy*, the same *Rites and Ceremonies* with our Brethren of the Establish'd CHURCH. True, nor are we Oblig'd so to do, neither by the Law of GOD or Man. As for the Law of GOD, this indeed Obligeth Us to come and *Bow before the Lord*, to *Honour the Son as we do the Father* ; to *Glorify God with our Bodies and Spirits, which are his.* To make a publick Acknowledgment of God's Sovereignty Over Us, and our Dependance upon him ; to assemble our selves together for the Participation of *Gospel-Ordinances* ; these are most unquestionable Duties : But whether these must be done with or without a *Form* ; whether we must *Stand* or *Kneel*, or what *Posture* we must use ; how many Congregations there must be within such or
such

such a Precinct; is what I do not find Determined in all the Sacred Volumes.

If we consider next the *Law of the Land*, it's true, there were *Laws* obliging us to attend *Divine Service* in the *Parish-Churches* every *Lord's-Day*, to receive the *Sacrament* so many times a Year, &c. But by an *Act of Parliament* made 1 *W. & M.* it's expressly Ordain'd, ' That neither the Statutes made the 23d nor 29th of ' *Q. Eliz.* nor that Clause in the *Act of Uniformity*, whereby all Persons are required to resort to their *Parish-Church*, or *Chapel*, or some usual Place of Common-Prayer, nor several other Acts there mention'd, shall be construed to EXTEND to any Persons *Dissenting* from the *Church of England*, who shall take the *Oaths*, and perform some other Conditions therein mentioned. Now if these *Laws*, which did oblige Men to repair constantly to their own *Parish-Churches*, do not EXTEND to *Us*, then certainly they cannot OBLIGE *Us*; for never yet was any Man bound with a *Chain*, or *Cord*, that could not reach him.

Upon the whole; Seeing a NATIONAL CHURCH must necessarily be divided into many *Particular Congregations*; seeing the *Law of God* has nowhere fix'd their *Boundaries* and *Limits*, and the *Authority* of the *Nation* hath Licens'd more *Religious Assemblies* than One, in the same *Town* or *Parish*: This Conclusion follows from the Premisses, Such *Assemblies* are not *Schismatical* nor *Sinful*, because they are not a *Violation* of a *Divine* or *Humane Law*. Or, if he please, he shall have my *Argument* in *Mode* and *Figure*.

THAT which is the Transgression of No Law, is No Sin; but the Frequenting of such Protestant Dissenting Meetings as I plead for, is the Transgression of No Law.

ERGO, The Frequenting such Meetings is No Sin.

Mr. Agate, it may be, will be apt to say, *That this Argument excuseth Quakers, Papists, Socinians, and I know not who*: But this short Reply will Obviate such a Groundless Clamour. These Persons are not United in the *same Faith*, nor some of 'em in the *same Worship and Sacraments*; and who ever *believes not* what GOD reveals, must be a *Breaker of the Divine Law*: So that these People are not concerned.

Nor hath it been a thing *unusual* in the Church, for Diversities of *Rites and Ceremonies* to be allow'd of in the *same Nation or City*; and this without the Imputation of *Schism* to either Party. Thus Arch-bishop Usher tells us (a), 'That in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, for several Ages, no One Form of Divine Service was retained, but divers Rites and Manners of Celebrations were observ'd in divers Parts of the Kingdom. And even the Grand *Lateran Council* (b) under *Innocent III.* tho' made up of *Papists*, the Grand Pretenders to Unity, and to the *Pope* as the Center of it, 'Requires the *Bishops* to admit of divers Rites and Modes of Worship in the *same City*, when there were Persons of divers Customs

(a) Religion of the Irish, p. 24.

(b) Council *Lateran*, cap. 9.

‘stoms and Nations residing in it; and all this without the Imputation of a *Damning Schism*. And indeed, if a small Variety in the *Modes* and *Adjuncts* of *Worship* renders Persons guilty of this Crime, then the *Parish-Churches* themselves will be condemn’d, who recede as far from the *Pomp* and *Splendour* of *Cathedral Service*, as we do from them.

Besides, if all Worshipping GOD in different Methods from the *Church by Law Establish’d* be *Schismatical*, why do the *Episcopal Divines* keep up Meetings in *Scotland*, in contradistinction to the *Presbyterians*, who are There the *Kirk by Law Establish’d*? What! Doth the Interposition of the *River Tweed* change the Nature of *Good* and *Evil*, and make that a Crime in one Country, which is a Virtue in another? Why does this *Gentleman* Vindicate and Plead for them, and yet Exclaim so bitterly against Us for doing the very same thing? Or why are some *Clergymen* of late sent over to *Holland*, to set up *Episcopal Conventicles* there? If all Separation from an *Establish’d Church* be of such a *Damning* *Heinous* Nature. Upon a Review of what has been said, I conceive it will appear, That we are not Separated from the *Church of England* in *Faith*, in *Love*, nor in the *Essentials* of *Worship*: And as for the *Modes* and *Adjuncts* of it, therein we may Differ without any *Harm done*.

4. But I presume Mr. *Agate* will affirm, That the *Headship of a Bishop over the Christians of his Diocese*, is of a *Spiritual and Essential Nature*: That there is One Common *Episcopacy*; That every Bishop is a kind of Sovereign within his own Territories, and all ought to be subject to his Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitutions; And that the *Dissenters* are all *Schismaticks*, because not thus united to their *Diocesan*.

Pag. 54

To this I reply ; If there be any such Obligation as is pretended, it must be derived either from an *Humane* or *Divine Law* ; but it is derived neither from the one nor the other : And therefore, there is no such Obligation at all.

If this Obligation be derived from a *Humane Law*, it will follow, that the same *Authority* which laid the Obligation, can at any time *dissolve* it : There is no *Power* upon *Earth* that is *Supream* and *Sovereign*, but can at any time *Rescind* its own *Acts*, and *Repeal* its own *Laws* ; this is what every *Legislator* both claims and exerciseth. So that if the *Law of the Land* gives the *Bishop* his *Jurisdiction* over *such* or *such* a *Precinct*, the same *Law* can and hath exempted us from it ; and so we are safe, and this *Gentleman's* Charge will not affect us.

But I suppose Mr. *Agate* will affirm, That the Obligation we lie under of being subject to the *Bishop* of the *Diocess* wherein we live, ariseth from the *Law of GOD*, who has Invested him with this *Transcendent Power*, and placed him in such an *Exalted Station* : Now, if this *Notion* be true, these *Consequences* will follow.

1. It will follow, That no *Humane Power* can dissolve this *Obligation*, or divest the *Bishop* of his *Spiritual Jurisdiction*. If the *QUEEN* puts a *Gentleman* into the *Commission of the Peace*, it's not in the *Power* of a *Judge*, or *Secretary of State*, to *Discommission* him. If *Her Majesty* grants a *Charter* to *such* or *such* a *Town*, giving the *Inhabitants* a *Power* to choose their own *Officers*, and confers such *Priviledges* on them as she thinks fit, it's not in the *Power* of a *Bench of Country Justices*, to break in upon their *Enclosure*, and pull Mr. *Mayor* out of his *Chair* ; all must allow this as an undisputed *Maxim*, That no *Power* can vacate a *Commission* less than that which gave it : So that if the *Bi-*
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shop has a Jurisdiction over *Presbyters*, Independent on the State, no Act of State what ever, can Lawfully deprive him of it.

2. Hence it will follow, that the King and Parliament could not Deprive the late Archbishop *Sancroft*, and the rest of the *Nonjurant* Bishops, of that Authority which Christ is suppos'd to have given them over their respective *Diocesses*.

If the *Clergy* (for Instance) of *Sommerfet* were obliged, by a *divine Law*, to be united to Bp *Ken*, and he was their *Spiritual and Essential Head*; then no Act of State could dissolve this Union; for those whom *God* hath Joyned together, no Man may put asunder: hence it will follow, that Mr. *Agate* is a *Schismatick* himself, in that he separated from his *Spiritual Head*, and Joyned with the late Bp. *Kidder*, and so sat up Bp. against Bp. and *Altar* against *Altar*; so that the Stone he hath thrown at the *Dissenters* will recoyl upon himself, and break his own head as soon as ours: and let him seek Sanctuary in what evasion he thinks fit, the *Dissenters* will find shelter there as well as himself: for either the Supream Authority of the Nation can exempt Persons from the Jurisdiction of their *Diocesan*, or it cannot; If it can, then we are no Criminals upon that Account; If it cannot, then it could not disengage him and the rest of the *Clergy* of *Sommerfet* from their obedience due to Bp. *Ken*; for if Queen and Parliament can exempt a whole *Diocess*, they may a few particular Persons of it; and this is what we Insist upon; this is the *Post* I am confident may be defended, against all the Impotent Efforts of *Railery* and *Banter*, and I am pretty secure, that these *mouth Granadoes* (the only Weapons he seems to be well furnished with) will not be able to drive me from my Station.

And

And here this Gentleman's Admired Friend, Mr. *Lestly*, the Author of the *Wolf Strip'd*, is so far from lending him any aid, that he strenuously opposes him, 'asserting in so many Words * that a Second Bp. is a Second Husband, that is an adulterer whilst the First Husband still Lives; and is not divorced for a just Cause, and by an Authority that is competent; which he will not allow the Civil Magistrate to be. And speaking of the *Schism*, *in*, not from the Church of England he says, † that this *Schism* did not commence till the day of the Consecration of new Bishops into the Sees of the Bishops that were ejected; for then, and not till then, there were Bishops and Anti-Bishops, and opposite Altars set up. And the learned Mr. *Dodwell*, ‡ who heretofore was look'd on as the Maul of the *Schismatics*, and who has contributed more than any Man to advance the notion of *Episcopacy* and *Catholick unity* to that height in which it now Shines, at least in some Mens fancies; he brands the present Church with the same Crime (for separating from the Old deposed Bishops) which they object to the *Dissenters*, and declares Salvation to be hazardous in their Communion: I have often wondered why the first of these High Churchmen (for that is the Character in which he glories) should be so caressed, and, as tis said, rewarded by some Gentlemen, for writing with such Scurrility and Bitterness against the *Dissenters*, whilst they themselves are in the same condemnation with them; and he proves these Churchmen guilty of *Schism*, by such arguments as

* Regale & Pontif. p. 5.

† *Ibid.* p. 75. ‡ *Engl. Schism.* p. 3.

as they, upon their *Jure Divino Principles*, and the notion of a Bishop's *essential Headship* can never Answer.

Because a fair Opportunity here presents, I shall give the *Reader* an Account of the Argument which was offer'd accidentally by me, purely to prevent the Interruption of the *Conference*, which my *Opponent* has Mangled and Disguis'd, and so expos'd to the Censure of the World. My *Syllogism* ran thus ;

If we are United to the Head of the Church of *England*, then we are Members of the said Church ;

But we are United to the Head of the Church of *England*.

Ergo we are Members of the said Church.

I never pretended that we are United to the Head of the Church merely because we are Subjects to the QUEEN ; this is an Argument of his own framing, not of mine ; my Intent was to prove, that we are United to the QUEEN as Head of the Church, as well as of the State, in that we are obedient to her Majesty's *Ecclesiastical Laws* ; and this the *Socinians*, *Papists*, and others, are not concerned in. The Principles I had an Eye to, are these following.

1st. The Church of *England*, Art. 19 hath. Defin'd a true Church of Christ to be a *Congregation of Faithful Men*, in which the pure Word of God is preach'd, and the Sacraments be duly Minister'd, according to Christ's Ordinance, in all these things, that of Necessity are requisite to the same. Such Congregations, the Congregations of those *Dissenters* I plead for are, and therefore true Churches.

2^{dly}. A

2dly. A *National Church* is a Collection of such particular Churches under one governing or Political Head. Just as a Kingdom is made up of many *Towns, Cities, Countries*, and the like, under the same Legislative Power.

3dly. The Law declares the Queen with Her Parliament to be the *Fountain of Spiritual Jurisdiction*, and the chief Governor in Ecclesiastical Things and Causes.

4thly. Hence, that Jurisdiction which *Bishops* have over *Presbyters*, is derived from, and founded on, the *Queens Supremacy* and the Laws of the Land.

5thly. By the Act of Toleration, Her Majesty's *Protestant Dissenting Subjects* are exempted from the *Bishops Jurisdiction*. Upon the whole, these Congregations of *Dissenters*, of whom I am speaking, are some of those Churches of Christ which are in *England*, United to the Queen as Head of all these Churches, and Subject to Her Ecclesiastical Laws; for which reasons we may, in a true sense, be said to be of the Church of *England*, tho' not in that *Restrained Sense* in which the Word is commonly taken.

I expect my *Antagonist* will be ready to cry out, that I am for the Extirpation of *Episcopacy*, Root and Branch, and prove it, perhaps, as in his last, because the *London Apprentices* had such a Project about Sixty Years ago: For my part, tho' we don't look upon *Prelacy* to be such an high and mighty Thing as some would fain perswade the World; Nor does it seem to us, that any of our Ecclesiastical *Heralds* have prov'd its Descent from a Divine Original: Yet a great many *Dissenters* could

could have submitted to it, as a Humane Constitution, upon such Concessions as the *Bishops* themselves seem'd willing to make upon the late Revolution. And had the over-zealous *Sons* the same Degree of Tenderness and Moderation with the more Reverend *Fathers* of the Church, I believe I should not have been put upon this piece of Self - Defence, which I am now necessarily engag'd in.

The Peaceable *Dissenters* in *England* look upon themselves as so many *Independent Troops*, or Companies, belonging to an Army; whilst such are ready to Joyn with the *Grand Army* in all Battles, and Sieges; whilst they are as forward as any, to storm Breaches, and assault the Trenches of the Enemy; I see no Reason why their Fellow Soldiers should unsheath their Swords against them, because they do not display the same coloured *Banner*, or observe the same *Postures* that they have been enured to. We look upon our selves as engag'd in the same Quarrel with our Brethren of the Church of *England*; we hope we are all carrying on the same Glorious Design, viz. The beating down of *Satan's Kingdom*, and the ruining his Interest in the World; And therefore can see no Reason why our Brethren should quarrel with us because we do not Correspond with them in all those Modes which are of a Variable Nature. We look upon the *Queen* as our General under Christ, and the *Bishops* as her Lieutenant-Generals. And whilst we are allow'd by the *Former*, we see no reason why we should be condemn'd as Mutineers, because not in Subjection to the *Latter*; Especially seeing 'tis a matter of Necessity not of Choice.

Nor can I see any reason to perswade me, that my Practise is any way inconsistent with my

R

Princi-

Principles, tho' I own the Church of *England* to be a Noble Part of the *Reformation*. 'Tis true, Pag. 80 did I (as my *Antagonist* would have me) suppose him to be the *Body of the Church of England Clergy*, the first thing I should do would be the retracting that Concession; but as yet he has done Nothing to perswade me that I may not make such an Acknowledgment without Self-Condernation.

But to perswade the World, that the *Dissenters* in *Exon* do not think so Honourably of the Church, he tells a Story of a *Prime Man* in my Pag. 64 own Congregation, one that is the *Right-Hand of the Party*, declar'd, it was as great a Crime to go to the Church of *England*, as 'twas to have two Wives. The Words are positively deny'd by the Party intended; and another Person in company at the same time heard nothing like it, tho' very near, and talking with the others: And perhaps all this may be a Mistake in the Relater, which is the more likely, because the Person accused goes sometimes to Church, and joyns with others in the Prayers of it; and tho' Mr. *Agate* upbraids him with *Sixpenny and Fourpenny Prayers*, he offers to give a Guinea for every Penny he can prove to have been receiv'd on any such Occasion. Tho' were this true, he is neither the *Head* nor the *Right-hand of the Party*.

As for that *Horrid Crime* Objected to him, could he be prov'd Guilty of it, I make no question but some or other would Prosecute the Law against him. That he was Guilty of some ill Actions, is, I believe, too true; for these he was suspended a considerable time from the Lord's Table, and not re-admitted 'till he had begg'd Pardon of God, and the Society he had Offended; and therefore, according to Mr. *Agate's* own Rule, he must think a *Presbyterian* in

a hopeful Case, when he is once brought to confess his Sins and be sorry for 'em. I may Challenge him to Name one such *Voluntary* Penitent in his Church, tho' there be *Delinquents*, more than a good many.

Should I attempt to give an Account of all the *scurrilous* and *base Reflections* cast on the *DISSENTERS* in General, I must transcribe a great Part of the *LIBEL* of my *Antagonist*: If he be to be believ'd, they are Men of *Vile and Irreligious Designs*; and *Insincere in their Profession of Religion*. He pretends, That they are *Rebels from their Original*; *Disaffected to Church and State*; and *Faction always uppermost in their Thoughts*. That they are the *Spawn of the Jesuites*, and *Papish Emissaries preach in their Conventicles*. That their Practices tend to the *Ruine of the Church*, and *Confusion of the Nation*. That they are of an *Implacable and Bitter Temper*; And *Peevishness is Essential to 'em*. That they have *altered and corrupted the Bible*; And *abandoned the Apostles Creed, and Ten Commandments*. That they *tear the Body of Christ*. In one Word; That they are so far from being *Innocent*, that they are not to be endured: *i. e.* Could this good *Humour'd Gentleman* have his Way, the *Inquisition* should be set up, the *Fire* kindled, and the *Hangman* set to work. But, Thanks be to *GOD*, we have a *QUEEN* who has more *Piety and Prudence* than to put the Reins into the Hands of those *Hair-brain'd Phaetons*, that would set the *World* on Fire.

But, to leave the rest of Mr. *Agate's Billingsgate Rhetorick* to the Reader's Observation, I shall present him with some of those many *Gross Falsities* which are scatter'd up and down the Pamphlet I am considering, and which the Rea-

der, if he pleases, may call so many Agatists.

Pag. 75. 1. He asserts, *That Mr. Gilling made my Defence*; when Mr. Gilling has given it me under his Hand, That he was not the Author of one Paragraph in it.

77. 2. He tells the World, *He never gave us One Challenge*; The contrary prov'd by Two Witnesses, p. 15.

12. 3. He calls my Account of his Consent to burn the Papers *a glaring Falshood*; when the Truth of my Relation is confirm'd, and his contradicted by Five Witnesses, p. 17.

45. 4. He disowns that Expression in the Pulpit, *That the Dissenters took as much Pains to Damn Souls, as Christ did to Save 'em*; and pretends, *the Words he spake were levell'd against the Stage-Players*. The contrary of which has been prov'd by several Witnesses, p. 28, &c.

44. 5. He publishes a Calumny against K. William, then denies the Words to Captain Turner and Mr. Mortimer; and now pretends *he spake 'em with Dislike*: When Four as Credible Persons as any in the City can take their Oath, That he repeated this vile Slander as his own Sense, p. 31.

43. 6. He avers, *That had it not been for him, the Lad who spew'd on a poor Fellow's Cloaths had been prosecuted*: When the same Man has solemnly protested, That Mr. Agate did never dissuade him from such a Prosecution, p. 101.

7. He

7. He tells of a *Gentlewoman in his Parish*, who *might have suffer'd her Husband to expire without the Assistance of a Clergyman though he desired it, rather than send for him, or ask his Leave to send for another*: When, the Truth on't is, 'twas upon her Motion he sent for a Clergyman; and upon his Delay to come, the Dying-Man sent for a Dissenter, p. 102. Pag. 79.

8. He asserts, *That an Episcopal Minister in Scotland runs the Hazard of his Life if he preaches in a Meeting*: In which he is confuted by the Bishop of S---m, p. 100; to whom (if there were Occasion) I might add the Testimony of Mr. Berry of Wellington, and Mr. Bartlet of Bideford, who have been Eye-Witnesses of that Security and Freedom, with which the Episcopalians keep their Meetings in *Edenburg*. 68.

9. He asserts, *The Sacrament was not Administered in Oakhampton from 1643 to 1651*. In this he is confuted by Mr. Hussy, and the Parish Records. 47.

10. He pretends, *The Sacrament was Administered in Oxford privately, when 'twas done in Publick Churches, and Consecrated Chappels*, p. 35. With many other FALSHOODS. 46.

And his *Infirmity* this way is so *Notorious*, that a Clergyman, who was some time his Curate, (in a Vicaridge he has in *Somerſet*) declar'd him, before a great Company, to be a *Lying Fellow*; with another *Hard Epithet*: As I have it certified to me under the Hand of a Reputable Churchman, who was present, with the Time when, and Place where, this was asserted.

Add

Add to all this, his *telling Stories* after One he knew to be a *Lying Author*; and the *Invidious Turns* he gives to some Matters of Fact, as in the Case of Mr. Baxter, &c. And then let the World Judge, what *Credit* is to be given to that *Collection of Tales*, by which he Abuses those who had *nothing* to say to him.

Mr. Agate, in the Conclusion of his Book, enters the mean Abilities of the *Dissenting Teachers*,
 Pag. 75. *Compared with those of the Church*. That there are in the Church Men of great Worth and Eminence, I *cheerfully Acknowledge*, and *heartily Rejoice in*. But that all the Arts and Sciences should be confin'd within the *Circingle and Cassock*, he has given no Reason to persuade me. Instead of endeavouring to possess the Reader with mean Thoughts of my *Antagonist*; If *Scurrility and Banter* be Argument and Reason; if *bold and confident Assertions* may pass for Evidence and Demonstration; If *Don Quixot* and *Cassandra* may supply the place of Fathers and Councils; I must acknowledge Mr. Agate to be one of the most Profound Divines, and the most Learned Disputants in Europe.

He is a *Gentleman* that pretends a Zeal for *Monarchy and Episcopacy*, and yet Affronts both the *Miter* and the *Crown*. One that Beautifies the Tomb, and Adorns the Sepulchre of *Charles the First*, and Murthers the Reputation of *William the Third*. One that Accuses the *Dissenters* of an *Implacable and Bitter Temper*, and yet tells the World, *He can't be easy whilst there is one Dissenter in his Parish*.
 Pag. 80.

In Opposition to Mr. Agate's confident Assertions, that we are *Schismatics*, I shall produce the Testimony of some Eminent Divines of the Church of England, and begin with the late Bishop *Stillington*, who thus expresses himself in
 his

his Vindication of *Arch-Bishop Laud*, p. 358
‘ No Church can be charg’d with a Separation
‘ from the true *Catholick Church*, but what may
‘ be proved to Separate it self in something ne-
‘ cessary to the Being of the *Catholick-Church*;
‘ and so long as it doth not separate as to these
‘ Essentials, it cannot cease to be a true Member
‘ of the *Catholick-Church*. Thus far the Bishop.
And it cannot be pretended that we separate in
any Essential Point.

My next Testimony is more express, being
that of *Dr. Edwards*, an Eminent Divine still li-
ving, who thus expresses himself, * ‘ I do not
‘ see how we can fairly stile those *Schismaticks*,
‘ whose Separation is allow’d by the Laws.
‘ You will say, the Laws have only suspended
‘ the Penalty, but do not approve the Fact. I
‘ know this is commonly and vulgarly said, but
‘ can we think otherwise, than that our Intelli-
‘ gent and Prudent Law-givers relaxed the Pu-
‘ nishment, because they were convinc’d, that
‘ the Persons on whom it used to be inflicted did
‘ not deserve it? Can we imagine that so wise
‘ a Body of Men would do the former, without
‘ the consideration of the latter? So that this
‘ Suspension is a virtual Allowance and Appro-
‘ bation, tho’ not a formal one; therefore what
‘ ever Opinion and Thoughts we have concern-
‘ ing the *Dissenters*, how mistaken so ever we
‘ may think them to be, and how blameable
‘ otherwise, yet I can’t pronounce them *Schisma-*
‘ *ticks*. It is a meer Jest to say those are *Schisma-*
‘ *ticks*, who by the Reverend Fathers of our
‘ Church, as well as by the *Temporal Lords*, and
‘ by the Representatives of the whole Nation,
Clergy,

* *Edward's Preacher* 2d Part, Preface p. 35.

‘ Clergy, as well as *Laity*, have been permitted
 ‘ to separate from our Church with Impunity.
 ‘ We have all done it, and we cannot in Honour
 ‘ or Conscience go back. Yea, since it is our
 ‘ own voluntary Act and Deed, it is Folly and
 ‘ Weakness to retract it, especially when I have
 ‘ succinctly shew’d that it conduces to the Esta-
 ‘ blishment of our Church.

I shall conclude my Defence, with an Appeal,
 from the rash censorious Judgement of my *Anta-*
gonist, to the supream Tribunal of the Nation,
 the Highest and Noblest Judicature in *England*,
 the *House of Lords*, who thus express themselves,
 as I find it in the Account of their Proceedings
 about the *Occasional Bill*. p. 30. ‘ The Lords
 ‘ cannot think the Dissenters can properly be
 ‘ called Schismatics, at least that differ in no
 ‘ Essential Point; that such an opinion allowed,
 ‘ would bring a heavy Charge upon the *Church*
 ‘ of *England*, who by a Law have tolerated such
 ‘ a *Schism*; that Connivance hath been used to
 ‘ Schismatics; that publick Allowance was ne-
 ‘ ver given to such, and the Churchmen having
 ‘ allow’d Communion with the Reformed Chur-
 ‘ ches abroad professing *Calvinism*; it must follow,
 ‘ they hold them not Guilty of Schism, or could
 ‘ not allow Communion with them.

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

PAge 13 line 15. read *Meetings*. p. 52 l. 28. r. *Judeus*.
 p. 58 Marg. r. *rebaptizatis*, lb. r. *Parmeniane*. p. 60
 l. 6. r. *into*. p. 103 l. 10. r. *Episcopalian*s. p. 120 l. 21 af-
 ter Laws, r. *such as are Laws to us, and oblige us*; lb. l. 29.
 r. *our parts*. What ever Literal Mistakes may have esca-
 ped the Press, the Reader is desired to Correct.

Truth Try'd :
O R,
Mr. AGATE's
PRETENDED
PLAIN-TRUTH
Proved an
UNTRUTH:
IN WHICH

His FALSE STORIES and UNFAIR
QUOTATIONS are Detected ; His Charge of
JESUITISM and DONATISM against the
DISSENTERS is Retorted, And their AGREE-
MENT with all FOREIGN PROTESTANTS
in Point of ORDINATION is further Manifested.

By **JOHN WITHERS.**

*JOB II. 2, 3. Should not the Multitude of Words be
Answered? And should a Man full of Talk be Justi-
fied? Should thy Lies make Men hold their Peace?
When thou Mockest shall no Man make thee Asham'd?*

Familiare est omnibus etiam Hæreticis in publicis Congres-
sibus se jactare, in Concionibus Dominari, in Conven-
tibus gloriari, DISPUTATIONES cupido re-
quirere. *Jesuitismi, Pars I. p. 92.*

Dicebant (Manichæi) Veritas! Veritas! Et nunquam
erat in eis. *Aug. Confes. L. 3. C. 6.*

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To the Reader.

IF any Thing creates an Uneasiness in me upon the Account of this present Controversy, 'tis that I am Engaged against an Adversary, who, instead of Arguing like a Gentleman or a Scholar, seems to Propound no other End unto himself but to Bespatter and Throw Dirt; for which Reason, I have been perswaded by some to take no Notice of this Part of his Performance: But since, by a Collection of Infamous Stories, he has endeavoured to represent Us as Black as Hell, I think my self under an Obligation of letting the World see, that they are either FALSE in their own Nature, or IMPERTINENT in their Application; and that it is Defamation, rather than Conviction, which Mr. AGATE aims at. To this End, he consults those Scoundrel Pamphlets which their very Authors are Ashamed to own; and considers not the Veracity and Truth of a Tale, but its Aptitude and Fitness to Asperse a PRESBYTERIAN. If he lights upon a Dose of Poison, which may rankle and envenome Peoples Minds against Dissenters, tho' 'twere first disgorged by the Old Serpent, he greedily licks it up himself, and very formally recommends it unto others.

THE Reader may observe this Remarkable Difference between my Performance and that of my Antagonist; I have advanced nothing as Matter of Fact, for which I have not named my Vouchers, or else am ready to do it; but this Gentleman will not descend to Particulars, for fear the Calumny should be confuted. Thus he endeavours to possess the World, That the Dissenters in EXON have a great Mind to knock out his Brains, (to make Sauce, I suppose, for their Calves Heads, were there enough of 'em) but where these Utopian Canibals are to be found, or by what Titles they are dignified and distinguished, that is a Secret we must by no means be acquainted with.

IF the Reader is desirous to know, out of what Magazines Mr. AGATE has fetched those Weapons with which We are so Rudely Assaulted. He may please to understand, that the Learned Doctor at PLYMOUTH

To the Reader.

told me, and a Gentleman in my Company, That he sent him a great part of those Stories which relate to Jesuites and Popish Emissaries: Adding, That he had furnished him with Materials for his 2d Book, particularly to prove, That the Presbyterians began the War, That they Killed the KING, and did not Restore the SON. Which General Heads comprehend a great part of his 2d Book. His Remarks upon the Donatists, together with his Quotations out of Austin and Optatus, are almost all Borrowed from Mr. Long's History of that Sect; and what he cites from Foreign Divines, may be met with in Dnrel, Mason, or the latter end of Stillingfleet's Irenicum. Thus hath he rifled 2 or 3 English Authors, and so sets up for a Man of Letters; whereas should every Bird but pluck his own Feathers, he that now looks so spruce and gay in his borrow'd Plumes, might be as naked as Æsop's Crow, and as much the Derision of Spectators. I have taken no Notice in this Treatise of the Divine Right of Diocesan Bishops; what I have to offer on that Head, being reserved 'till Mr. AGATE shall oblige the World with his Third Part. There is but One Thing in this Gentleman's Preface on which I shall make a particular Animadversion, and that is his Attempt to make me odious, by telling the World, That my Principles may be found in the Rights of the Church, and that the Author of that Book pronounces it a thing Indifferent, whether we believe there is a GOD or no. Upon my desiring him to show me this Passage, he confess'd there was no such Expression in the whole Book, but this he pretended was the Consequence of that Author's Doctrine, because he would allow God Almighty to have no Priests. If I mistake not, that Gentlemans Error lies in the other Extream, in allowing GOD too many Priests, and giving every one a License to Invade the Sacerdotal Function; were it otherwise, I can't see that a Denial of the Priesthood necessarily infers the Disowning of the Deity. This Accusation therefore must be looked upon as a gross Abuse, and gives just Reason to apprehend, that his Book is of a piece with his Preface, which begins with Fooling, goes on with Railing, and ends in a downright Forgery.

Truth Try'd :

O R,

Mr. *Agate's* Pretended *Plain Truth* proved an *Untruth*.

IT's not my Design to introduce my Discourse, like Mr. *Agate*, with a Pretence to *Expedition*, and at the same time sit Brooding, 13 or 14 Months together, on a parcel of rotten, stinking Eggs: For which Cause, I shall not surfeit my *Reader* with a nauseous *Repetition* of what has been already spoken to, and what occurred at our Intended *Conference*; nor further debate the Matter with him, whether I or himself be the greater *Mountebank*; the Fortunes of *Cæsar*, or Welfare of *Europe*, do not depend on the resolving of that Question. They that reflect upon what has been done and said by both of us, may judge as they see cau'e; but to call a Minister *Quack*, is, says this Gentleman, [p. 7.] to burlesque his Function; and is a Name too coarse for a Person that represents Almighty God. This is just as if I should infer, that when the Bishop he tells us of [p. 46.] was Hanged for an Unnatural Crime, the Law and Justice of the Nation did execute the Episcopal Office, and that Stringing-up was too coarse an Usage for him. To be serious; Was he representing the God of Truth, when he told his People, That the Sacrament, in Cromwel's Time, was not Administred for 12 Years together in the University of Oxford: Or had he any Commission from his Maker, to turn his Back on St. Paul and the Four Evangelists, to amuse his Hearers with the Dreams and Whimsies of Father *Lesly*? But I shall wave the further debating of this Matter, it being my Resolution to keep close to Matter of Fact and Argument. I have no Inclination to write a tedious

Paraphrase on every Sentence, much less to put an innocent Expression on the Rack, and extort from it such a criminal Meaning as it is no way conscious of: The Glory of such an Atchievement, I shall willingly leave to my Opponent. What I chiefly aim at, is, To make Remarks on the False Stories and Fallacious Arguings of the Pamphlet before me, and to Antidote the Reader against the Malignity and Poison of it. I have neither a Disposition to recriminate and asperse the Established Church, or any other Society of Men; nor have I any Learned Doctor or Divine to send me their Collections, or furnish me with Memoirs on that Head. I am fully perswaded, that my Time may be spent to much better purpose, than to Scold with an Oyster-Wench, throw Dirt with a Scavenger, or (which some will say is much the same) to write Lampoons and Banter with my Antagonist.

WHEN I first offered to Debate the Matter with this Gentleman in Print, I thought that all Noise and Clamour about a Disputation would have been for ever quashed and silenced, and that the lesser had been included in the greater. Little did I dream of being Insulted on that Head; Must I therefore be ashamed of my Principles, because I publish them to the whole World? Must I therefore be a Coward, because I rather chose to fight my Adversary on the Publick Stage, where the Eyes of all Men are upon us, than to sneak into a Corner, where there are only half a Score Spectators? Had he not told me himself in his Preface, That he intended to play the Fool, I could never have imagined, that he would have resembled me to a Donatist, for declining of a Conference, whilst I was conferring with him in the most notorious, publick Manner, that the Nature of the Thing was capable of.

'TIS true, I had no great Inclination to Dispute in a Crowd, to be Teaz'd and Baited for the Diversion of the Rabble; for as I had never any great Opinion of the Civility of a High-Church Mob, so have I less Reason than ever to expect a candid Treatment from them, since I have been my self an Eye-Witness of those Insolent Affronts they so lately offered to the most Eminent Dignitary at that time in the Diocess, because he gave his Vote contrary to their Humour in a late Election of Parliament Men. However, though I had no great Fondness to be worried by the Noisy Tribe, who make so loud a SOUND for Mr. A's Cause, yet I have, again and again, declared my Readiness to discourse him before a select Company of Friends: But this will not content him, we must meet, and bring Scribes,

and set our Names to what is offered by us. But to what End is all this Parade and Ceremony insisted on? Is it to give Satisfaction to those that are present? If so, this may be done as well by a Verbal Disputation. Or is it to satisfy all others, that think it worth their while to enquire into those Matters? If so, the most effectual Method we can take is to publish our Arguments, and debate the Matter before all the World: For why should we trouble the Scribe, when we are employing the Printer?

THOUGH Experience taught me so much the Humour of my *Antagonist*, that I expected a Noise and Clamour from him about such Things as had but a small Relation to the main *Controversy*; yet I never thought he would have been so very Trifling and Impertinent, as to spend 8 or 10 Pages in tossing about the broken *Handkerchief*. I shall leave him to divert him'self with his *Vehicles* and *Wheel-barrows*, not thinking it worth my Labour to follow him in such a *Wild-Goose Chase*. I know not whether his critical Remark [p. 10.], that I have printed a *Greek Word* with a *Final Sigma* in the middle of it, deserves any Reply to be made to it; but if it be a necessary Consequence that therefore I understand not my *Greek Testament*, 'twill follow, by the same Rule, that he understands not *Latin*; for in the 137 Page of his Performance, we have *Latranes* instead of *Latrones*, though he was as near the Press as I am. But to insist on these Things is to *Quibble*, rather than to *Argue*.

IN discoursing of the Original Primary Signification of the Word *Schism*, I might affirm, That it properly signifies a *Rent*, and that the *tearing a Handkerchief* was (in this Sense) a *Schism*; though I cannot recollect any thing of this Nature, yet do I not deny it. And this is no more than some of the most Learned Writers on this Subject have observed before me; as *Dr. Hammond*, when treating of *Schism*, informs us, That the *Origination* of the Word from the Greek signifies literally *Scissure or Division* *. That the word *Schism* is since, by long Custom, restrained to an Ecclesiastical Sense, is what I never did deny.

WERE it not for a prevailing Byass of Ill-Nature in our *Author*, and a Resolution to pick Quarrels, I could never have thought my self in danger of being Banter'd and Insulted for af-

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* *Hammond of Schism, Chap. 2.*

firming [p. 13.], That *there are several Degrees of Schism, some higher and some lower; or that this had been* (as he calls it) *a publishing my own Shame.* Is there any Criminal Action whatsoever that is not more or less aggravated, according to that variety of Circumstances that it is clothed with? I would ask this profound *Casuis*t, Whether the Murder of K. Charles was not a greater Villany than the Murder of another Person, though equally *Innocent*, yet less *Eminent* than himself? Is it not the Language of the *Holy Ghost*, That he who Sins Ignorantly *shall be beaten with few Stripes, whilst he that knew his Master's Will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many?* Does it not argue an Excess of Peevishness, to carp at so true and innocent an Expression?

BUT the Spirit of Contradiction seems to be moved beyond measure [p. 14.], upon my supposing *every Defect of Love, every Alienation of Affection, to be a lower Degree of Schism:* 'Tis manifest, he says [p. 15.], *I do not believe it my self.* And I am gravely ask'd, *Whether a Man may not be Uncharitable without going to a Conventicle; and whether these Ill Qualities may be no where found but amongst Dissenters?* I assure him, I make no Question but they may; whilst he himself is such a Notorious, Flaming Instance of it, I cannot possibly change my Mind. But let us hear what he offers by way of Confutation: He tells us then [p. 16.], That *Breach of Church Communion is the Form and Essence of Schism.* And Banters us for supposing that the Point lies in the Difference of Peoples Affections and Qualities; insomuch that one Man, provided he be ill-humoured, may be a Schismatick, and another that is Good-humoured shall be none, though they are both Members of the same Communion. Concluding his Harangue with this Tragical Exclamation, *I believe no Mortals before ever put such Fancies in Print.*

I cannot conceive the Design of such an Extravagant Rant, unless it be to let us see that he knows as little in what part of the Bible to find *Schism*, as he did when he first met Mr. Hallet, where to find a *Bishop*; but somewhere 'twas, in the *Acts*, or one of St. Paul's *Epistles*. How far this Gentleman has shot his Bolt beside the Mark, the Reader may easily perceive, if he please to consult St. Paul's *Epistles to the Corinthians*; which Church was the most remarkable Instance of *Schism* and *Divisions*, of any that we meet with in the *New Testament*: *When you come together in the Church, I hear* (says St. Paul) *that there be Divisions among you,* 1 Cor. 11. 18. In the Original

Greek the Words are, *There are Schisms amongst you.* Now here, among those Christians, there was no *Breach of Communion*, for they assembled in the *Church*, and came together into one place, v. 20. If Mr. Agate says there was no *Schism* in this *Church*, he contradicts the *Apostle*, who most expressly has affirmed it: If he say, there may be *Schism* without *Breach of Church Communion*, he contradicts himself; unless he will pretend there may be *Schism* without the very *Form* and *Essence* of the Thing, which is a Contradiction to the Common Sense and Reason of *Mankind*. Thus he stumbles at the very Threshold, and no sooner is he launched, but he splits upon a Rock; and though I will allow him to be as much a *Master of Arts* as most Men in the *Noble Science* of *Shuffle* and *Evasion*, yet he may tugg and sweat long enough before he will be able to get himself clearly off.

'TIS very evident, that there was a most Notorious *Schism* at this time in *Corinth*; though the Contagion was too general, yet we have Reason to *hope* and *believe*, that there were some particular Persons that were not infected by it. When therefore my *Opponent* is disposed to be Serious, I would ask him this plain Question, What other Difference was there between the *Schismatick* and the good *Christian* in that *Church*, but that the one was Censorious, Quarrelsome and Ill-humoured, whilst the other was Charitable and Good-humoured? Let the Reader judge by these few Hints, whether he has any Reason to make so loud a Noise and Clamour, for my affirming *Schism* to consist, in some measure, in Uncharitableness or Ill-humour. And when I affirm, that the lower degrees of *Schism* may be reckoned amongst Sins of Infirmary, I am so far from being singular in my Opinion, that an eminent *Divine* of his own *Church* lays down this very Proposition*: *That all Schism is not damnable; nor doth it carry such Obliguity with it, as to exclude the Person thus offending from God's Favour.* As for those who act against the *Convictions* of their own *Consciences*, (says the Doctor) *I grant their Separation to be damnable; but for the weaker Brother, the Person, or Church, which out of Frailty only is Schismatical, I undertake to be an Advocate; and free such, though not from Crime, yet, upon general Repentance for unknown Sins, from the sad Sentence of Damnation.*

BE.

* Whitby's Rom. Doctr. not from the begin. p. 420, 421.

BEFORE I come to consider Mr. A's high Charge of *Jesuitism* and *Donatism*, it may not be amiss to set some *Matters of Fact* in a clear light, and to pull off the *Mask* with which PLAIN TRUTH hath been disguised by him.

HE affirmed in his *first Pamphlet*, p. 77. That he never gave us one Challenge. To refresh his Memory, in my Defence I produced One positive Witness; and minded him of his frequent Railing against us, on purpose to bring us to a Conference. This Account Mr. Mallet had from Mr. G----'s own Mouth, in whose House those *Vaunts* had been often made. To this Mr. Ag. answers [*Pl. Truth*, p. 22.], That Mr. G---- was in Cornwall the same time he is charged with this Assertion. Upon view of this Passage, I wrote a Letter to Mr. G---- desiring him to give me Satisfaction as to this Particular. He declined returning me any Answer in Writing, but affirmed to Mr. Bernard Bere, (who convey'd my Letter to him) and others, That he had not been in Cornwall for several Years past, and that Mr. Agate was mistaken in this Particular.

IN my first Papers I had told the World, That it was agreed upon, between Mr. Hallet and Mr. Agate, that what was written at the Conference, should, after it had been read to the Company, be thrown into the Fire, and so burnt. This Mr. Agate, in his Reply, calls a glaring Falshood; denys that he ever consented to this Proposal, and pours out a whole Torrent of Reproaches on me on this account. To vindicate my self, I produced a Certificate under the Hands of Five Persons who were present, and unanimously aver, That he did consent to the burning of the said Papers. Besides these, there were Three Church-men present; and had my Certificate been false, I make no question but it would have been confronted by these Gentlemen; but so far are they from giving their own Consciences the Lye, that I am very well assured they have publicly confessed, and some, or one of 'em to Mr. Agate's own Face, That he did give his Consent to the destroying of the Papers.

MY Opponent not being able to produce any Counter-Evidence, desires Satisfaction to some Scruples [p. 23.]. If the Conference was to be burnt, why did we not mention this when urged to subscribe? And why did I not publish this among my other Reasons? [p. 24.] Why truly, in a word, 'twas because there were other Reasons which we thought sufficient to determine us in our Resolution, not to comply with his New-Invented Preliminaries, and those were published by me; And Mr. Hallet affirms, He did mention this Agreement at the

very Conference. But by a strong Imagination, he makes me a Counter of my own Friends : I have told the World, That Mr. Hallet consented that the Scribes should preserve what they had written; and surely Burning and Preserving are not the same Things. Had this Gentleman quoted my whole Sentence, there would have appeared not the least Pretence for a Quibble; for it's said in the adjoining Line, That the Agreement was to burn the Papers, though Mr. Hallet made such an Offer. But this is like the rest of his Conduct, and suitable to his usual Candour. My Defence takes Notice of two different Meetings; in the first 'twas agreed, the Papers should be burnt; in the second, (which was a Fortnight after) Mr. Hallet, that he might stop the Mouth of Defamation, receded from the first Agreement, and consented, that the Papers should be preserved in the Scribes Hands. And where is the Inconsistency of all this? That Eye must be tinged with Prejudice, and bleared with Envy, to a very great degree, that can espy a Contradiction in my Relation.

BEFORE I dismiss this Article, I cannot but take Notice of a most Unchristian Suggestion of my Opponent, when he tells the World [p. 23.], That two of those Certifiers have had but Ill Luck at Swearing.: By which the Reader, who knows not their Persons and Character, will be tempted to infer, that they have been guilty of Perjury, or some inexcusable Rashness in taking Oaths. I think my self, therefore, obliged to do them Justice, and to acquaint the World, that they have addressed themselves to Mr. Agate, desiring him to let them know, who are the Persons he intends; enforcing their Request with this Reason, That if he had been misinformed, they might vindicate themselves; but if they were guilty, they might make Satisfaction to the Person injured. But this Gentleman will by no means explain himself, but leaves us all in the dark; which gives Reason to conclude, That the whole is a Hellish Insinuation, contrived to make them Odious: And how Ill this becomes his Character as a Christian, or a Minister, I leave the World to judge. Seeing there can be no particular Defence against such a general Accusation, the Persons concerned have authorized me to tell him from the Press, That if by Ill Luck at Swearing he means that they have Sworn Falsly, he is challenged and defied to name the Persons; and that they all expect either that he make good his Accusation, or publicly Recant so vile a Calumny. This is no more than what a Just Concern for their own Credit and Reputation constrains them to.

Mr. *Agate* having had such ill luck in accusing others, we are next to consider whether he has had any better in excusing of himself. He stands charg'd for saying, That the Dissenting Teachers take as much pains to DAMN Souls as Christ did to SAVE them; an Expression so injurious to the Honour of our *Saviour*, so full of Bitterness and Rancour against his fellow *Christians*, that no Words are capable of painting it out in more Odious Colours than it appears at first View. Amongst others, I produced the Testimony of Mr. *Michael Hyde*, one that has had as good an Education, and lives in as much Esteem as most *Citizens* in *Exon*; 'twas his Lot to be present at *Church* when this extravagant Expression dropt from the Preacher's Mouth. A little before our Conference, I accidentally met Mr. *Hyde* at a *Coffee-house*, and inquiring of him, whether he heard Mr. *Agate* deliver himself after that Wild manner in the Pulpit, he assured me that he did; and amongst other Discourse, (says he) He preached on these Words, *The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom, a good understanding have all they that do his Commandments*. When I came home I consulted my Concordance, and found these Words, *Psal. III. 10.* and in my Defence mentioned this as the Text on which he Preached; whereas he really preach'd on *Job 28. 28. The fear of the Lord that is Wisdom, and to depart from Evil is Understanding*. Upon this Mr. *Agate* Triumphs, as if this inconsiderable mistake did Invalidate his whole Testimony: Whereas, should we allow as great a mistake in the Inferences as in the Text, the Sense will be found the same, though there may be some variation in the Words. But Mr. *Hyde* has Printed a Sheet of Paper in his own Vindication, and to bring the matter to an Issue, has publickly offered Mr. *Agate*, to refer himself to the Testimony of a Gentleman in his own Parish, one that is his constant Hearer, and goes to no Dissenting Meeting, to wait on him at any time with Mr. *Agate*, and stand or fall by his Testimony; Though this be a Proposal so exceeding fair and reasonable, Mr. *Agate* has not yet thought fit to accept it, and I believe it will be long enough before he will.

HAD not this Gentleman repeated his groundless Charge of Treason and Disloyalty against the *Dissenters*, I might have taken no further notice of his trampling on the Ashes of King *William*: But as long as he continues to throw his *Calves-Heads* in our Dishes, he must expect to hear of his own *Loyalty*, in insulting the memory of a *Prince* to whom he swore *Allegiance*,

ance; and of his SINCERITY too in praying for him whilst alive, That God would grant him in Health and Wealth long to live; and yet thank God for a mortal Disaster that befel him as soon as he was dead. The Expression which disgusted those who had a Veneration for the Memory of that deceased Heroe was this, *If King William had not dyed when he did, the present Queen must.* Now to put a tolerable colour upon so foul a matter; he shuffles, prevaricates, and contradicts himself in the grossest manner imaginable. The very day in which he preach'd after this mad rate, he denied to some Gentlemen, named in my last, not only his charging King William with such a Design as he now minces the matter, but he denied these very Words which he has since own'd, and would fain refer them, as he does Mr. Hyde, to his Notes. In his Reply, [p. 44.] he owns the Words, but positively affirms, *That though such a thing as a Design against the Princess was talked of at that time, yet (says he) my Expression was such, as manifestly shews I did not make it my own Sense, but rather implies my dislike of it.* In my Defence [p. 32.], I produc'd the Testimony of several Reputable Persons, who affirm, He was so far from manifesting his Dislike of this Malicious Tale, that he gave God Thanks that the Snare was broken, and she was escaped. The Horns of this Altar being broken, in his 2d Book he takes Sanctuary in an Explication as contrary to the former as the East is to the West. In his 1st Book he owns the Story to have Relation to King William, and therefore pretends to speak of it with dislike; But in his Plain Truth, he tells another Tale [p. 43.], *'Twas not King William, but the Factious Party that he spake of, that had a Design to defeat the Queen of her Crown and Life; and therefore Justifies his thanking God she had escaped their Hands.* The Man is put to his Shifts, when he doubles, and prevaricates, and makes contradictory Excuses: Either he knew of such a Design carried on at that time, or not; If he did, he makes himself guilty of Misprision, by concealing it; If he did not, he acts the part of an Incendiary, by endeavouring to create Distrusts and Jealousies betwixt Her Majesty and Her good Subjects. But this pretended Plot is a Whimsy of his Tutor Lessly's, who discovers his Good-Will to the Queen, by refusing to Pray for, or Swear to Her Majesty. But there was, says this Gentleman, a Maxim laid down in a Pamphlet, Printed by an unknown Author, *That the Children of a Tyrant ought to be laid aside, for Reasons of Eternal Force;* Or, as in his first

Book the Words were more truly quoted; *All Free-born People have set aside the Children of Tyrants.* And are there not a couple of Pretenders on t'other side the Water, who are said to be the late King *James's* Children, whom the *Free-born People of England* have set aside, to the unspeakable Regret of *Mr. Agate's* dear Friend the Rehearser, and all his Party? But I hope the *Queen* sits never the less secure on Her Throne for this. The truth on't is, when this Gentleman told his Congregation, *That if King William had not died when he did, the present Queen must;* This necessarily supposes, that the said King had a Design upon her Life, or else his Death could have been no Security at all unto Her. Her Life was as much fence'd and guarded by the Law when She was only Princess of *Denmark*, as since She has been *Queen of England.* It was High Treason to Compass or Imagine Her Death then, and it can be no more now. This is so evident, that *M. Agate* in his first Book declares, *He spake of this Report with dislike.* And though I have prov'd this to be an absolute Falshood, yet 'tis a plain Concession, that the Story it self had a Malignant Aspect on our late Sovereign. Why should he pretend to dislike it, but that he was afraid, or ashamed, to own it? Tho' this Pulpit Rant was most publick, 'twas not the only time in which he attempted to Murder the Reputation of our late Glorious Monarch. I can name the Place where he asserted, before a great Company, tho' not in the Church, yet just as he came out of it, *That King William came in a good Time, and went off in a good Time;* for if he had not Dyed as he did, the present Queen must. That *Mr. Agate* may not think I play at Bo-peep with him, as he does with us, if he has forgot this Discourse, (as probably he may, it being in all likelihood his usual Amusements) I will, whenever he demands, give him the Gentleman's Name from whom I received my Information, and the Place of his abode:

Mr. Agate, after *Rabby Lesly*, had affirmed in the Pulpit, *That in Cromwel's time the Sacrament was not once administered in the whole University of Oxford for 12 Years together.* He has own'd this to be a mistake, in his Reply; and I have prov'd it to be a most egregious Falshood. But this Gentleman will have it [p. 44, &c.] *That a High Contempt was cast upon the Sacrament, because the Vice-Chancellour, Doctors and Heads of Houses, did not all meet in a Body, and Receive the Sacrament at St. Mary's:* Though the Liturgy at this Day be not read unto them, when they meet there on Sundays

days to hear Sermons. But he says, *That there is a Statute which orders them, as a Body, to celebrate it several times a Year.* I have desired Mr. Agate to shew me such a Statute, and put the *Statutes of the University* into his Hands; But he was not able to produce me any such: And all the Satisfaction I could get was, That he had *received such an Information*, by I know not whom. This is indeed his usual Temper, to *Affert with the greatest Confidence* upon a bare *Hear-say*. As yet therefore, I suppose I may safely conclude, either that there was no such *Statute* as is pretended, or none but such as the *University* might dispence with if it thought fit.

THAT my Antagonist might gratify his Spleen by *Blackening the Dissenters*, he tells a Story in his first Book, of one employed to *Examine Men for the Sacrament in Exeter-Colledge*, who did use to *Commit Sodomy* with them. I proved, in my *Defence*, by the *Testimony of living Witnesses*, That the Person *Examining Men for the Sacrament* was Dr. Conant, at that Time *Rector of the Colledge*, and afterwards *Arch-Deacon of Norwich*. This was a Circumstance Mr. Agate did not think of, and spoiled his whole Design: And now truly, Dr. Conant was not the Man, but it was one of the *Fellows of the House*, and a *Clergy Man of this City* had the Story from Canon C--- [p. 46.]; the Name of this Fellow is, I suppose, industriously concealed, that we may not be able to trace out the *Calumny*, in order to detect it: However, there is a worthy *Clergy-man* still living, who was at that time *Fellow of Exeter-Colledge*, and an *Eminent Tutor*: I desired a Friend of mine to consult this Reverend Person about this Horrid Tale. He writes my Friend in these very Words: “I verily believe, and think, that neither he, (Dr. Conant) nor any other, that joyn’d in the Participation of the *Lords-Supper*, was so much as suspected to be guilty of so horrid a Wickedness as what you mention; nor did I ever hear that any One of that Society of Communicants, was ever charged with such Wickedness. (Concluding thus) I think it must be taken for a perfect Forgery, invented by one of the Children of him, who is the Father of Lies. There is also a *Gentlewoman* still living, who was a near Relation of the *Doctor’s*, and managed his Domestick Affairs for him, who thus expresses herself in a Letter to my Friend: “He (i. e. Dr. Conant) did discourse those he did admit to the Sacrament, (I know he did me) and there were frequently some came to him in private; “but

“but there was not any thing in the least to ground such a Report on; as ever I heard. I appeal to the Reason of Mankind, whether the *Testimony* of Living Persons, and such competent Judges, be not fully sufficient to shake the Foundation of a Story, that has nothing but an *uncertain Rumour*, or *Idle Tattle* to support it, if so much. That my *Opponent* may not say, that I shoot my Arrow in the dark, I am ready to name the *Gentleman* that gave me this Intelligence, to him or any other Friend he shall employ. What can the *Reader* think of these *Gentlemen*, who instead of *Evidence* and *Demonstration*, obtrude such *false, villainous, defamatory Tales* upon the World! Is this to act the part of *fair and honest Disputants*? Is this the way to *defend* their Cause, and gain *Proselytes*? Where is the *Wit*, the *Conscience*, or *Honour* of such a *Procedure*?

THE next thing to be considered is, I confess, a material Question, viz. Whether such as are Baptized by *Presbyterians* may be allowed to be *Christians*. I proved in my *Defence*, by many express Testimonies, that Mr. *Agate* had robbed us of our *Christianity*, set us upon the same Foot with *Infidels* and *Pagans*. And that his Proclamation from the *Pulpit*, That *Children Baptized by Dissenters are no more Christians than if Baptized by a Tradesman*, could have no other meaning, than that they were no Christians at all. In debating this Matter, I know not whereto find my Adversary; sometimes such a Baptism is thought to be *valid*, and the Church does not think fit to repeat it. Sometimes such are allowed to be *Christians*; and so are those that are Baptized by *Midwives* and *Laymen*: These were some of his Concessions in his former Book. But now he tells us, He had no Authority for it, either from the Holy Scriptures or the Sense of the *Catholick Church* [p. 49.]. It makes me smile to hear this *Gentleman* talk as confidently of the Sense of the *Catholick Church* for 1500 or 1600 Years together, as if he had been Secretary to all the General Councils in that Time; while he, poor Man, knows very little of the History of his own Church, as will be made appear in the sequel of this Discourse.

BUT to let the World see that he does not use to persist long in a good Humour, he retracts what he calls a *Concession* of *Charity*, and now the *Persons baptized by Dissenting Teachers*, are not so much *Christians* as those baptized by a *Lay-Churchman*; because *Schismatical Baptism* has been looked upon by several of the ancient Fathers and Councils as no

Baptism

Baptism at all; for which he quotes *St. Cyprian, &c.* But if this Gentleman be so well acquainted with *Antiquity*, as he pretends, he must know, that though *Cyprian* and some other *African Bishops*, declared the *Baptism of Hereticks* to be null and invalid; yet this Conceit of his was disowned by most other Churches, and he himself was for this very cause Excommunicated by Pope *Stephen*, who, like Mr. *Agate*, was a *High-Churchman*, and an Enemy to *Moderation*, Name and Thing. However, they that condemn the *Violence* and *Fierceness* of his Temper, yet own the *Orthodoxy* of his Judgment in this particular.

BEFORE I dismiss this Notion of Mr. *Agate's*, I would very willingly be resolved in this one Question; If a *Schismatical Baptism* be no *Baptism*, as he insinuates [p. 49.], how comes the *Church of Rome* to be a True Part of the *Catholic Church*, as he confesses it to be? [p. 116.] There is a notorious great *Schism* between the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *England*, and therefore one of these two Churches must be *Schismatical*. I hope he will acquit his own Church of so heinous a Crime, and lay this ugly Brat at her Door, who is the *Mother of all Abominations*. But then, if the *Baptism of Schismatics* be good for nothing, how came the Sacraments on the other side the Water to be *Valid* and *Authentick*? Or, how came our first Reformers by their *Christianity*, who were Baptized in the *Roman, i. e. a Schismatical Church*? I know not how Mr. *Agate* can reconcile these Conceits of his; but only this one way, that he has some *Concessions of Charity* for a *Papist*, but none for a *Dissenter*.

UNDER this Head, we are bless'd with a Discovery that sounds a little odd in the Mouth of one that calls himself a *Protestant* [p. 50.]: If Persons baptized by *Schismatics* be any time allowed to be *Christians*, this is purely by the *Dispensation of the Church*. When this Gentleman is at leisure, I would gladly be informed, In what Hands this *Dispensing Church Power* is lodged? When K. *James* claimed a *Dispensing Power*, 'twas urged, by the greatest *Lawyers* in the Kingdom, That a *Suspending the Laws, was a temporary Abrogation of them*; and that this could be done by no Power less than that which gave them their *Sanction*, and very Being. This in the *Bishops Case* was thought good Law, and good Reason; and I can see no Cause why it should not hold good in the Church, as well as in the State. If the Church can allow those to be *Christians*, which according to the Constitu-

tion of the Gospel, are really none; if it can *Dispense* with the *Laws of Christ*, by the very same *Power* it may *vacate* and *destroy* them: So that if this *Doctrine* prevails, we must throw aside the *Bible* and *Ten Commandments*, and study the *Book of Canons*. I know the *Pope* pretends to such a *Dispensing Power*, and grants his *Bulls* with a *Non Obstante* to the *Institutions of Christ* and His *Apostles*; and I perceive a *High-Flyer* is one, that with a winged speed is gliding towards the *Holy See*.

AFTER all that has been said on this Head, I have to do with such a *firting Adversary*, that I know not where to find him. Sometimes such as have had but a *Presbyterian Baptism*, are allowed to be *Christians*, as in the Case of *K. William*; and many others who are admitted to the *Sacrament* in our publick Churches, without being ever Re-baptized. So great is the Force of *Truth*, that it sometimes *extorts* such a Confession from him; at other times, his Fiery Principles prevail, and his Natural Choler has the ascendant over him, and presently these plausible Concessions are all retracted. Thus he boldly publishes to the World [p. 53.], *That 'till I have proved, that the Dissenting Teachers are rightly Ordained*, (which he presumes a Thing impossible) *he will be contented to think the Children they Baptize are no Christians*. Were he contented to keep his Whimsies to himself, he might ride his own *Hobby Horse* for me; but since he endeavours to infuse his Malignity into the Minds of others, to inflame Mens Prejudices, and heighten their Animosities by such an *uncharitable Suggestion*; I think my self therefore obliged, to Hint a little at those many desperate Consequences which necessarily flow from this *dividing Principle*.

IF such as have only a *Presbyterian Baptism* be no *Christians*, as he insinuates both from the *Pulpit*, *Press*, and in his *private Conversation*, 'twill follow, that all the Protestant Churches beyond the Seas are nothing else but so many *Pagan Clubs*, or *Heathenish Cabals*; and that our Eminent *Divines*, Famous *Bishops* and *Convocations*, who have owned them as *Sister Churches*, were either grossly *Ignorant*, in that they knew not what was Essential to a Church; or vilely *Hypocritical*, in Complementing those as *such*, whom they in their Consciences believed to be *none*. Nay, many of those amongst us, who have enroll'd themselves in the *High-flying Squadron*, and put a mighty Value upon themselves in being *True Sons of the Church*, will be found, upon Enquiry, to be of no Church

Church at all. Such, for instance, as being Born in the Days of Cromwel, or the Long Parliament, had no other than a *Presbyterian Baptism*; with those who are since sprung from the Loins of Dissenting Parents; and conceive they can no other way atone for their Original Guilt, but by an *excessive* Heat and Warmth in the New Cause they have espoused. Nay, there are many of the Clergy, who are this Day serving at the *Altar*, who had their Birth and Education amongst *Dissenters*, or were Initiated into the Church before K. Charles's *Restoration*. Now all these, according to Mr. Agate's Scheme, are *no Christians*; they have none of the *Immortalizing Spirit* which a MIGHTY DON of the PARTY has lately discovered, and which only distils through a *Bishop's* Fingers. Hence it will necessarily follow, that their Administrations are all *null and void*. How can they confer *Baptism* on others, who have no *valid Baptism* themselves? Or how can they that are *without* the Church, admit others *into it*? Should this *Doctrine* prevail, it involves Men in these Perplexities, out of which they can never extricate themselves.

I may add, if the Principles laid down in the *Pamphlet* before me be true, no Clergyman in *England* can be certain he has a *Lawful* Commission to Exercise that *Sacred Function*, which he pretends unto; nor can any other Person be secure of his *very Christianity*. 'Tis the avowed Principle of Mr. Agate, That *Presbyterian Ordination is null and invalid*; That *where there are no Priests, there be no Sacraments*; And [p. 53.] *they that are not Baptized are no Christians*. He confesses further [p. 139.] *That in the Church of Rome, Presbyters have been allowed to Ordain; and that their Ordinary Priests have been Licensed to do the most Essential Offices of a Bishop, by a Faculty from the Pope's inexhaustible Power*. 'Tis very well known, that in former Ages, the Kingdom of *England* was as much *Pope-ridden* as any Nation in the World. Mr. Agate has been Ordained by a *Bishop*, and takes it for granted, that this *Bishop* was Ordained by another, and he by a third; and so in a constant Line of Succession up to the *Apostles* themselves: But what Assurance has he, that some of those very Persons from whom he derives, did not receive their *Ordination* from those *Meer Priests*, whom the *Pope* had Licensed to Invade the *Bishop's Office*? If there be but one such Instance, (as there may be many) all the Ordinations that have succeeded must be of no force at all; if one Link be Broken, the whole Chain is useless. At there be but one Ob-

struction

struction in this *Ecclesiastical Conduit-Pipe*, the whole Stream of Church Power (according to this Scheme) is totally diverted. The Church of *England* was once a *Daughter-Church* to that of *Rome*, and there he affirms *Presbyters* are allowed to Ordain. If this be the Case but of one of all his Spiritual *Fathers*, from that *Bishop* that laid Hands on him up to the very *Apostles*; he is himself as much a Lay-man as any Dissenter of us all, and his *Administrations* all null and void. Thus by laying down these *Schismatical Positions*, he undermines the Foundation of his own Church, and lops off that very Bough on which he perches, and from whence he looks down with such Contempt and Scorn on his *Dissenting Brethren*.

If *Presbyterians* are no *Christians*, I demanded, how King *William*, who was Baptized amongst them, could be Head of the Church of *England*? To this Mr. *Agate* answers, [p. 55, &c.] *Whether a Man be a Christian or no Christian, he may do well enough for the Head of the Church: That the Primitive Christians were subject to Heathen Emperors, &c.* But this is to shuffle and evade, and not answer the Objection. I urged, That according to the *Articles* and *Canons*, and the Oath which all the Clergy took, the King of *England* is declared to be *Supream Governour*, not only over *Ecclesiastical Persons*, (as the *Mogul* or *Turk* may be) but also in all *Ecclesiastical THINGS* and *CAUSES*. And the difficulty is, how one who is out of the Church can be *Supream* in Church Matters, in *Sacred* as well as *Civil Causes*. This is a Bone too hard for him to fix his angry Fangs in, and therefore he throws it away.

I demanded further, How King *Charles* could be a Martyr if Baptized by a *Presbyterian*, and so no *Christian*? The Reason of my supposition is this; That Prince was Born and Baptized in *Scotland*, when the *Presbyterian* was the Church Government by Law established in that Kingdom; and though *Episcopacy* was restored in a few Years afterwards, yet the first *Bishops* had no other than *Presbyterian* Ordination, [Def. p. 47, &c.] To this Mr. *Agate* Replies, [p. 57.] *It is more than probable that David Lindsey, Bishop of Ross and Minister of Leith, Baptized him.* To support his Assertion, he quotes *Spotswood*, p. 406, 453, 520. What that Historian affirms in the places cited, amounts to thus much: In 1594, Mr. *Lindsey* was present at the Baptism of Prince *Henry*, but the Office was performed by another. In 1598, King *James* had a *Daughter* born, and baptized by Mr. *David Lindsey*, Minister of *Leith*. In 1600, Prince *Charles* was born, but it is not left

left upon Record by whom he was Baptized. In 1613. Mr. *Lindsey* departed this Life, being *Bishop* of *Ross*. It is no necessary Consequence, that this Divine must Baptize King *Charles* because he performed that Office for his Sister: But supposing this was the very Man from whom King *Charles* received his Baptism; the Scottish Historians put it out of all Dispute, that he was not Bishop of *Ross* at the Birth of that Prince; though he died Invested with that Character 12 Years afterwards. In the Year 1598, there was a General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at *Dundee*, the chief End whereof was to obtain the consent of the Assembly, for some of the most Eminent Ministers to Vote in *Parliament*: This Motion was warmly opposed by those, who thought this would be a Stirrup for the *Bishops* to mount the Saddle; to which Order they had a vehement Aversion: Upon which Account, King *James* came in Person, and made an Harangue to the Assembly, telling them, *That this was the way to Vindicate the Kirk from Poverty and Contempt. I mind not* (says he) *to bring in Papistical or Anglicane Bishops, but only to have the best and wisest of the Ministry, appointed by the General Assembly, to have place in Council and Parliament* *. Mr. *Lindsey* was one of the Commissioners, and some of them made the same Protestation. So that as yet there was no such Thing as an *Anglicane* or *English Bishop*.

IN 1600, the Year of King *Charles's* Birth, there was a General Assembly at *Montross*, in which 'twas agreed, that some select Ministers should Vote in *Parliament*; but then 'twas specially provided, that the Person enjoying this Honour should only be called the *Commissioner* of such a place; and that he should be subject to the Tryal and Censure of his own Presbytery †; with other severe Restrictions, which are wholly inconsistent with the *Prelatical Dignity*.

IN 1602, there was another General Assembly at *Halyrud-House*, in which Commissioners were appointed, to inspect the Lives of other Ministers within such or such a District, and to be Responsible to the next Assembly. Amongst others, Mr. *David Lindsey* is nominated Commissioner for *Ross* †; but as yet there was no new Consecration, nor can he be called a *Bishop*; for never was it yet known, that one of that Character would

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take

* *Calderwoods Hist. of the Ch. of Scotland*, p. 418. † *Ib* p. 440, 441. † *Ib*. 460.

take a Commission from *Meer Presbyters*, to visit his own *Diocess*, or that he was accountable unto them.

IN 1603, King *James* succeeded Queen *Elizabeth* to the Crown of England.

IN 1604, this Mr. *Lindsey* came from Court, Bishop of *Ross* *; and he, with others, are by the Historian called *new made Bishops* †, who affirms, *That some of the Ministers appointed at the General Assembly in 1602, (the last before the King's departure out of the Country) were preferred since that time to Bishopricks* ‖. So that Mr. *Lindsey's* Advancement to a *Bishoprick* was since 1602, whereas K. *Charles* was Baptized Two Years before.

BUT Mr. *Ag.* says [p. 57.], *The Dissenters gave him a Baptism in 48, sufficient to make him a Martyr and a Christian too.* If so, that Prince was more obliged to *Cromwel* than tis generally supposed he was; his cruel Kindness belike made him a Christian; and had it not been for *Oliver*, and his *High-Court of Justice*, instead of *interceding* for us at the Right-Hand of GOD, he might have been disposed of with *Seneca*, *Cato*, and other *Moral Heathens*.

UNDER this Head, we are blessed with a Discovery that sounds a little Harsh in Protestant Ears: *As his Majesty pray'd for his Enemies on the Scaffold* [p. 58.], so it is very likely he prays still for the Conversion of all those that inherit their Principles, and act his Murder over every Tear in Effigie. This is a Doctrine to be met with in the *Mafs-Book*; but the *Homilies* of the Church of England do utterly disown it, and thus expresses that Churches Sense ‡: “ If Answer be made, “ that they (the *Papists*) make Saints but *Intercessors* to GOD, “ and Means for such Things as they would obtain of GOD, “ that is even after the *Gentiles* Idolatrous Usage, &c. This is the Sense of the *English Church*: But our Author has had some *Lucky Hits* which the *Sages* of the former Century knew nothing of. If King *Charles* prays for those that act his Murder every Tear, he must know that there are such; But how comes he by the Knowledge of what is pretended to be done in very many and distant places at the same time? Does not this suppose him to be Omniscient, and rather *Deify* than Canonize

* *Calderwoods Hist.* p. 478. † *Ib.* 479. ‖ *Ib.* p. 578.
‡ *Homily against Peril of Idolatry*, pt. 3. p. 235.

nonize him? The Prophet *Isaiah* addresses himself in these words to the *Almighty*, ch. 63. 16. *Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us; and Israel acknowledge us not.* We will suppose King *Charles* to be a Bright and Shining Saint; But is he greater than our Father *Abraham*? If these Renowned *Patriarchs* were ignorant of the Affairs of their own Posterity, how came King *Charles* to be so well acquainted with the Cabals of his avowed Enemies? If the Saints pray for us, why may not we, with the *Papists*, desire their Prayers? This being the very Thing they ground their *Invocation of Saints and Angels* on. I am thinking, how prettily a *Holy Charles* pray for us would sound in our *Litany*. If ever our *Author* goes a *Jesuite* Hunting a 2d time, I would advise him to let alone the *Conventicle*, and look in his own *Glass*; where he may see more of the *Lineaments and Features* of a *Son of Loyala*, than amongst 500 *Dissenters*.

I demanded further, If Persons baptized by *Presbyterians* be no Christians, why such are buried in sure and certain Hope of their *Resurrection to Eternal Life*? I argued, That my *Antagonist* had no just Cause to Clamour with me for changing [The] into [Their]; because 'tis positively affirmed of every Person that is buried, according to the *English Liturgy*, that *GOD* has taken to himself his or her *Soul* in great *Mercy*. And therefore, that the *Body* belonging to such a *Soul* must be supposed to rise again in a State of *Bliss and Glory*. This was my Argument, which Mr. *Agate* makes no Reply unto, only that the *Expression* is defensible, but condescends not to tell us how; but pretends, That if it were not for the obdurate Temper of the *Dissenters*, the *Ancient Discipline of the Church* might be restored, and *Notorious Offenders* excommunicated, [p. 62.] Were these *Dissenters* all Knock'd o'th' Head, no doubt but we should see a Blessed Reformation! I hope that *Glorious MARTYR Arch-Bishop Laud* will be allowed to be a severe Asserter of *Ecclesiastical Discipline*; there were very few of these *Obstinate Fanatics* to stand in his Way: And how Things were managed whilst he sat at the *Helm*, I shall represent unto the Reader, not in the Words of a *Traytor*, or a *sullen Malecontent*, but in the Words of the Eloquent and Noble Lord *Falkland*, who sealed his *Loyalty with his Blood*, and Died fighting under the *Royal Banner*, who thus expresses himself*: "Nay, it hath been more dangerous for Men to go

“ to some Neighbours Parish, when they had no Sermon in
 “ their own, than to be obstinate and perpetual Recusants.
 “ While *Masses* have been said in Security, a *Conventicle* hath
 “ been a Crime; and which is yet more, the Conforming to
 “ *Ceremonies* hath been more exacted than the Conforming to
 “ *Christianity*; and whilst Men for *Scruples* have been Un-
 “ done, for Attempts upon *Sodomy* they have only been Ad-
 “ monished. This was the *Discipline* in fashion when *High-
 Church* was Triumphant; and the same Effects are most likely
 to flow from the same Cause.

I affirmed in my *Defence*, That our *Meetings* are not *Con-
 venticles*, because allowed by the *Law* of the *Land*; where-
 as the 11th *Canon* defines *Conventicles* to be other *Congrega-
 tions* than by the *Laws* of the *Land* are held and allowed. To
 this Mr. *Agate* objects, That the *Toleration Act* is no Allow-
 ance. All that I desire is, that the *Act* may speak for it self,
 and that the *Reader* will believe his own Eyes; the very word
Allowed is more than once mentioned in it, as applied to our
Assemblies. But it is a usual Thing for this *Gentleman* to
 obtrude his Wild Conjectures, or Idle Hear-says, upon the
World, with the most solemn Asseveration.

We are now come to one of the main *Articles* of Mr. *A-
 gate's* Book, and that is, His Charge of *Jesuitism* against the
Dissenters. This, I confess, is a novel *Accusation*, and it is
 pity but he should have the *Glory* of the *invention*. It has
 been affirmed by many, That the *Jesuites* and *Puritans* are
 the *Two Extreams*, who widen the Difference betwixt the *Pro-
 testant* and *Popish Churches*. But all on a suddain, Mr. *Agate*
 has made them shake Hands, and brought the two Poles toge-
 ther. His *Friend* at *Plymouth* has furnished him with abun-
 dance of *STORIES*, on which I am obliged to make a few
Reflections.

I Remark, that though the *Dissenters* have had their
Meetings open, and publick, for these Twenty Years last past;
 yet, in all that time, he has not been able to give One Instance
 of a *Jesuite*, or *Priest*, who has been allowed to preach amongst
 them. He affirms, indeed, [p. 63.] with his usual Confidence,
 That the *Dissenters* are the greatest *Promoters* of *Popery*, and
 that *Jesuites* and *Romish Emisaries* are used to preach and
 pray amongst them in their *Conventicles*. Again [p. 68.], he
 tells the *World*, That it is a very common Thing for these *E-
 misaries* to preach and pray in their *Conventicles*. His *Accu-
 sation*

sation speaks of the *present Time*, but his *Proofs* refer to what was done 100 or 150 Years ago. He arraigns the *present* Generation of *Dissenters*, but his Evidence speaks only of their *Forefathers*. Should I affirm, That tis a *common Thing* for *Popish Priests* to preach in the publick Churches of this City, and pretend to prove it, because one *Courtney* commonly did so about 30 Years ago; How would Mr. *Agate* Exclaim against me for such an unjust Representation of Affairs? Must I be guilty of such or such a Crime, because my Father was condemned for it? Suppose all the *Tales* he has collected be true, is it a necessary Consequence, that because some *Priests* crept in amongst the *Puritans* in the Days of Qu. *Elizabeth*, that therefore they are *used* to *preach* and *pray* amongst them in the *Reign* of Qu. *ANNE*? When he so positively and confidently Accuses the present *Dissenters*, and can prove nothing at all against them, but only against such as are *dead* and *rotten*, I leave the World to judge, Whether in this he argues as a *Logician*, a *good Christian*, or an *Honest Man*.

2. I desire the *Reader* to consider, that many of the Stories related by him, are absolutely *False* in *Matter of Fact*; and that many of the Citations he produces are perfect *Forgeries*. When he meets with a *Tale*, tis usual for him to make Additions of his own, without any Authority from his *Author*. Thus he pretends to give us the Substance of several *Popes Bulls*, wherein the *Roman Emisseries* are directed how to manage their Affairs in *England* [p. 68, 69.]. But in this *Harangue* we are presented with, there are several particulars which are the pure *Figments* of his own Brain. He pretends, *They had Instruction to cry up Extempore Prayer*; and to make People believe, *That our Common-Prayer was the Romish Mass translated*, for which he refers us to *Foxes and Firebrands*, Part 2d, p. 20, 28, 31, 32, 52. whereas in the places mentioned by him, there is not one such Word to be found. But in this *Papal Dispensation*, I find this Expression; *Some of you (i. e. Emisseries) who undertook to be of this sort of the Heretical Episcopal Society, bring it as near the Mother Church as you can* *. When therefore I hear a *Preacher* tell the World, *That the Saints in Heaven pray for us*; *That Christs Body is really in the Sacrament*; *That the Church of Rome*

* *Foxes and Firebrands*, pt. 2d, p. 31.

Rome is a true Church, but that the Protestants beyond the Seas have no such Thing as Priests or Sacraments; Have I not Reason to suspect that this is a Jesuite in Masquerade, and has received Instructions from the Pope, to bring the English as near the Mother Church as he is able? I am content the Reader shall be Judge, Whether this Gentleman argues like a Master of Arts, when he pretends to prove the Dissenters Jesuites, because that Gang of Men were directed by their Holy Father, to Herd themselves amongst the Heretical, Episcopal Society.

I come now to consider some of those many Tales which have been obtruded upon the Credulity of Mankind, and shall begin with that of *Faithful Cummin*, which Mr. Agate pretends to be Attested by Registers and Publick Records. But this is more than the first Publisher affirms; this Story is only said to be an Extract out of the Memorials of my Lord Cecil; that it came into the Hands of Arch-Bishop Usher; that from him it was transmitted (no body knows how) to Sir James Ware: And Dr. Nelson tells us *, that it was by a third Person communicated to him, from Robert Ware Esq; Son to the said Sir James. But he has not thought fit to let us know these two Persons who were concerned in the Conveyance, what Character they bear, or what Credit they deserve. However, Mr. Agate fancies, that the Credibility of the Story is sufficiently supported by the Reputation of the Publisher; it is the famous Dr. above mentioned, whose Enemies have not been able to detect him in any one thing that is false [p. 65.]. The Reader may guess a little better at the Character of this Gentleman by the following Account †. On March 21st 1708, one Jonathan Edwin was sent for by the House of Commons, to give an Account, by what Authority he published a Pamphlet, Intituled, *A Letter from a Jesuite in Paris, to his Correspondent in London, &c.* March 26. the House was informed, that Dr. John Nelson was the Author of the said Pamphlet, for which he was sent for in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms. April 10. 1679, a Petition was presented to the House from John Nelson, Dr. of Law, begging Pardon of that Honourable House, and praying to be discharged. May 21st, the House Ordered

His

* Introduction to Hist. Collect. p. 38. † Vid. Journals of the House of Commons, printed 1680.

His Majesty to be Addressed, That the said Dr. may be put out of the Commission of the Peace. *May 2d*, having received a Reprimand upon his Knees from Mr. Speaker, he was discharged, paying his Fees. Is this *Mr. Agates Impartial, Famous, and Ingenious Author*? Is this the *Gentleman* who trumpet up the Story of *Faithful Cummin*, one that did Penance at the Bar of the House of Commons, for a Forgery of like Nature? Whoever will peruse the Remarks made upon this Tale, in the *Answer to Dr. Scots Case about Forms of Prayer*, will find that it looks with as Romantick an Air as can be well supposed. I shall only mention two Circumstances, and let the Reader judge for himself.

IN the beginning of this Relation, tis said, 'That this *Cummin* was detected in the Year 1567, being the 9th of Qu. *Elizabeth* II. In the latter end of it tis said †, That though he made his escape, yet this Affair produced the Act for the preventing Popery, and other Sects, which enjoyned all People, from Ten Years old and upwards, not having a Lawful Impediment, to repair every *Sunday* to hear Divine Service, under Penalty of forfeiting 12 *d.* for every such Default. Whereas, in Truth, there never was any Act, taking notice of Persons of 10 Years old; and the Statute obliging Persons to repair to their Parish Churches, on Penalty of 12 *d.* for every *Sunday* they shall be absent, was Enacted in the 1st Year of that Queen. Thus the Head and Tail of this Story are perfect Contradictions to one another, and the Effect is made to Exist 8 Years before its proper Cause. I appeal to all those who have read our English Histories, whether there be the least shadow of a probability, that such a Wild and Incoherent Blunder should be ever found amongst the Papers of so Great and Wise a Man as Secretary Cecil.

THERE is one Circumstance more which shakes the Credibility of this Tale. *Cummin* was Ordained by Cardinal Pole, sometime Arch-Bishop of Canterbury *, yet John Clarkson, Chaplain to Arch-Bishop Parker, is pretended to begin his Accusation of him before the Council in these Words, Let him prove his Ordination, since he fell from the Church of Rome †. Nay, the Romance introduces Queen Elizabeth speaking these Words to him: Mr. Cummin, if you will receive

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|| *Foxes and Firebrands*, p. 14. † *Ib.* p. 29. * *Ib.* p. 18.
† *Ib.* p. 17.

ceive Orders, and become of the Church of England you may, otherwise you must not be permitted to. *Pray and Preach among my Subjects* ||. But to what end should he be urged to receive Orders a Second time, when he had already an Ordination as Valid and Authentick as any of our first Reformers could pretend unto? There are in England 10000 Clergymen, and of all those there were not ‡ 200 deprived of their Benefices at the Reformation of Religion; all the rest kept their Places, without repeating those Orders which they received from Popish Bishops. And can it be supposed that Q. Elizabeth, and Arch-Bishop Parker's Chaplain, should so little understand the Constitution of their own Church, as to exact a Re-ordination from this Cummin, when he was sufficiently Ordained before, and there were so many Thousand others in the same Circumstances? Whoever can digest such strange Inprobabilities, I must needs say, *great is his Faith.*

IN my Defence, I took notice of another Story, related by the same Author with that of Faithful Cummins, to this effect: That there was one Nowland, a Dominican Fryer, who came to Plymouth, and served Mr. Hughs, an Independant Preacher, first as an Under-Gardiner, next as Head-Gardiner, from whence he was advanced to be his Buttler, and at last was admitted to Pray and Expound before the Elders, and others of his Flock. I objected against this Tale, That Mr. Hughs went not under the Character of an Independent, and that two Gardiners, a Butler, and other Servants, was an Equipage fitter for an Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, than the Vicar of St. Andrews.

TO this Mr. Agate answers, That Dr. Nalson, who wrote the first Part of Foxes and Firebrands, was not the Author of the second Part, where we find this Story of Nowland: But in this he is greatly mistaken, for the Author of the Second part expressly affirms, That he was the Man who gave us a Narrative of Faithful Cummin [p. 14.] However, to satisfy the World, he produces the Certificate of one Mr. Young, a Surgeon in Plymouth, whom Mr. Agate has dubbed, *A very Worthy and Learned Doctor*, which runs in these words [p. 66.] *That which the Author of the Foxes and Firebrands writes of Mr Hughs is very true, and all that Mr W. says of him is very*

very False : Mr. Hughs had Garden enough to employ two Men, and a Cellar big enough for a Butler. He lived at that time in greater Credit, Power and Equipage, than any Arch-bishop in the Three Kingdoms, almost in as much State and Grandeur as our Arch-bishops do now. And having affirmed Mr. Hughs to be an Independent, the Doctor goes on : As to Nowland, the Dominican Friar, the Story is true to my certain Knowledge ; I knew the Man ; he absconded at the Restoration, and returned to his own Country, and there made a Narrative of his Intrigues to Mr. Muschamp.

WHEN I first saw this Certificate, methought it looked with a strange *Romantick Air* ; and there being a couple of Ancient Gentlewomen who were Mr. Hughs Sisters-in-Law, my near Neighbours, I shew'd it to them, who affirmed the whole to be an absolute Falshood. This encouraged me to make a more exact Enquiry ; and it being a Question, whether the Learned Doctor was of a Deposing Age at the Time referred to, I desired a Friend of mine to examine the *Parish Records* ; which accordingly he did, by whom I am informed, That this Gentleman was Born, or Baptized, March 11. 1646, which is the very Latter End of that Year : King Charles was Restored in May, 1660 ; so that at that time he was about 2 Months upwards of Thirteen Years old. And I appeal to the common Experience of Mankind, whether it be not a Thing very unusual, for a Lad of that Age to observe the Concerns of other Mens Families so nicely, as to give such an *exact* and *punctual Relation* of them 48 Years afterwards. And that this Gentleman labours under a very great Mistake, I am assured by those who are far more competent Judges than he can pretend to be of this Matter, who have subscribed as follows.

Agnes Lampen, about 80 Years of Age, affirms :

THAT she lived a Servant with Mr. George Hughs, Minister of Plymouth, at least 3 or 4 Years before he was turned out of the publick Churches : That all that time he kept neither Gardener nor Butler in his Family : That he had but one Servant Man, whose Name was Alexander Hughs *,

E and

* This Mr. Alexander Hughs kept afterwards a Mercers-Shop, and lived in good Reputation at Dartmouth. He died there about 7 or 8 Years since ; I knew him very well, and have often heard him own his former Relation to Mr. G. Hughs Family.

and that no such Man as *Nowland* lived with him.

The mark of *Agnes Lampen*.
Signed in the presence of
Ser. Savery.

Mrs. Philippa Thomas, (whose Sister was *Mr. Hughs* Wife)
Aged about 78, affirms:

That she lived 5 or 6 Years at least with her Brother *Hughs* in *Plymouth*: That she was there when the above-named *Agnes* was a Servant in his Family: That he kept neither *Gardener* nor *Butler*, nor above one Man Servant at a time: That *Alexander Hughs* was a Servant to him, but as for *Nowland*, she never heard his Name 'till *Mr. Agate's* Book was printed.

Phil. Thomas.

Rose Jefferys, Aged 72, affirms:

That she lived Half a Year in *Mr. G. Hughs* Family, and was a constant Retainer to his House several Years after, 'till his Ejection and Imprisonment: That *Mr. Hughs* kept neither *Butler* nor *Gardener*, and but one Servant Man, whose Name was *Alexander Hughs*, and before him one *Degory Hawkins*, who died in *Plymouth*: That when her Master had Occasion for Work to be done in his Garden, he employ'd one *Daniel Cawl*, a publick *Gardener* in the Town.

The mark of *Rose Jefferys*.
Signed in the presence of
Ser. Savery.

Mrs. Mercy Searl, whose Husband's Brother married *Mr. Hughs* Daughter, affirms:

That she was intimately acquainted with *Mr. G. Hughs*, and the Concerns of his Family: That she never knew him keep a *Butler* or *Gardener*, or more than one Man Servant at a time: That she was in Communion with him more than 50 Years since, and never knew such a man as *Nowland* pray before the Society.

Mercy Searl.

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THERE be several other persons of Age and Reputation, as Mr. *Nath. Northcot*, Mrs. *Horn*, another of Mr. *Hughs* Sisters, Mrs. *Draper*, whose Father first entertained Mr. *Hughs* when he came into *Devon*, & who was particularly acquainted with him whilst Minister in *Plymouth*; who all concur, they knew no such man as *Nowland*, Servant to Mr. *Hughs*, as is pretended. I appeal to the *Reader*, whether all these persons, who Lived in Mr. *Hughs* Family, were nearly Related to it, or particularly Acquainted with the Concerns thereof, do not deserve more Credit than one who was at that time a puny School-Boy, and no way at all Related to it.

WERE there no Counter-Evidence, this Certificate carries its own Confutation. The *Doctor* affirms, Mr. *Hughs* had Garden enough to employ two Men. This very Garden is now in the possession of Mr. *Phil. Pentyre*, who bought it of Mr. *Obadiah*, Son to Mr. *George Hughs*; being t'other Day at *Plymouth*, I desired the Keys, and in company with some other Friends we took the Dimensions of this Garden, by running a Line from Wall to Wall; we made it about 106 Feet long, and 82 Feet broad. 'Tis true, there be two little Gardens just by the Dwelling-House, but one of these was made since Mr. *Hughs* left the Town: However, 'tis owned by the persons above-named, That he had one little Garden besides the larger One already described, and no more. I had not an opportunity of getting into this Garden; but one of the Walls being next the Street, I measured it with my Cane, as did a Gentleman in my company, and we made it about 45 Feet, and were told, That the whole was a little square Plot. If the *Reader* pleases to compute, how many square Feet there be in an Acre of Land, & how many square Feet there be in two Gardens of these Dimensions, he will find, that they will not both make a Quarter of an Acre. And whether this be a Plot big enough to employ two Men, I must appeal from the Certificate of this Learned *Doctor*, to the common Sense and Reason of Mankind.

THIS Certifier affirms further, That Mr. *Hughs* had a Cellar big enough for a Butler, and that he lived in almost as much State and Grandeur as our Arch-bishops do now. That we may make some Guess at the Truth of this, we must enquire, What means he had to support this pretended Grandeur; for 'tis certain, the Spring cannot rise higher than the Fountain, nor the State of an Arch-bishop be maintained without a proportionable Fund. I am assured by his Sisters, That he had no Temporal Estate; nothing but his Ecclesiastical Re-

venues to keep up this mighty Splendor. I consulted therefore the Valuation of Church-Livings, as Rated in the QUEEN'S Books, and the case thus stands* :

	l.	s.	d.
Arch-bishoprick of Canterbury, rated at-----	4233	18	8
V. Plimouth cum Capp. ss. Budos & Pancrati-----	25	10	9

'Tis true, since this Rate was made, as money is more plentiful, so the Value of all Estates is considerably raised ; and this Town is much increased, both in its Riches and the Number of its Inhabitants : But we may as well suppose that a Frog can swell to the Dimensions of an Ox, as that the Vicaridge of St. Andrews should bear any Proportion to an Arch-bishoprick.

'Tis confessed, that as Mr. Hughs married into an Honourable Family, so he treated his Friends with great Generosity and Freedom, and was highly respected both by the Country Gentlemen and Magistrates of the Town.

But there were other Ministers to be maintained as well as Mr. Hughs, particularly Mr. Martin, his Brother-in-Law and Assistant ; and another at the New Church. I appeal to all the World, Whether it be possible for a Gentleman, upon an Estate of between Two and Three Hundred Pounds per Annum, (which is the most Mr. Hughs could pretend to, all the Perquisites included, as his Wife's Sisters have assured me) to live in almost as much Grandeur as an Arch-bishop, who has 15 or 20 times as much.

WHEN I considered all these Circumstances, I could hardly believe, that a Man of Sense would CERTIFY after this Wild Rate ! Being therefore in Plymouth, I waited on the Doctor, in company with a Gentleman of Quality : He own'd to us, That he could not say, whether Nowland was a Butler or Gardener to Mr. Hughs ; but this is what the Author of Foxes and Firebrands positively affirms ; & the very Circumstance against which I object : And the Doctor certifies, That what that Author writes of Mr. Hughs is Very True, and all that Mr. W. says of him is Very False ; And that the Story of Nowland is true to his certain Knowledge. So that he attests to the Truth of a Story in the general, when he knows nothing at

* *Valor Beneficiorum*, printed 1685, p. 138. 59.

at all of the *particulars*. As for the latter part of the *Tale*, viz. *This Fellow's being a Dominican Friar, his Retreat to Ireland, and his Narrative to Mr. Muschamp, the Doctor*, according to his own Confession, took that out of *Foxes* and *Firebrands*; and yet the Certificate runs as if it were true to his own certain Knowledge. I fear this has made such a *Wound* in his *Reputation*, that all the *Balsams* in his Shop will hardly be able to Heal.

I am very Sorry I have been Forced to *Expose* this Gentleman; but since he has published me a *Liar* to all the World, he must pardon me if I Vindicate my self. And seeing he hath put so many *Weapons* into my *Enemy's* Hands, and taken up the *Cudgels* against me without any Provocation, he has no Reason to complain, if he meets with a Rap upon the Fingers when he offers *foul play*. Did this *Learned Doctor* measure my *Throat* by an *High-Church Conscience*; or did he take me to have such a large capacious Swallow, that so *Gross* a *PILL* would slide glibly down without ever chewing it? Did he think, that I would never examine the Truth of such a *monstrous Paradox* as that he has advanced? But what shall we say? Great is the Force of *Bigotry* and *Party-Zeal*! It makes a Mountain of a Molehill, transforms a *Vicar* into an *Arch-bishop*, enables a man to see a Fellow that is invisible to all the World besides, and certify to the Truth of the whole, when he knows nothing of the parts. This Gentleman needed not to ransack his musty Pamphlets to search for *Jesuitism* among *Dissenters*, he may find more of it in his one Equivocating Certificate, than in Five Hundred Conventicles.

WE are presented by Mr. Agate [p. 76.] with another Story just as true as the former: Mr. Tross's own *Pulpit* has been filled with a *Romish Priest*, the first Letter of whose Name is *Ferguson*, who came over with the *Prince of Orange*. Now, says Mr. Agate, as good Fortune would have it, he is since proved to be a *Papist* in Disguise, by this means: There was one Mr. Cromwel under Sentence of Condemnation at *Litchfield*, in the Year 1691, who made this following Confession to *Dean Addison*, viz. That he (i. e. Cromwel) had been a *Covenant Servant* with the late *Duke of Monmouth*, and attended him at *Weston Fight*, whence he happened to make his *Escape* with *Ferguson*; they both together got over into *Spain*, where *Ferguson* went constantly in the *Habit* of a *Dominican Friar*, and in that *Habit* celebrated *Mass*, as Mr. Cromwel with his

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own Ears and Eyes both heard and saw. The Original of this, signed by two Clergy-men who had the same Relation from *Cromwel*, is said to be now in *Mr. Walker's Hands*.

BUT whatever is pretended, the *Pulpit* in which *Mr. Ferguson* preached, was not then *Mr. Tross's*, but the Old *Mr. Hallet's*, who no way gave his Consent to what was done; when he came to go up into his *Pulpit*, he found a Soldier at the Foot of the Steps leading up into it, who told him, He was ordered to keep it for *Mr. Ferguson*; upon which *Mr. Hallet* withdrew, and was followed by his Clerk, and the most considerable Men of his Congregation. That this is true as to Matter of Fact, there be a Hundred still living can attest.

WERE it otherwise, the Story is too *Fictitious* to support the Charge of *Jesuitism* against *Dissenters*. I have my self no Acquaintance with *Mr. Ferguson*, but I desired a Friend of mine to shew him this Passage; upon which he sent me this following Certificate.

WHereas I have been most villanously Calumniated by one *J. Agate*, who stileth himself *M. A.* in a Pamphlet intituled, *Plain Truth*, &c. p. 77. as if after the Defeat of the Duke of Monmouth, I had not only made my Escape into Spain, in the company of one *Cromwel*, who had been a Covenant-Servant with the said Duke; but that I had there both constantly gone in the Habit of a Dominican Friar, and in that Habit celebrated Mass: I do hereby solemnly, and in the presence of GOD, publish and declare, That as I made my Escape, after the Defeat of the aforesaid Duke, from *Topsham* directly to *Holland*, without having been either then, or at any other time, in *Spain*, *Portugal*, or *France*; so I do most sacredly affirm, That I never, either directly or indirectly, made Profession of the Romish Religion, which I always did, and do still, believe, to be both Heretical and Idolatrous: much less was I ever of, or did on any Occasion whatsoever wear the Habit, either of a Dominican, or any other of their Religious Orders. And I do further add, That as I never knew any of the Name of *Cromwel* attending upon, or in any station relating to the Duke of Monmouth, and consequently could not make my Escape in company of such a Person; so I undertake to exact such Satisfaction of the forementioned *J. Agate*, as thereby both to Vindicate my self from the Wicked and Abominable Slanders, which he hath barbarously fastened on me, and to give

give the said Agate cause to Repent his having Attacked and Injured me in the manner he has done.

Given under my Hand,
July 5th, 1708.

Robert Ferguson.

AND, as good Luck would have it, (to use Mr. Agate's own Expression) there be many, both Church-men and Dissenters, still living in these Parts, who know the most considerable part of this Relation to be true. Mr. Ferguson having Absconded for some time after Monmouth's Rout, came at last to this City, and under the Notion of a Tradesman took up his Quarters, first at the *Plume of Feathers* without Northgate, and afterwards at the *Red-Lyon* in High-street. He contracted an Acquaintance with Mr. Richard Sheers, who recommended to him one Matthew Damrel, as a person that would be Faithful to him. This Damrel is still living, who assures me, He directed him from Exeter to Topsham, saw him safely lodged there; and all this while there was no such man as Cromwel in his company. He was visited in that Retirement by Mr. Ezek. Stephens, now living in Mr. Walker's Parish, who saw no Cromwel with him. Eliz. Dennis is at this present living in Topsham, and was at that time a Servant with Mr. Walter Lyle; by her I am informed, That Mr. Ferguson came to her Master's House in company with one Mr. Harrison, a Monmouthian, whose Widow is still living, and confirms this Circumstance. Eliz. Dennis adds further, That Mr. Ferguson lay concealed at her Master's House for 4 or 5 Weeks: That when an Opportunity presented, she went into the same Boat with him, and in his company rowed down the River as far as Exmouth, where lay a Bark bound for Ostend, of which William Taylor was Master; to whom she presented Mr. Ferguson as a particular Friend of her Master's, who lay under a Cloud, and was willing to retire privately out of the Kingdom. She assures me, That all this while there was no such man as Cromwelever in his company. The Master of the Bark is still living, and has solemnly protested in my hearing, That he sailed directly from Topsham-Bar for Ostend, and thence up the Canal to Bruges (on the Borders of Holland); and that there was no living Soul in the Bark besides Mr. Ferguson and the Ships Crew: And that upon his return, he understood the Quality of his Passenger. When Mr. Ferguson came over with the Prince of Orange, Eliz. Dennis waited on him at Exeter, who

who presented her with a small Token as an Acknowledgement of her former Services.

If this be not sufficient, Mr *Agate* may consult Mr. *Robert Lyle* and Mr *William Smith*, who are *Men of Reputation*; and no *Dissenters* : So that this whole Story must be an absolute Forgery ; whether it be the Invention of *Cromwel* that is dead, or others that be alive, Mr. *Walker* and his two Vouchers may determine that between themselves.

I have been more particular in my Confutation of these two Stories, that the *Gentleman* who is driving on the Trade of a SCANDAL HUNTER, and has been fishing from *Berwick* to the *Lands-End* for TALES to Blacken the *Dissenters*, may see that his Intelligence is not always to be depended on. And the truth on't is, when we reflect upon those *Memoirs* that we have been presented with from *Litchfield* and *Plymouth*, *Okehampton* and *Exeter-Colledge*, we may easily conjecture what a rare Collection of *Tales* the World is like to be bless'd withall, when the Cockatrice Eggs are once fully Hatched.

THERE are several other *Stories*, to which Mr. *Agate* has added such Particulars as make for his Purpose, without any Authority from his *Authors* : Thus he tells us of one *Malone*, a *Carmelite Friar*, sent from *France* to distract the *Protestants*, by divising new Doctrines acting the *Puritan* [p. 71.]; for which he cites *Foxes*, &c. Part 2. p. 49. But in that *Author* there is no such thing said as acting the *Puritan*; this is foisted in by my *Antagonist*. The Doctrines they were to preach up, were the Doctrines of *Free-will*, and *Man's Righteousness not depending on the Faith of Christ*, p. 47. which every Body knows are far enough from being *Puritanical Doctrines*.

IN the same Page, he mentions one *Throgmorton*, who being condemn'd for Treason, confess'd, That he knew above 12 *Romish Emissaries* that Preach'd among the *Puritans* by the *Jesuites* Order. This in the *Margin* he calls, *A fruitful Testimony*; by which, I suppose, he means a *Testimony* of his own fruitful Invention. The Preaching of these *Sparks* among the *Puritans*, is a perfect FORGERY of Mr. *Agates*, and his own *Authors* say no such thing*.

AGAIN; This *Gentleman* produces a *Popish Priest*, one *Ramsay* [p. 72.], who in *Cromwel's* time preached among the

* *Foxes*, &c. pt. 2d, p. 61.

the *Holy Brethren*, the *Presbyterians* and *Independents*. Here again we see the prevalency of bad Habits; he foists in the *Holy Brethren*, and the *Presbyterians*, when his own *Author* makes no mention of them †.

HE tells us further [p. 73.], That one *Brown*, a *Romish Priest*, went into *Scotland*, about the Year 1641, and confessed upon his Death-bed, That he had preached as downright *Popery* in the *Covenanters Conventicles*, as ever he preached in the *Church of Rome*. I have not seen the History of this *Brown*, but it must be a *Fiction*; for at the time mentioned the *Covenanters* in *Scotland* had the Power in their own Hands, and possession of the Publick Churches: And nothing can be more ridiculous, than to talk of *Conventicles* among the *Covenanters* in the Year referred to.

BUT the most unlucky Instance he has yet hit upon, is that of Father *Bernard*, who was himself a *Jesuite*, and gives us a long Catalogue of *Romish Priests* that frequented the Meetings of *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, in the Garb of *Ministers*, thumping the Pulpit undiscovered for many years, [p. 73.] For the Proof of this, he quotes *Mutatus Polemo*, Printed 1650. This *Bernard* dedicates his Worshipful Pamphlet to the Lord *President Bradshaw*, extolling him to the Skies for his Courage and Resolution, in pronouncing Sentence on King *Charles the 1st*; he charges that *Prince* with *Tyranny*, with the Blood of 500000 Christians, with poysoning his Father, betraying his Friends, with *Perjury* and *Perfidy*, beyond all Example*. He represents the *Cavaliers* as *Buzzards*, *Fools* †, as *Damme Blades*, ‡ and Men of no Religion †. He owns himself to be a *Priest* during the *Civil Wars*, and that there were *Priests* and *Jesuites* enough in *Oxford* (the King's Head-Quarters) to furnish all the *Royal Garrisons* in *England**. When King *Charles*, after the Defeat of all his Armies, surrendered himself to the *Scots*, and *Oxford* was reduced by Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, the *Jesuites* consulted amongst themselves, what Course to steer next, and it was resolved amongst them, to follow their *Old Master* to the *Scottish Camp*; where, to conceal themselves, they assume all Shapes. 'He that crewhile
' was a Commander in a Ranting Equipage, is now slinked into
' a Cobling-Stall, a Tapsters Apron, or a Pulpit-Thumping
F Pres.

† *Foxes and Firebrands*, pt. 2d, p. 94. * *Mutatus Polemo*;
p. 2. † *Ib.* p. 4. ‡ *Ib.* p. 28. † *Ib.* p. 5. * *Ib.* p. 6.

'Presbyters Iippo.†. When they had skulked awhile in those Disguises amongst the Scots, they at last slipt into France. The Design of the Pamphlet is to perswade the World, that the Presbyterians and Cavaliers were influenced by Jesuitical Councils, in their Attempts to restore King Charles to the Throne of his Ancestors; But it is no where said, as Mr. Agate pretends, that those Priests did Thump the Pulpits in Presbyterian Meetings; it is a perfect Forgery, nor can it be true, for the Presbyterians at that time had the Publick Churches: And to talk of Presbyterian Meetings then, is as absurd as to talk of Episcopal Meetings after the Restoration. The Reader may guess what Credit he deserves, when he talks with so much Confidence of the Sense of the Church Catholick for 1500 Years together, whilst he, with all his Bluster, understands not the History of the last Century. The Plymouth Doctor, who it is likely sent him those Memoirs, should have supervised his Work to prevent such Horrid Blunders.

MY Antagonist goes on [p. 74.]; Dr. Oats (says he) swears that White, Morgan and Ireland, preached in Scotland under the Notion of Presbyterians. But by this Gentleman's leave, Dr. Oats only says, That the Jesuites employed those Fellows to go and preach under the notion of Presbyterians; but he no where says, they actually did Preach, or that the Presbyterians gave them Opportunity to put their Instructions in Practice.

TO clinch the Nail, Mr. Agate introduces Mr Baxter, confessing, That the Popish Brood crept in among the Nonconformists, not only to spy out their Minds and Ways, but to head the Party [p. 78.] For this he quotes Key for Catholicks, p. 326. Mr. Baxter says no such thing in the page referred to; he says indeed, There is scarce any Party but they creep in amongst. But in this very page he tells us of the Presbyterians, That he sees no Reason to think that ever the Papists had any Interest in them of any men.

3. A Third Remark which I shall make on those Stories Mr. Agate has produced is, that several of these very Men he mentions as Priests, and Jesuites, did officiate in the Church of England. Thus Thomas Heath, whom our Author mentions [p. 70.] preached in the Cathedral Church at Rochester*, and was discovered by a Note he drop'd in the Pulpit, as pulling

† Mutatus Polemo, p. 10. * Foxes, &c. p. 31.

pulling out his *Handkerchief*. The same is affirmed of *Jackson*, mentioned *Plain Truth*, p. 72. of whom tis said, *He preached in the publick Churches at Dublin* †. Tis indeed said, *That he preached amongst the Nonconformists too*; but still the Church has as great an Interest in him as the *Dissenters*; though perhaps neither one nor t'other may be true; for Mr. *Catherwood*, the Discoverer of this *Jackson*, was by his own Confession a *Haunter of Bawdy-Houses*.

AMONGST all the Instances produced by this *Gentleman*, I can't imagine the Reason, why he should bring upon the Stage the two famous Jesuites *Parsons* and *Campion* [p. 72.], (for so I suppose the *Plymouth Doctor* wrote him, though he has Blundered upon *Campanella*) the former of these had his Education in *Baliol-Colledge*, and the latter was *Proctor* of the same University in the Year 1568 ‖. And does not Mr. *Agate* argue most profoundly, when he proves the *Dissenters* to be *Jesuites*, because One of that Order was *Proctor* of the University of Oxford? But this tis to be a *Master of Arts*, and *understand Logick*!

4. A Fourth Remark which I make on these Stories is, that abundance of them relate only to the *Quakers*, *Ranters*, and other *Enthusiastick Persons*, for whom I pretend not to be an Advocate. Tis confessed, that in *Cromwel's Army* an uncontrolled License of *Holding-forth* was encouraged and indulged: A Time that was, when *Trumpeters* and *Drummers* sat up for *Preachers* and *Expounders*; when *Scarlet Cloaks*, and *Silk Swashes*, were preaching down *Gowns* and *Universities*, and every private *Centinel* was ready to beat his *Sword* into a *Plow-share*, his *Spear* into a *Pruning-hook*, and conceit himself as Duly Qualified to cultivate and manure his *Master's Vineyard*. But this is what the *Presbyterians* did utterly Dislike, and publickly Protest against.

WHEN the Pulpit was open to every bold *Mechanick*, tis possible a *Priest* or *Jesuite* might slip into it: Mr. *Pryn* and *Edwards* were both *Presbyterians*, and most of the Stories which they relate, are Complaints of this Nature. I am as much against such Medly and Confusion as Mr. *Agate* himself is: As for *Coleman*, *Hallingham* and *Benson*, mentioned by Mr. *Agate*, [p. 72.] they are said to breed a *Faction* among the *German*

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† Foxes, &c. pt. 2d, p. 109. ‖ Fullers Ch: Hist: L. 9.
pag. 114

Hereticks, and induce many to deny their *Baptism* **; and what am I concerned with such?

5. I desire the *Reader*, in the last place, to consider, that supposing all these Stories to be true, which this *Gentleman* has raked together; yet the *Dissenters*, for whom I plead, are no more liable to the Charge of *Jesuitism*, than the *Established Church* it self, in which several *Papists* in Disguise have possessed some of its highest *Dignities*. I hinted in my last at Dr. Goodman, who was Bishop of Gloucester, and died a *Roman Catholick*. In the Reign of King James I, the *Popish-Arch-bishop* of Spalato*, came over into England, pretending himself a New Convert, was made *Dean* of Windsor, and had other *Preferments* conferred upon him. After a while, the *Pope* and he were reconciled, and back trudged he to Rome.

I have already hinted at the Famous *Jesuite Campian*, who was *Proctor* of the *University* of Oxford. And Dr. Humphry, who was *Professor* of Divinity in that *Academy*, acknowledges †, That several *Jesuites* had been *Oxonians*. Dr. Theodore Price was Vice-Dean of Westminster, recommended by Arch-Bishop Laud ‖, as the fittest Man, in his Conscience, to make a Welsh Bishop: He lived an Epicure, and died a professed *Papist*. 'Twas one Article of Impeachment against the formentioned Arch-Bishop ‡, " That he provided Maintenance and Entertainment for one Monsieur St. Giles, a Popish Priest, in the *University* of Oxford, knowing him to be " a Popish Priest. Mr. Gage, who was first a popish Priest, and afterwards embraced the Protestant Religion, tells us *, " That when he was at Rome, the Rector of the *English-Colledge* of *Jesuites* assured him, That Arch-Bishop Laud had " so great a Complaisance for the *Holy See*, that when he had " hammerd out a Common-prayer Book for the *Scots*, he sent " it to Rome, to be first viewed and approved by the *Pope* and " his Cardinals; and that the said Rector was sent for by some " of the Cardinals, and his Opinion asked concerning it. Mr. Agate's own Author, Father Bernard, tells us †, " That " Priests and *Jesuites* were dispersed in all the Kings Garrisons: " That

** Foxes, &c. p. 38. * Fullers Ch. Hist. L. 17. p. 94, &c. † Prefat. ad *Jesuitismi partem primam*. ‖ Pryns Canturburys Doom, p. 355. ‡ lb. p. 39. * Gages Survey of the West-Indies, p. 208. † Mutatus Polemo, p. 6

“ That there were few without *some*, some with *many*, and
 “ none *without any*. That Sir *John Kempsfield* ‖, an Eminent
 “ Commander of Horse, never Charged without a Crucifix on
 “ his Breast: And that Father *Car* †, a *Dominican*, was a
 “ Quarter-master in the King’s Army. Nay, a more unex-
 “ ceptionable Historian than this *paltry Friar*, my Lord *Claren-*
don confesses, ††, “ That the Roman Catholicks were very nu-
 “ merous in *Oxford*, the Kings Head-Quarters. And no great
 “ wonder if these *Locusts* did multiply there, when two suc-
 “ cessive Governours of that City, Sir *Arthur Aston* and Col.
Gage, were both of that Communion ‖‖. Nay, the former
 “ of these gives this Character of the latter ††, “ That he was
 “ the most *Jesuited Papist* in the World, and that he kept a
 “ *Jesuite* in his House. And *Gage* owned to K. *Charles* him-
 “ self, That he heard Mass every Day in *Oxford*. That No-
 “ ble Historian tells us further **, “ That Sir *John Smith*,
 “ Commissary-General of Horse in the Royal Army, was a
 “ *Roman Catholick*; and Col. *Web* was of the same Commu-
 “ nion *. Tis possible, some of this sort of Cattle might be found
 “ in both Armies, but with this remarkable Difference: When
Cromwel caught a Priest, he *strung him up*, according to Mr.
Agates own Account [*Pl. Truth*, p. 72.]; whilst K. *Charles*
 “ advanced them to Eminent Commands, intrusting his Univer-
 “ sity and chief Garrisons to the care of their prime Confidants.

IF we come down to the Reign of K. *Charles* 2d, I find that
Henry Starkey was Arraigned at the Sessions in the *Old-Baily*,
 and found Guilty of High-Treason. He pleaded, *That he*
was a Major in the late Kings Army †: And it was proved
 how he boasted, *That he had said Mass twenty and twenty*
times in that Army. About the same time one Parson *Philips*
 renounced the Protestant Religion; but Father *Evers* ‖, advi-
 “ sed him, “ To continue his Station for a Season where he
 “ was; for by *pretending* himself a Minister of the Church of
 “ *England*, he would be better *qualified*, and more *capaci-*
 “ *tated*, to promote the *Romish* Interest, than if he should
 “ immediately pull off his Mask, and own himself a Papal
 “ Convert.

BUT

‖ Mutatus Polemo, p. 3 † *Ib*: p. 5 †† *Clarendons Hist.*
Vol. 2d, pt. 2d, p. 528 ‖‖ *Ib*: p. 527 †† *Ib*: p. 553 ** *Ib*:
 p. 475 * *Ib*: p. 529 † *Hist. Damnable Popish Plot*, page
 384 ‖ *Hist. of Popish Sham Plots*, p. 103

BUT to go no further back than the Unhappy Reign of King James, Mr. Agate has not given one Instance of any *Dissenting Minister*, who at that time faced about to the Church of Rome; but there were many who pretended to be zealous Church-men formerly, who then threw off the Mask, and declared themselves *true* Catholicks. The Bishops of Oxford and Chester †, are left upon Record as the *unhappy Tools* of Popery. Dr. Obadiah Walker was a Remarkable Convert in those Days, whose Name almost every person has heard of. And the famous Mr. Robert Charnock, who made his *Exit* at Tyburn, on the Account of the Assassination Plot, was *Fellow* of Magdalen-Colledge ††, and a Papist. There is a Practitioner of Physick, now living in Dorset, (as I am told by a Gentleman who knows him) who was formerly Parson of Soply, near Christ-Church in Hampshire, and in the Days of King James professed himself a *Roman* Catholick, remaining so to this very Day. Did I make it my Business to Hunt for Stories of this Nature, I make no Question but many other Instances might be easily produced; but this is enough to let the Reader see, that those Stones which Mr. Agate hath so *maliciously* thrown at me, will recoil, and break his own Head. Far be it from me to Imitate the Disingenuity of my *Antagonist*, for the sake of these *Fellows*, to impute *Jesuitism* to the Church of England; all that I aim at is, to let the Reader see, that though it were true that Priests and *Romish* Emissaries have, under various Disguises, crept into the *Dissenting-meetings*, (of which our *Author* has not given us One Instance since our *Religious Assemblies* were allowed of by *publick Authority*) yet 'tis as true, they have crept into the Established Church itself: And that the one is as Obnoxious to this Invidious Charge as the other, and both must *stand or fall* together.

THAT I might convince our *Author* of his approaching nearer to the Church of Rome than the *Dissenters*, I minded him of his LUCKY HIT which he discovered in the Pulpit, viz. That Christ had a Natural Body, and a Spiritual Body; his Natural Body is in Heaven, and his Spiritual in the Sacrament. To Vindicate this Expression, Mr. Agate tells us, [p. 79.] That Christs Body is really present in the Sacrament of

† Hist: of England, Vol. 3. p. 462 †† Hist: of K. Will: Vol. 1st, pag. 237

of the Lords-supper, some how or other ; That this has ever been the Doctrine of the Christian Church, and is plainly founded in the Holy Scriptures. Could this Gentleman make good his Assertion, and produce these Scriptures, he would do mighty Service to the Church of Rome. If Christs Body be really present, his Real Body must be present ; and if his Real Body be present, his Flesh and Bones must be there ; for these are the REAL and ESSENTIAL Parts thereof, as he HE himself assures us, Luke 24. 39, 40. Tis true, the Council of Trent |||, thunders out an *Anathema* against all such as do deny the Body and Blood of Christ to be really and truly in the Sacrament. Were Christs Humane Nature really present, and united to the Divine, I see no Reason why it should not be the Object of our Religious Adoration, which is the grossest part of Popery. I confess, some Ancient and Modern Authors have expressed themselves oddly enough on this Head ; for my part, I am no such Idolizer of mystical Nonsense, as to Adore it for the sake of its Gray Hairs ; the real presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament, was never yet an Article of my Faith, and I believe it will be a great while before it will. I rather chuse, with Tertullian ††, a Primitive Father, to paraphrase our Saviour's Words, *This is my Body*, that is, *the Figure or Representation of my Body*. If some have said, That Christ's Body is present in the Sacrament in a spiritual manner, their meaning only is, That it is present to our Faith, and that devout Communicants do as really believe that Christ Died and Suffered for them, as if they saw him crucified before their Eyes. This is quite another Thing than His having two different Bodies, one natural in Heaven, and another spiritual in the Sacrament : This is a peculiar Whimsy of our Authors, and tis pity but he should have the Honour of the Invention.

I proceed to consider Mr. Agates second Grand Charge against the Dissenters, and that is their pretended Donatism ; in the Proof of which he is as defective as in his former. That the Reader may the better judge at whose Door this ugly Brat ought to be laid, whether at his, or mine ; I think it necessary to acquaint him wherein we agree, and in what we differ ; and what are those Reasons which support my own Opinion, and confront his.

TIS

||| Concil. Trident. § 13. Can. 1 †† Hoc est Corpus meum, id est, Figura Corporis mei. Tertul. adv. Marcion. L. 4

Tis agreed then by us both, That the *Donatists* were Real *Schismatics*, and justly censured as such by all other Churches : That *Cecilian* was Lawful Bishop of *Carthage* : That by the Contrivance of one *Lucilla*, a Factious Potent Lady, and some other Malecontents, a Synod of Bishops were prevailed upon to come to *Carthage*, to condemn *Cecilian* for those Crimes of which he was not guilty ; to Depose him as much as in them lay, and Ordain one *Majorinus* in his room : That they appropriated the Name of the Catholick Church to their own Party, condemning those for no Christians who owned *Cecilians* Title to the Bishoprick of *Carthage* : So far we both concur.

BUT the Difference betwixt us is, Wherein the *Schism* of these *Donatists* consists, and what it was that denominated them *Schismatics*. I affirm, That it was their confining the Catholick Church to their own Faction, and their Uncharitable Censuring and Condemning all those who did not subscribe to their Fancies. On the other hand, Mr. *Agate* asserts, That they were not condemned for *Schismatics*, because they confined the Catholick Church to a small part of it ; but for setting up separate Meetings, as our Dissenters do.

BEFORE I proceed to the Confirmation of my own Opinion, I shall lay down this as a *Maxim*, to which the Common Reason of Mankind must needs subscribe, That the Denomination of any Thing ought to be taken from its greater part ; and therefore, if it appears that the greater part of the *Donatists* did not set up separate Meetings, their *Schism* certainly could not consist in that of which they were not guilty. These Things premised, I shall observe this method.

I. I shall prove, That the setting up an opposite Bishop, and a separate Meeting, at *Carthage*, was the Act of some particular Bishops ; and that neither the Clergy and Laity of their Respective Diocesses, nor the Neighbouring Bishops, were responsible for their Irregular Proceedings.

II. That though at *Carthage* there was an opposite Church set up, yet in other Towns and Cities the *Donatists* continued in Subjection to their Lawful Bishops, had their Assemblies in the publick Churches, and the greater part of the People adhering to them ; and therefore their *Schism* must consist in something else than what is alledged by Mr. *Agate*.

1. THE setting up an *Opposite Bishop* at *Carthage* was the Act of a few *particular* Bishops, for which their *Diocesses* and *Neighbours* are not responsible. This I prove,

(1.) FROM an *Authority* of which Mr. *Agate* has a very high Opinion, which is that of *his own dear self*, who in his *Reply*, p. 54. affirms, *That if a Bishop should be a Socinian, an Apostate, or an Atheist, this would not Unchristian his whole Diocess*: And a *Schismatick* can be no worse than one of these. And indeed, no Reason can be assigned, why they who are *ignorant* of the Crime, should be *involved* in the Guilt. If the *Judges* and *Juries* in *Westminster-Hall* should be so far corrupted as to *condemn* an *innocent* Person, I see no Reason why we, who live at a distance, and know nothing of the Intrigue, may not rather conclude the Person to be really Guilty, than that a whole *Court of Judicature* should be perjured.

TIS confessed, That *Cecilian* was unjustly Deposed; but this was not the Fault of those who lived some Scores and Hundreds of Miles distant, and who knew nothing of the matter but as it was Reported to them: The *Bishops* guilty of this Violence, were actually at *Carthage*, the Scene on which the Crimes objected to *Cecilian* were pretended to be acted; they had an Opportunity of making the strictest Enquiry, and the Witnesses were on the spot: Had they been *sincere*, they were in a much better Capacity to inform themselves aright, than those Prelates who met at *Arles* and *Rome*, 500 or 1000 Miles distant, and on t'other side the *Midland Sea*, by whom *Cecilian* was acquitted. Though the Leading Men in this *Carthage* Synod were Bribed by *Lucilla*, yet this was a Secret not made known to the World till many Years afterwards*: So that had the *Donatists* contented themselves with a bare esteeming *Majorinus* to be the Lawful Bishop of *Carthage*, this had only been a Mistake, or a Misapprehension, as to the Matter of Fact, and no *Schism*: The setting up an *Opposite* Altar at *Carthage*, was indeed the Fault of such as were concerned, but not of those that lived in remote Provinces.

G (2.) THE

* *Vid. Monumenta vetera ad Donatist. Hist. pertinent. apud Dupin, p. 167, &c.*

(2.) THAT other Persons ought not to be Responsible for the unjust Proceedings of this Synod, I prove, by the Sense and Practice of the Catholick Church in like cases. *Cecilian* is not the only Bishop in the World who has been Deposed for *Sham Crimes*, and by a numerous Council, whilst those who have acquiesced in the unjust Sentence, have not been reputed *Schismatics*: This was the Case both of *Nazianzen* and *Chrysostom*, two of the most Eminent Divines the Greek Church e're produced, and the Brightest Lights that ever shone in that *Horizon*. The first of these came to *Constantinople*, when the City was almost wholly *Arian*: By his Affectionate Sermons, and Cogent Arguments, he converted the greater part of the Inhabitants to the *Orthodox Faith*; upon which, he was confirmed in that *See* by the Emperor *Theodosius*, and the second General Council held in that City. 'Twas but a little while, before the same Synod caballed against him, and without so much as the pretext or shadow of a Crime, constrained him to resign his Bishoprick, ordaining another in his room. If it be pretended by Mr. *Agate*, That his Resignation was *Voluntary*, and therefore there was no *Injustice* done him; the contrary is evident, from that Tragical Description which he gives us of the *Rage* and *Fury* that the younger Prelates were transported with: And the *Historian* tells us *, *That he delivered up the Authority committed to him, to the Bishops which demanded it at his Hands*. And he himself intimates, As if his *Life* were in danger; and therefore begs the Council, *That they would grant him a safe, though an inglorious Life, when deprived of his Archiepiscopal Dignity* †. As a Minister of State may be said to be turned out of his Post, when forced to resign the Ensigns of his Office; so this great *Patriarch* may be truly said to be Deposed, when forced to relinquish his Dignity.

IN this Instance, we see a good Bishop causelessly turned out, and another put in his room, and this by One of the Four General Councils, compared by some to the *Four Evangelists*. I desire to ask my *Antagonist*, Whether all those who acquiesced

* Ἀπαιτῶσι δὲ τῆς Ἐπισκόπου καὶ παρκαταθήκην ἀπὸ δουλίας.

Sozom: Hist: L. 7. c. 7.

† Ἡμῖν δὲ σωζέσθαι ἄθρονον βίον,
καὶ ἀκλῆ μὲν ἐν ὁμῶς ἀκίνδυνον.

Nazian: *Carmen de vita sua*.

esced in this *unjust Sentence*, and held Communion with the New Bishop, were *Schismaticks*? If so, the Universal Church at that time was liable to that Charge.

WE have another Instance, of like Nature, in the Famous *Chrysostom*, who was made Patriarch of *Constantinople* in the beginning of the Fifth Century. By the Severity and Strictness of his *Life and Discipline*, he disoblighd the Clergy of that City *: By his *Freedom* in Inveighing against the Luxury of Great Men, and the Modish Vices of the Age, he disgusted the Haughty Courtiers. And the Empress *Eudoxia* became his implacable and bitter Enemy: By her Influence, a Synod of Bishops was convened at *Chalcedon*, who, to make their Court, were ready for any mischief. By them this Excellent Person was Deposed; and though his Intended Banishment was for a while suspended, to appease the Tumults of the people, who had a mighty Veneration for their *Patriarch*, being charmed with his flowing Eloquence; yet, upon a fresh Provocation, *Eudoxia* got another Assembly of Bishops, who confirmed the former Sentence against him, and ordained one *Arsacius* in his room †. So that the case of *Cecilian* at *Carthage*, and *Chrysostom* at *Constantinople*, seems very parallel; they were both *Lawful Bishops*, and *Beloved* of their People; they were both *condemned* by *prejudiced and self-interested Synods*; and both fell a *Sacrifice* to *Feminine Revenge* and *Malice*. I would ask my *Antagonist*, Whether all the *Eastern Christians* who acquiesced in this *unjust Sentence*, and held Communion with *Arsacius*, were *Schismaticks*, and in a State of *Damnation*? I know no Christian Writer that has affirmed thus of 'em. And therefore, when the *Donatists* are branded with this infamous Crime, 'tis for some other Reason than their bare *misapprehending Majorinus* to be *Lawful Bishop* of *Carthage*, even for their *confining the Catholick Church to their own party*, and their *condemning all such as did not subscribe to their Opinions*.

BUT we need not cross the Seas for Instances of this Nature; we have had in our own *Island*, two Bishops laying Claim to one and the same *Diocefs*, without the Imputation of *Schism* to the Friends of either party. 'Tis very well known, that several *English Prelates* were, at the late *Revolution* deprived of their *Ecclesiastical Dignities*, for refusing the Oath

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of

* Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* L. 6. c. 4. † *Ib.* c. 15, 18.

of Allegiance to King *William*; amongst whom, Dr. *Ken*, the Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, was one; upon which, that Preference was offered to Dr. *Beveridge* *, but he refused to accept it, *because the Incumbent was alive*. And I have been informed, That there is an Eminent Bishop now living, who has a *Formal Instrument of Resignation* under his Abdicated Predecessor's own Hand; which seems to intimate, as if his Lordship apprehended him to have some Title, there being no occasion why he should relinquish what he never had. However, what Dr. *Beveridge* refused, Dr. *Kidder* accepted of. Upon this, the great Question in *Somerset* was the same which formerly divided *Carthage*, *Who was the Lawful Bishop of the Diocese of two Persons pretending to it?* Mr. *Agate* swore Canonical Obedience to Bp. *Kidder*. Others thought, that his Predecessor, still living, had the better Title, and done nothing to forfeit his Dignity; But were the Persons that thought so all *Schismatics*, cut off from the Church, and in a State of Damnation? I believe Mr. *Agate* (as censorious as he is) will not venture to affirm it. Had the *Donatists* contented themselves with a bare Recognizing *Majorinus* to be Bishop of *Carthage*, this had only been a Speculative Error or Mistake in *Matter of Fact*; whereas their condemning and unchurching all such as did not comply with their Humour, made them guilty of a most criminal *Schism*.

THIS may serve as an Answer to Mr. *Agate*'s Question, which doubtless he looks upon as a very killing one, *Whether if the Donatists had not confined the Catholick Church, or censured their Fellow-christians, they had ceased to be Schismatics* [p. 85.]? As to those who were immediately concerned in the Sham Council which met at *Carthage*, I have nothing to say; but as this was not the Act of the Hundredth, if the Thousandth, part of the *Donatists*; so I see no Reason why the rest of that Sect, who lived in remote Towns and Cities, would have been *Schismatics*, had it not been for their *uncharitable principles*, any more than those infinite Number of Churches, who acquiesced in the Invidious Deposition of *Chrysostom* and *Nazianzen*, and joyned Communion with those who were unjustly placed in their Seats; or any more than those who looked upon Bishop *Ken* as Lawful Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, when Bishop *Kidder* possessed that Honour.

2. I

* *Hist. K. Will. Vol. 2d, p. 255.*

2. I proceed to show, That the *Donatists* (by which I mean the *major part* of them) were so far from setting up *separate Meetings*, and *opposite Altars*, as Mr. *Agate* every where pretends, that they continued in Communion with their *Lawful Bishops*, performed their *Devotions* in the publick Churches, and had the Bulk of the people concourse with them. That they did not make a Separation from their Bishops, is evident from this: That the Bishops themselves were *first in the Transgression*; they were the *Beginners* of the *Squabble*, and led their Flocks into those *perverse* and *crooked ways* that we are speaking of. St. *Austin* * assures us, That no less than 70 Bishops were concerned in the *Condemnation* of *Cecilian*. The *Primate* of *Numidia* was at their Head, and most of the *Prelates* of that large Province, in which were 155 Bishopricks, acquiesced in what their Brethren had unjustly done. Mr. *Agate* indeed, with his wonted Confidence, affirms [pag. 87.] That if we may believe *Optatus*, the Matter was quite otherwise, and that the *Foundation* of this Schism was not laid by a Council of Bishops, but by *Lucilla* and her *Accomplices*. Yet he [p. 83.] (I thank him) furnishes me with a Citation from that very *Author* which confirms my Assertion: The Church was One (says the *Historian* †) 'till it was divided by the *Ordainers* of *Majorinus*. So that 'twas not *Lucilla*, but the Bishops *Ordaining Majorinus*, who began that fatal *Division*. She might indeed excite and prompt them to it, but there was no actual Schism 'till the *opposite Bishop* and *Altar* was erected, according to Mr. *Agate's* own Notion. This *Gentleman* indeed suggests [p. 88.], as if there was a time when they had but one Bishop of their side, though afterwards they increased to forty, and more. But this is a false and groundless Imagination, there being (as I have proved) no less than 70 Prelates at the very beginning of the Scuffle, and were joyned in a little time by multitudes of others.

BUT to put this Matter beyond all Dispute, I shall present the Reader with an Instance exactly to my purpose, and that

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* *Recitatum est quod Septuaginta ferme Episcopi Cecilianum ----- damnauerunt. Augus. Donat. Episc. Ep. 162. Id. de unitate Eccles. c. 16. † Una erat Ecclesia antequam divideretur ab Ordinatoribus Majorini. Opt. de Schif. Donat. L. 1.*

is the Church of *Cirta*, or *Constantina*; this City is represented as a *most flourishing Noble City*, and formerly the Seat of *K. Juba* ||. The Bishop of this City was one *Sylvanus*, a mighty Stickler for the *Faction*. 'Twas whispered abroad, as if he had formerly been a *Traditor*; upon which Directions were sent to *Zenophilus*, the Governour of *Numidia*, to make a strict Enquiry into this matter. Amongst others, he summons before him one *Victor*, an Inhabitant of *Cirta*. Upon his Examination, he tells the President, *That he knew not the Original of the Quarrel: As for our City*, (says he) *it never had above one Church* †. Upon which *Baluzius* observes, *There was no Division at this time in the Church of Cirta, which had but one Bishop, and he a Donatist* *.

When Mr. *Agate* has consulted this piece of *History*, I desire him to inform us, What made these People *Schismatics*? They remained united to their *Old Bishop*, set up *no separate Meetings*; nay, were such *Enemies* to Separation, that when the Emperor built a Church for the *Catholics* to worship GOD in, they violently took it away from them †. I hope it will not be pretended, that they sat up a *separate Meeting* at *Carthage*, when the two Cities were between Two and Three Hundred Miles distant from one another.

AS the *Donatists* had their Bishops to lead them on, so were they followed in their *crooked ways* by the greater part of the People. St. *Austin* confesses, *That in Numidia they were the stronger party* ||; and that *Hippo*, his own City, was in former times almost wholly devoted to the *Faction* †. When there was so great an Harmony between the Priests and the People, no wonder if they were possessed of the publick Churches: That they were so, is evident from these *Decrees of Constantine*, by which they were expelled the publick Temples, and these Structures given to the *Catholics*. Thus St. *Austin* tells the *Donatists* ††: *Constantine* (says he) *commanded the Churches to be taken from you, and 'twas Julian the Apostate* that

|| *Vid. Hist. Carthag. Collat. apud Dupin, p. 344.* † *Semper Civitas nostra unam Ecclesiam habet. Gest. apud Zenoph. Dupin. p. 167* * *Ib. 172.* † *Ib. p. 189* || *in Numidia vos præpolletis, Austin de Unitate Eccles. c. 16.* † *Civitas mea quæ cum tota esset in Parte Donati, Ep. ad Vincent. 48.* †† *Constantinus vobis Basilicas jussit auferri, Julianus restitui. Aug. cont. Petil. L. 2. c. 92*

that restored them to you. So that if the publick Temples were taken from them, we may most certainly conclude, that they had first the possession of them. I have already shewn, That at *Constantina*, for many Years after the Dissention about *Cecilian*, there was only One Bishop, and he a *Donatist*; and as he had possession of the publick Temple, so his *Faction* was so strong and furious, that they violently took away from the Catholicks a Church, which *Constantine* had erected at his own charge for their use, refusing peremptorily to restore it, though urged and commanded by the *Imperial Officers* so to do. However, the Emperor did not think fit to proceed to *Extremeties* against this *mutinous* and *stubborn Generation*; but having commended the Catholicks for their Patience and Temper, he ordered another Place of Worship to be erected for them, and the Expence defrayed out of his own *Exchequer*. So that in this City the *Donatists* had the settled Bishop, and publick Temples at their Devotion, whilst the *Orthodox Party* did set up an opposite Altar and separate Meetings. That this is a true Relation, we are assured by the *Imperial Edict* still upon Record, which the *Latin Reader* may consult at his Leisure *.

Mr. *Agate*, 'tis like, will be ready to cry out again, *Alas for the poor Catholicks!* [p. 88.] But tis not an Impertinent and Noisy Exclamation that will overthrow an *Argument* founded upon plain Matter of Fact. I have Reason to complain of this Gentleman, as guilty of a most Egregious *Falseness* and *Abuse*, when he tells the World [p. 87.], That I am resolved to make it out, that the Catholicks were the Schismatics, and not the Donatists; when there is not one Expression in my whole Book on which to found so FALSE an *Accusation*. I do indeed affirm, That the *Donatists* could not be Schismatics for setting up separate Meetings, when they had the possession of the publick Temples, with the Countenance of their Old Bishop; and the Reader must judge, whether I have failed in my Proof.

The Truth on't is, the great Principle these furious *Sectaries* were acted by, and the Spring which put all the Wheels in motion, was this, That *Cecilian*, or his Ordainer, was a *Traitor*, and an *Apostate* from the Faith: That all those who owned

* *V. Rescriptum Constantini ad Episcopos Numidas, apud Dupin, p. 189.*

owned him for Lawful Bishop, involved themselves in the same Apostacy, and ceased to be Christians. We are informed by St. Optatus *, That when they *seduced* any from the Catholick Faith, this was the *method* they always took: *Hearken to us, (say they) Redeem your Souls, and become Christians.* Mr. Agate indeed says [p. 84.], *This Principle of theirs was taken up many Years after, when Majorinus, in all probability was dead:* But whether a bare Probability be fit to be opposed to an Authentick Evidence, I must leave that to the Reader's Judgment.

I shall conclude this Head with the Testimonies of two English Bishops, and two of the brightest Ornaments that the Church of England ever had, who say as I do, That the Schism of the Donatists did consist in their confining the Catholick Church to their own party, and condemning their Fellow-christians.

THE first is Bishop Stillingfleet, who thus expresses himself †: "Whatever confines, must also divide the Church, for
" by that Confinement, a Separation is made between the Party confined and the other; which Separation must be made
" by the Party so limiting Christian Communion, as it was
" in the case of the Donatists, who are therefore justly charged with Schism, because they confined the Catholick Church
" within their own Bounds.

TO the same purpose speaks the late Arch-Bishop Tillotson, "The Roman Communion (says he) is plainly founded in
" Schism, that is the most unchristian and uncharitable
" Principle that can be, namely that they are the only true
" Church of Christ, out of which none can be saved; which
" was the very Schism of the Donatists ‖. I hope Mr Agate will allow these great Men to understand the History of the Church better than he, or I can pretend to; and that, upon second Thoughts, he will Retract his confident Assertion, That to say this was their Schism, is such a Fancy as deserves only to be Laught at [p. 85.].

I come

* Quæ sunt verba seductionis vestra omnibus notum est: Vestrum est dicere redimite Animas vestras, estote christiani, Optat: de Schif: Donat: L. 3. § 11. † Stillingfl: Rational Account, p. 359 ‖ Tillotson's Works in Folio, 4th Edit. pag. 364

I come now to consider Mr *Agate's Parallel*; what relates to the *Donatists*, may be found in Mr *Long's History* of that Sect; and there is scarce a Citation out of *Austin*, or *Optatus*; but what he found collected to his Hands in that Book. But to make some short Reflections upon this part of his Performance:

First, IF this Method be allowed to be a good way of Arguing, there is no Church whatsoever but may be condemned for the greatest Impieties. 'Tis confessed, there are some, both *Church-men* and *Dissenters*, who have done very Ill Things; but if the Crimes of a few may be imputed to the whole, there is not a Society upon Earth but may be proved to be *Jews* or *Pagans*; *Turks* or *Incarnate Devils*. The *Alcoran* allows a Man to keep as many Concubines as he can maintain; there be some Church-men have taken the same License; are they therefore all *Mahometans*? We had a Gang of Men prosecuted lately in our *Metropolis*, for Horrid and Unnatural Crimes; but were the *Londoners* therefore all *Sodomites*? Were the *Apostles* all Traytors, because one was a *Judas*, and had a Devil? Is the Lustre of the *Angelick Order* stained, because some of their Number have transformed themselves into black and ugly *Fiends*? Is the Church of *England* chargable with the Felonies and Robberies, for which some of its Members are every Year strung up? Suppose some *Dissenters* have done and said the Ill Things Mr *Agate* mentions, must the whole Body of them be Responsible for their Crimes? Where is the Conscience of such a *Procedure*?

MY *Antagonist* not only imputes the Miscarriages of a few to the whole Party, but he objects to me the Whimfies of those people which I had in most express Words disclaimed. I told him in my *Defence*, I would not be an Advocate for *Quakers*, *Ranters*, and such wild Enthusiasts, who exclaimed against the Church of *England* as the *Whore of Babylon*, and her *Clergy* as *Devils* and *Sons of Belial*. Yet he picks Stories out of *Edwards's Gangræna*, which refer to those *Seſtarian Humourists*, as if they were the General Practices of the *Presbyterians*. 'Tis true, those people go under the general Denomination of *Dissenters*, and so they do of *Protestants*; yet Mr. *Agate* would think it very unfair that a *Papist* should object their Extravagancies to him, and to his Church.

BESIDES all this, he advances many things in his *Parallel*, which are absolutely false: Of this Nature is the Abuse which he has put upon Mr. *Tross* [p. 92.] *The Ministers of*
H the

the *Established Church* he (Mr. Tross) says are grossly Ignorant, dangerously Erroneous, notoriously Profane, &c. Did Mr. Tross indeed say so, he could intend no less, Than that all, or the generality of our *English* Clergy did deserve this Character; but this is a most unjust perversion of Mr. Tross's words, which are these: 'When the Minister of the former (*i.e.* any particular Church) is either grossly Ignorant, or dangerously Erroneous, &c. in such a case tis Lawful to leave such an One, and attend upon One that is better Qualified, of what Ordination or Profession soever EITHER of them are. So that Mr Tross plainly supposes, that both good and bad Ministers may be amongst Church-men and Dissenters, and tis Lawful for a man to choose the best.

WITH the same Sincerity and Truth he cites Mr Baxter, when he tells the World [p. 135], That according to Father Baxter, Bishops are the Devil's Instruments; for which he cites his *Concord*, p. 122, but it should be 123. Mr Baxter having spoken of the perpetual Imprisonment, Banishment, or Death of *Faithful Ministers*, adds these very Words, "And the Prelates that cause this, will be taken by the suffering people for Thorns and Thistles, and grievous Wolves that devour the Flock, and Military Ministers of the Devil. Where is the Reason, where is the Conscience, of making Mr. Baxter pass this Censure upon Bishops in general, when he only supposes that poor suffering people may give this character of cruelly persecuting Prelates.

'TIS no less false, [p. 94] That the Church Plate belonging to St. David's was put to the common Use of a Publick-House, by the Old G---- at the Oxford-Inn; by whom he means Mr. Goswell, who formerly kept that Inn. Mrs. Hoar, who at this present time keeps the same Inn, who frequents her Church, and lives in more than Ordinary Reputation, has assured me, That she Lived with the same Mr Goswell Seven Years in the time this is pretended to be done: That she never knew any Church Plate put to a common Use in his House; and in her Conscience believes, there never was any so employ'd. She further adds, That he had a large Silver Flagon gilt, belonging to St. Peter's, which he kept many Years in a Case lined with Bays, and at last very generously restored it to the aforesaid Church, to be made use of at the Communion. This she affirms upon her own certain Knowledge.

'TIS

'TIS another absolute Untruth, *That we do Hug the accursed Author* (as he calls him [p. 95]) *of the Cristian Rights*. That Gentleman is a *Graduate* in the Univerlity of *Oxford*, and has (as I am credibly informed) at this very day a *Fellowship* in one of the most considerable *Colledges* there; And why should the *Dissenters* be accountable for any of his Hard Sayings? If the *Observer* and *Review* have ridiculed the Scriptures, as he pretends, they must Answer for it themselves, I am neither the *Corrector* nor *Licenser* of the Press.

THERE be some of his Accusations so very *fulsome*, that there is no need of a Confutation: Of this Nature is *the tempting Wives from their Husbands, and preaching the Lawfulness of Adultery* [p. 95]. These are Calumnies so gross and nauseous, that the most vulgar Stomach cannot digest them. And he is *challenged* and *desied* to prove this charge; or Name those Scandalous Offenders who have been cast out of the *Established Church*, and received by the *Dissenters* with open Arms.

THAT the Dissenters *do Relieve and Employ none but those of their own party*, is another most Egregious *Fals-hood*, and known to be so by so many Thousands in this City, that it argues in that Man a *Forehead* impregnable against all the Assaults of *Modesty* and *Virtue*, who durst proclaim so bold a Calumny both from the Press and Pulpit.

WHEN my *Antagonist* was running his *Parallel* between the DONATISTS and DISSENTERS, he fancied himself doubtless amongst *Euclid's Elements*, and dream'd of nothing less than Demonstration. But to let the *Reader* see, That the Cap which he has made for others fits his own Noddle, That he has been drawing his own Picture, And that an *African Donatist* and an *English High-Flyer* do very much resemble one another, I shall briefly recapitulate the Account which he has given us of those *Schismatics*; by which it will appear, that 'tis much more applicable to Him and his FURIOUS TRIBE, than to Me, or any of my *Friends*.

Mr. Agate gives us this following Account of the Donatists, p. 92, &c.

[1.] *THE* Donatists were condemned for Schismatics by all the Christian World.

Ireland; and by consequence all other Churches must condemn his separating Principles.

[1.] Mr. Agate is a Separatist from all the Churches in the World, except the Episcopal Party in England and

all other Churches must condemn his separating Principles.

[2.] *TO* make Profelytes, the Donatists would be always railing at the Catholics and commending themselves, &c.

deracy with all the Deists and Libertines in the Nation: That they are sacrilegious, cruel, and no Christians *.

[2.] Mr. Agate tells the World, That the Dissenters are Villains, Rebels, Schismatics, and the Spawn of Jesuites: That they are in Confe-

[3.] *THE* Donatists were continually tampering with the Female Sex.

Masters of Arts been always able to conjure down the unclean Spirit; but I leave the raking in Dunghills to my Opponent, as having the greater Gust to that Employment.

[3.] I can give Instances (more than a good many) in which Lechery has lurked under a Crape Gown; nor have

[4.] *AS* to Matters of Worship, the Donatists rejected the Catholics Liturgy.

that pass, I would desire him to inform us in his next, Whether he never heard of any Clergy-man, who omitted the Prayers particularly appointed to be read some 16 months ago, upon the Account of the Union of the Two Kingdoms.

[4.] Mr. Agate has not yet proved, that the Catholics had a stunted Liturgy for any Province in Africa; but to let

[5.] *THE* Donatists treated the Sacrament with Contempt--- broke the Communion Plate, and sold it, &c.

[5.] 'TIS a Question whether this Institution was Honoured, and the Reverence due to it Secured, when an Order of

* V: Reply, p. 10, 11, 56, 59. Pl. Truth, p. 53, 95, 96, &c.

of *Chamber* was made in this City, *April* 16th 1683, That none should have License to sell Ale, but such as did receive the *Sacrament*. And we have been told by Dr *Fuller*, that *Church Plate* and *Vestments* have been sold to the best Bidder even by the *Church of England* it self *.

[6.] *TO Ruine the Catholics, the Donatists never scrupled to joyn with the professed Enemies of Christianity, particularly with Julian the Apostate.*

Protestants; and Bands of those inhumane Cut-Throats were to be waisted over into *Britain*, in order to joyn the *Royal Army*, and crush the *Parliamentarians* †.

[7.] *THE Donatists were of an implacable and bitter Temper.*

less is a mighty Argument of a meek and quiet Spirit ‖.

[8.] *WHEN the Donatists had power in their hands, they used the Catholics in a barbarous cruel manner, they plundered and forced them from their Habitations.*

the *Dissenters*; for that is the true *English* of prosecuting them on the 35th of *Queen Elizabeth*.

[9.] *THE Donatists were very apt to fall out among themselves.*

[6.] *IN the late Civil Wars, that the Cavaliers might confound the Round-Heads, the Marquis of Ormond had Orders to make a Truce with the bloody Irish, who had murdered 100000*

[7.] *Mr. Agate has told the World, He can't be easy as long as he has one Dissenter in his Parish; which doubt-*

[8.] *JUST thus the High Church banished the Non-cons 5 miles from Corporations; the zealous Justices of Devon published their pious Resolutions in all the Churches of the County, to Hang or Banish*

[9.] *THUS Mr. Agate falls foul on his Brethren, and reflects upon his Diocesan in the very Pulpit †.*

[10.] *THE*

* *Hist. of Waltham-Abby, p. 15, 16, 19.* † *Hist. of Irish Rebell. pag. 143.* ‖ *V. Reply, pag. 80.* ‡ *V. My Defence, pag. 93.*

[10.] *THE* Donatists would tolerate Enormous Vices in their own Party.

[10.] *MY* Antagonist told me in a publick Coffee-House, That the Principles of a Dissenter were worse than the Act of one that lay *dead drunk* in the Streets. And I can name some rejected by the Presbyterians for their Immoralities, who have been admitted, not only into the Church, but even to minister at the Altar.

WERE it worth the Reader's Entertainment, I might lead him back to the Conference, and let him see how the Parallel will hold Water there too. When Passentius was to Dispute with St. Austin, he refused to stand to his own Agreement *; and when the Conference was ended, St. Austin and his Friends were bitterly reviled by him. Just so Mr. Agate agrees to Dispute Mr. Hallet, upon such and such Terms; then he hammers out half a dozen Preliminaries directly contrary to 'em, and at last Harangues the People from the Pulpit, telling 'em, That his Opponents had neither Conscience, Honour, nor Religion.

I might easily enlarge under each of these Articles, but the Truth on't is, the Donatists might have been guilty of these Crimes without being Schismatics; and so may I and Mr. Agate, without being Donatists. The Question is, Whether this Gentleman does not resemble them in those things, in which the very Essence and Being of Donatism did consist? A little Examination will discover him to have the very Air and Complexion of one of the Old African Sectaries.

(1.) *THE* Donatists endeavoured to persuade people, that the true Church was only found amongst them: That no Communion was Lawful but with their Party †.

(1.) Mr. Agate is not able to name one Christian Church in the whole World that he can hold Communion with, except those of the Episcopal Party in England and Ireland, though publicly challenged

* *Pactis conventis minime stabat.* Hist: Carthag: coll: apud Dupin, p. 348 † Optat: de Schif: Donat: L. 2. § 1. Aug: de Unit: Eccles: c. 11, 12.

lenged so to do ; but sets the *Foreign Protestants* on the same Foot with *Whore-Masters* and *Socinians* *.

(2.) *THEY* annulled the Ordinations of the *Catholicks*, and treated them as meer *Laymen* †.

ter) That they *Unchurch* themselves ; have no lawful Pastors, no Priests, nor Gospel Promises ‥.

(2.) Mr. *Agate* affirms of those Churches that have only a *Presbyterian Ordination*, (which is the case of all Protestants on t'other side the Wa-

(3.) *THEY* declared the Baptism of the *Catholicks* to be null and void †.

Baptize to be Christians **.

(3.) *THUS* Mr *Agate* will not allow the *Presbyterians* to have any such thing as *Sacraments*, or the Children they

THESE were distinguishing Principles, and proper Ear-marks, of those *African Monsters* ; and I leave the Reader to judge, Whether I or my Opponent do most resemble them in their *Frantick Humours*.

Mr. *Agate*, to let us see that he is a Man of *Catholick* Principles, tells us [p. 103], That there is no Church upon Earth, that is sound and rightly constituted, but he can joyn in its Communion. But this is only an Amusement ; there is not a *Quaker* or *Muggletonian*, not a morose and sullen *Sectary*, in the two Kingdoms, but will say the same thing ; they are ready (like our *Author*) to joyn with every Sound Church, that is, their own snivelling little Faction ; for, according to them, all others are unsound, and walk in Darknefs. Thus, according to Mr *Agate's* Principles, the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* are the only sound and rightly constituted Churches in the whole World, and to these his Communion is confined.

AS for those narrow Principles objected to him, That *Presbyterian Ordination is invalid*, and the like, They are (says this Gentleman [p. 104]) such Principles, as have ever been maintained

* Pl: Truth, p. 138 † *Invenistis Diaconos, Presbyteros, Episcopos, fecistis Laicos*. Optat: de Schif: Donat: L. 2. § 24.
 ‥ Pl: Truth, p. 109, 63 † *Orbis Terrarum Baptismus exaffatur*, Aug: cont. Parmen: L. 3. c. 6 Vid. etiam con. Petil: L. 3. c. 26 ** Pl: Truth, p. 63, 53

maintained by the Church of England, and by all the Christian World, for 1500 Years together. That this is an Egregious *Falshood*, I appeal to the *Canons* of his own Church, those very *Canons* which he has sworn to make the *Rule* of his *Conformity*. The 55th *Canon* bears this Title, *The Form of Prayer to be used by Preachers before their Sermons*; and one of its *Injunctions* is expressed in these following words: "Ye shall pray for Christ's Holy Catholick Church, that is, for the whole Congregation of Christian People, dispersed thro' out the whole World; and especially for the Churches of England, SCOTLAND and Ireland. These *Canons* were compiled by the Bishops and Clergy in Convocation assembled, in the Year 1603: At that very time the *Presbyterian* was the Church-Government by Law Established in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as it is now. The Church of *England* then was so far from being tinctured with the *Bigotry* of this *Gentleman*, that she owned the *Presbyterian Church of Scotland* to be a true Sister-Church; and ordered all her Clergy to pray for it as such. This is what Mr *Agate* now scorns, and therefore I should be glad to hear how he reconciles his *Ordination Vows* with his *Schismatical Principles and Practices*.

BY this Instance, the *Reader* may guess at the Ignorant Confidence of this *Gentleman*, who pretends, at every turn, to know exactly the Sense and Practice of the Catholick Church for 1500 Years together, whilst he (with all his Noisy Ignorance) understands not the Sense of his own Church, nor the very *Canons* to which he has sworn Obedience.

IN my last, I proved that *Luther*, *Melancton*, *Bucer*, and others of our First Reformers, though meer *Presbyters* themselves, did yet Ordain, not only *Ordinary Ministers*, but *Superintendents*, in *Germany**: That the first Protestant Bishops in *Denmark* and *Sweden* had no other than a *Presbyterian Ordination*, and could transmit no other to their Successors ever since. I argued further, That the Protestants beyond the Seas, could not think themselves unhappy for want of *Episcopal Ordination*; because, there were several Bishops that did embrace the *Reformation* in the other *Century*, particularly the Bishops of *Beavais*, *Aix* and *Troies* in *France*, the Bishops of *Brandenburg* and *Cologn* in *Germany*: These might have consecrated others, and so preserve the right Line of

* V: *My Defence*, p. 63, &c.

of Succession, had it been thought Necessary: Or their *Divines* might have come to *England* for Consecration, as the *Scottish Bishops* did. I concluded therefore, That they *despised* (not *Episcopal Ordination*, but) the pretended *Necessity* of it.

THE Reader is desired to observe, That Mr. *Agate* pretends not to confute one of the Instances I have produced: They are taken out of the most *Authentick Histories* that are extant; not out of such scurrilous lowly *Pamphlets* as *Cassandra*, and the *Wolf stripped*. Nay, he grants it to be true, [p. 110.] That the Lutherans at first had no other than *Presbyterian Ordination*; and by consequence they can have no other to this very Day: However, (says this Gentleman, [p. 108.]) there can't be the least Argument drawn from it. Yes, sure; I may then argue, That he, like the Ancient *Donatists*, is a *Separatist* from all the Churches in the World, except those of the *Episcopal Party* in *England* and *Ireland*; and that the Pretences which our *High-Flyers* make to *Catholick Union*, are meer Shams.

BUT let us see a little, how our Authour Rants against those Churches that have no *Bishops*, (that is, against all the *Protestants* on t'other side the Water.) According to him, [p. 108.] they are *obstinate and perverse*; they are set upon the same Foot with *Jews*, *Turks* and *Socinians*, nay with the *Libertines* and *Adulterers* [p. 109.], that St. Paul condemns, *They despise God's Ordinances, and unchurch themselves*; they have no *Lawful Pastors*, nor *Gospel Promises*. After all these violent Exclamations against the poor *Protestants*, we must suppose him still to be Debonair and Good-humoured: He has a great Complaisance for the Church of *Rome*, he owns her to be a *true* (though an *unsound*) part of the *Catholick Church* [p. 116.] Our *Homilies* and *Liturgie* accuse that Church of *Idolatry*; this, in the Language of the Scripture, is *Adultery*, and such Churches are filed *Adulteresses*, *Jer. 3. 9. Ezek. 23. 45.* So that I suppose the Church of *Rome* is a *true Church*, as a Woman may be said to be a *true Wife* who runs away from her Husband, and plays the Whore with another Man. Is not this a special Protestant Doctrine, to represent the Church of *Rome* as a *true Church*, whilst the *Reformed* are nothing else but *Infidel Societies*?

HAVING wounded the Reputation of our first Reformers, he pretends to bring a Plaister, such as it is, and thus excuses their assuming to themselves an Ordaining Power: [p. 112.] All that can be said for them, and all that they have said for them.

themselves, is, That their Circumstances were such, that they could not help it. 'Tis a little unlucky when he begins with an *absolute Falshood*; They have said a great deal more than he allows, and do all affirm, That a *Presbyter* has, originally, as much Power to Ordain as a *Bishop*. But let us attend his Proof: He says [p. 112.] *Luther acknowledged Episcopacy was of Divine Right*; for which he quotes Bp. Moreton of *Episcopacy*, p. 156. I have not only consulted the *Bishop*, but had recourse to *Luther* himself, whose words are these: "That every City ought to have its own *Bishop* by Divine Right, I prove by St. Paul, who thus says, *Tit. 1. 5. For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldst set in order the Things that are wanting, and Ordain Elders* (in the Greek *Presbyters*) in every City. So that *Luther's Bishops* are the same with our *Presbyters*, and several of them in the same City. That this is *Luther's* Sense, he expressly affirms in these very words, not above a Page distant from the former * "It follows from these words of St. Paul, by which he assigns a *Bishop* to every City, (which Bishops are now called Parish Ministers) that such Bishops, Patriarchs and Primates, as we at present have, are only of an Humane Right. So that the *Episcopacy* which *Luther* looked upon as of *Divine Right*, is what every Gospel Minister possesses; and what is more than this, he plainly says is of an *Humane Institution*.

Mr. Agate goes on, affirming [p. 112.] That *Luther acknowledged, that Ordination was so much the peculiar Act of Bishops, that if they could have been had at the beginning of the Reformation, he professed in his Writings and publick Sermons, he would never have Ordained*. For which he cites *Mason's Defence of Ordination*, p. 171. The words quoted by Mr. Mason in that page, are not the words of *Luther*, but the Prince of *Anhalt*, and shall be accounted for by and by. In the mean time, I must crave leave to acquaint the Reader, That whereas Mr. Agate says, *Luther acknowledges Ordination to be the peculiar Act of Bishops*, this is a perfect Forgery of his own; Mr. Mason has no such Expression, and *Luther* contradicts it in a multitude of places.

ANO-

* *Sequitur ex verbo Pauli, quo cuilibet Civitati Episcopum tribuit, (qui nunc Plebani dicuntur) Episcopos, Patriarchas, Primates, qui hodie sunt esse Juris humani tantum. Luth. Resolut. Tom. 1. Folio 309.*

ANOTHER prime Reformer, whom Mr. Agate would fain perfwade the World was of his mind, is *Martin Bucer*; He was (says our Author, [p. 112.]) *entirely for the Divine Right of Episcopacy, declaring, That the Three Orders of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, were instituted by the Holy Ghost, and designed to be of perpetual continuance*; For this he quotes Bp. Morton and Durel. The former cites not these words out of Bucer's own Writings, but out of the Jesuite *Saravia*; Mr. Durel gives us a large Quotation out of Bucer, but nothing of this Nature in it: He says indeed *, " That the Holy FATHERS did institute an Order among the Clergy, by means of which all other Clerks were to be under the special Tuition and Government of the Presbytery, and the Bishop was among the Priests, as a Consul among the Senators. These are Bucer's own words; and I am apt to think the Jesuite has misrepresented him, and my Reason is, Because Bucer did, with others, subscribe to the *Smalcaldick Articles* †, in which tis most expressly said, That both *Jurisdiction* and *Ordination* belong to *Presbyters*, as well as *Bishops*.

BUT why shall we contend about *Luther* and *Bucer*, when *Calvin* himself (as Mr. Agate says, [p. 125.]) took *Episcopacy to be of Divine Apostolical Institution*: For this he quotes Durel's View, &c. p. 161. Who indeed has these words, " I am (says he) of this mind, that *Episcopacy* was the Government that *Calvin* approved most, and that he took it to be of Apostolical Institution. So that Durel first fancies and conjectures a Thing, and Mr. Agate comes and positively affirms it; but *Calvin* himself confesses no such thing in his Epistle to Cardinal Sadolet, as, *That the Discipline of Geneva was defective without it*. He owns indeed, That at *Geneva* they did want the Discipline of the Ancient Church; and the Reason was, Because the Papists had abolished it, and hindered the Restoration of it. But in the whole passage there is not one word of *Episcopacy*; this is foisted in by Mr. Agate to serve his own purpose, nor was that abolished by the Papists. The Church of *England*, in its publick Liturgy, confesses, *That the Godly Discipline of the primitive Church is wanting*; but this does not infer a want of *Bishops*, and I know no Reason why *Discipline* and *Bishops* should signify

* Durel's *Reformed Ch.* &c. p. 218

† Seckendorf's *Hist. Lutheranismi*, L. 3. p. 153. &c.

nify the same thing in *Calvin's* Epistles, more than in the *Common-prayer*.

THIS pity *Beza* should be separated from his dear Friend, and therefore he is next brought upon the Stage. Concerning him, Mr *Agate* says [p. 125], *That speaking of Bishops, Priests and Deacons, he declares, That these Orders were appointed by the Holy Ghost.* Had this Gentleman, instead of taking upon Trust all that he meets with in his *English* Authors, consulted the Original Epistle of *Beza* p. 8. he might have found, *That Bishops, Pastors and Doctors,* are mentioned in the same Sentence, and not as distinct Orders. The Bishop here spoken of, is no more than a Pastor or Parish Minister: That this is *Beza's* Sense, appears from his constant Practice, and that Learned Treatise which he wrote against the Jesuite *Saravia*, on purpose to prove the Identity of Presbyter and Bishop.

I took Notice in my last, That though Mr *Agate* had positively affirmed, *That the Foreign Churches would have Episcopal Ordination if they could, and think themselves unhappy for want of it,* he had not produced one single Testimony to prove his Confident Assertion. To supply that defect, he now opens his Budget [p. 120, &c.] and produces a whole cluster of Evidences, though little to his purpose: The Substance of what he offers is as follows.

THE Lutherans, in their *Apology* for the *Augsbourg Confession*, most solemnly protest *their desire to retain the Polity of the Church.* The Prince of *Anhalt* declares his Willingness to reverence, obey and yield to *Bishops their Jurisdiction and Ordination:* And avers this to be *Luthers* Sense, as well as his own. *Melancton* wishes heartily, *To restore the Government of Bishops.* To which he subjoins the Testimonies of several *English* Divines affirming, *That the first Reformers were forced, by absolute Necessity, to admit of Presbyterian Ordination.*

AS to what these latter offer, the *Necessity* they talk of, how great soever it was at first, continued but a little while; and therefore, I hope we may be allowed to appeal, from the particular Sentiments of these Authors, to the *Lutherans* themselves, who best knew their own Minds, and the Principles on which they acted. Their Case in brief was this:

THE German Bishops are many of them Temporal Princes, and most of them Men of great Influence and Power; for this Reason, their Concurrence in promoting the Reformation was

was earnestly desired by *Luther, Melancton*, and their Brethren, who tendered their Submission to these Prelates : and offered them, That they should retain their Ancient *Jurisdiction*, provided they would endeavour to purge the Church of those Abuses which had crept into it. Not that they thought Bishops essential to the Being of a Church, or that Ordination could not be performed without them, but purely for Peace sake.

THAT this was their *real* Sense, I prove from an *Edict*, or *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, promulged by the Protestant Elector of *Brandenburg*, in the Year 1539. The Historian tells us, That he procured it out of the late Elector's Library ; tis said to be drawn up by the Advice of his most Eminent *Divines* and *Counsellors*. There is one Chapter in it about *Ordination* and the *Episcopal Power*, in which tis expressly said *, " That in the beginning there was no manner of Difference, in " respect of *Ordination*, between *Bishops* and *Presbyters* ; and " that *Bishops* themselves received Imposition of Hands from " the *Colledge of Presbyters*. Nevertheless, tis convenient " that one of the *Presbyters* be chosen to execute the Office of a " *Bishop* and *Superintendent*. And seeing, by the Grace of " God, the Bishop of *Brandenburg* had embraced the *Gospel*, " the Prince decrees, That all the Ministers of those Churches " should be Ordained by the said Bishop : And he reserves the " same Authority to all other Bishops in his Dominions, provided they would embrace the present Reformation. Here the Reader may see, in the very same *Constitution*, tis expressly said, That a *Presbyter* has the same Original Power of Ordination with a *Bishop* ; and yet this Power is appropriated to a *Bishop*, that the *popish* Prelates might be more easily induced to a compliance.

TO the same purpose speak the whole Body of *Lutheran* Divines, who subscribed to the *Smalcaldick* Articles in these following words : " If the Bishops would rightly discharge " their Office, and take care of the *Church* and the *Gospel*, it " might be yielded to them, for the sake of *Peace* and *Love*, " NOT OUT OF ANY NECESSITY, that they should

* Refert --- nullum fuisse ab initio inter Episcopos & Presbyteros ratione Ordinationis Discrimen, & Episcopos ipsam eam a Collegio Presbyterorum accepisse per Manuum Impositionem, &c. Seckendorf Hist. Lutheran. L. 3. p. 240.

“ should Ordain and Confirm both us and our Preachers *. These Words are so plain that they need no Commentary, and were composed by *Melancton* †, the very Man whom Mr. Ag. introduces as wishing to God *He could restore Episcopacy*, [p. 122.]. This is indeed a full Answer to all the Testimonies produced by this Gentleman, and by *Durel* before him. The *Foreign* Divines, both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, speak respectfully of good Bishops, and think they may be Lawfully admitted in a *Christian Church* (nor have I advanced any thing to the contrary) ; but not one of them all that looks upon a Bishop as *Necessary* to the Being of a Church, or the *Validity* of Ordination.

MY *Antagonist* comes next to prove, That the *Foreign Churches* think themselves *unhappy* for want of *Episcopal Ordination* : This (he says, [p. 123]) is evident from *Bogerman's Complement to the Bishop of Landaff discoursing of the Excellency of Episcopacy* ; My Lord (says he) *we are not so Happy*. But this comes far short of proving his Conclusion. *Adam* in *Paradise* was Happy, though not so happy as the *Angels in Heaven*. And if a Gentleman should address himself to Mr. Agate, Sir, *I was not so happy as to enjoy your good Company at such or such a time* ; I hope it does not follow, that the Gentleman must needs be in a miserable Condition for want of it. And the Church of *Holland* may be Happy, tho' not so happy as to possess *Fat Bishopricks* and *Deaneries*.

BUT not only the President, but the whole Synod of *Dort*, is represented by my *Antagonist* [*Ibid.*] as acknowledging that *Episcopacy* was of *Christ's own Institution*, and that they would be glad with all their Hearts to have that good Order and Discipline among them, that was in the Church of *England* ; For which he quotes *Appendix to the Friendly Debate*, p. 34. The Account which that Author gives is as follows :
 ‘ *Dr. Carlton* discoursing with divers of the best Learned in the
 ‘ Synod, concerning the Usefulness of Bishops, their Answer
 ‘ was, That they did much Reverence the good Order and Di-
 ‘ scipline

* *Si Episcopi recte Officio suo fungerentur, & Curam Ecclesiae, & Evangelii gererent, posset illis nomine charitatis & tranquillitatis, non ex Necessitate permitti, ut nos & nostros concionatores Ordinarent & Confirmarent.* Seckendorf *Hist. Lutheran.* L. 3. p. 155. † *Ibid.* p. 152.

* discipline of the Church of *England*, &c. Here Mr. *Agate* is guilty of a double Forgery, in obtruding upon us the Opinion of a few *private* Men, as if it were the Sense of the whole Synod; and then making them say, *that Episcopacy was Christ's own Institution*, when they speak no such thing: So far from embracing such an Opinion, that both *President* and *Synod* subscribed the *Belgick* Confession of Faith *, in the 31st Article of which tis expressly said, 'That all the Ministers of Christ, the whole World over, have the very same Power and Authority. I leave the World to judge, Whether the Persons making such a Subscription, could think themselves *unhappy* for want of Diocesan Bishops. Tis true, the *British* Divines protested against this one Article, but it was, as they themselves declare, not to *offend* other Churches, but *defend* their own †.

FROM *Holland* we are led into *France*, and told [p. 124] That Dr. Du Moulin says, *The Protestants in France wish they might be so happy as to have Bishops; and some others speak of the Happiness of those that live under Episcopal Government.* Not to insist upon *Du Moulin's* being a Prebend of *Canterbury*, and so perhaps a little byass'd by the Dignity he possessed; tis owned, that many of the most Eminent Divines in *France* have spoken Honourably of *Episcopacy*; but that they were far from looking on it as *absolutely Necessary* to the Being of a Church, appears from that publick *Confession of Faith*, to which they all subscribed, in these following Words ||, "We believe, that all true Pastors, in whatever places they may be disposed, have all the same Authority, and equal Power amongst themselves, under *Jesus Christ*, the only Head. Twould indeed have been a mighty Happiness for the *French* Church, if the *popish* Prelates would have embraced the *Reformation*, and instead of Ravening Wolves, be Real Pastors to the Flock of *Christ*. This is a Felicity I wish them with all my Soul.

IF the *Genevans* invited their Bishops to come amongst 'em, it was not because they thought his company a necessary Ingredient to their Happiness; for upon his Refusal, they have done well enough for more than 150 Years without him.

I argued

* *Acta Synodi Dordrech.* printed 1620, p. 302, 313.

† *Fuller's Ch: Hist: L. 10. p. 82.*

‡ *Quick's Synodice: V. 1. Introduct. p. 13.*

I argued in my last, That if *Foreign Churches* thought themselves unhappy for want of *Episcopal Ordination*, they might have had recourse to *England*, and sent some of their Divines hither, or some of our Bishops might have made a Trip to them. *Yes, to be sure*, (says Mr. *Agate*, [p. 127]) *the Popish Bishops would be very fond of going so far to promote the Reformation*. But this is a Dust raised on purpose to blind the Eyes of the Vulgar: 'Tis owned, that in the beginning of the Reformation our *English Bishops* were all *popish*; But have they continued so ever since? We have had Protestant Bishops for more than 150 Years amongst us, and can any rational Man believe, that other Churches should think themselves unhappy for want of what they might have obtained an Hundred times over, had they been desirous of it? Nor was there always a Necessity of travelling a Thousand Miles on either side. In the bloody Reign of Q. *Mary* *, *John Scorie*, Bp. of *Chichester*, took Sanctuary at *Embsen* in *Germany*; and *Miles Coverdale*, Bp. of *Exeter*, owed his Life to the Protection of the King of *Denmark* †. So that the *Lutherans* needed not have gone far to have their broken Line restored, had they been desirous of it.

I mentioned several Bishops in *France* who embraced the Reformation, and might have perpetuated the Succession had they thought it necessary. To this my *Antagonist* replies, [p. 128.] *That these converted Bishops were opposed by the Pope and the King; and Cardinal Richlieu being moved to allow the Protestants Bishops, refused it, saying, They would then look too much like Churches*. But we are not told who the Persons were that made this Proposal to the Cardinal, whether Clergy or Laymen, nor by what Authority they acted. He never was addressed on this Head by any *National* or *Provincial Synod*, by any of their Famous Academies or Professors; and therefore the Sense of their Churches in general, cannot be concluded by the Project or Opinion of a few, whose Names and Characters are utterly unknown. As for the Reformed Churches in *France*, they have undergone a vast Variety of changes, before ever that subtle Cardinal had got the Management of Affairs in his own Hands: They were sometimes prosecuted by *sanguinary Laws* and *cruel Edicts*; their *Ministers*, if taken, were Hanged or Burned alive: And had they

* Fuller's Ch. Hist. L. 8. p. 25 † Ibid. L. 9. p. 64

they been Bishops, their Danger could not have been greater. Such Prelates as embraced the Reformation, might have Ordained Successors as secretly as perform other parts of their Function, and the Hazard had been the same. At other times, the *Reformed* stood upon their guard, and defended themselves with their Swords in their Hands, being headed at several times by the Princes of *Conde* the Duke of *Alençon*, and the King of *Navarre*. During these Intestine Broils, they had in the Southern Provinces of *France* many great Towns and Cities entirely at their Devotion: In the Year 1598, they had above 200 Garrisons*, and in these places Bishops might have been secure as well as other Ministers, had they been thought equally necessary. And long before this, the Reformation was introduced into the Kingdom of *Navarre* (before it was united to the Crown of *France*) by the Authority and Influence of *Jane d'Albrit*, its Magnanimous and Zealous Queen†; and the Protestant Religion was the Religion by Law Established, in that Little Kingdom, for many Years together. And what could hinder *Episcopacy* from being settled there, had it been thought necessary? Upon the whole, the Protestants were very numerous in *France* some Scores of Years before *Richlieu* sat at the Helm; and whatever Expression dropt from him then, it could not affect those that lived in a former Century.

IN my *Defence*, I mentioned the Bishops of *Brandenburg*, *Cologn* and *Justinople*, who embraced the Reformation, lived in *Germany*, and might have consecrated others; and because they did not, tis evident the Protestants, at that time, did not look upon a succession of Prelates as essential to a Church. To this Mr. *Agate* has nothing to reply, but that there was not one Protestant Bishop in the World when Luther took upon him to Ordain. With this he makes a noise in many places of his Pamphlet. When Luther laid Hands upon *Rorarius*, I believe this may be true, but tis as true that he continued to Ordain, even when there was a Protestant Bishop living in his Neighbourhood. Thus he ordained *Nicholas Armsdorf* in the Year 1541‖: At that very time *Matthias a Jagow*, Bishop of

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* *A present ils en tenoient plus de deux cents petites ou grandes places de surete. Hist: de L'edit de Nantes, T. 1. L. 5. p. 222* † *D'avila's Hist: of Wars in France, printed 1647, p. 191* ‖ *Sleidan's Hist: of Reformation, L. 14. † Seckendorf's Hist: Lutheran, L. 3. p. 241*

Brandenburg was living, and at no great distance from him. This Prelate declared publickly for the Reformation in 1539 †, and his Death is placed by an unexceptionable Historian in 1544 *. Tis true, the Prince of *Anhalt* affirms, " That both he, and *Luther* before him, did frequently and publickly " protest their Readiness to yield both *Jurisdiction* and Or- " dination to *Bishops*, provided they would admit the *Refor-* " *mation*. This is what *Mr. Agate* grounds his Assertion on, That *Luther* would not have pretended to Ordain had there been a Protestant Bishop; and not on *Luther's* own words. The Reason of this Concession has been already hinted at, viz. That the *popish* Prelates might not be disgusted; and this very Prince of *Anhalt* was so far from looking upon *Presbyterian* Ordination as null, that he wrote a Treatise on purpose to prove the Validity of it †.

MY Antagonist, that he may show his Learning and Good-Humour at the same time, falls most extravagantly foul upon me, for affirming, That the famous *Paul Vergerio* lived several Years after his Conversion amongst the *Presbyterian* *Grisons* [p. 129.]; and nothing will serve his turn, but I have scandalized the Reformation by this Assertion. Though after all the senseless Rant that he has made, the Matter of Fact is certainly true: *Dr. Heylin* writes thus of *Coire*, their chief City: " On the Introduction of the Reformed Religion, " which they had from the *Switzers* and *Genevans*, the Citi- " zens withdrew themselves from their Obedience to the Bi- " shop, and govern themselves in the manner of a Free-State ||. And if *Mr. Agate* can give us the Name of any one Protestant Bishop, since the Reformation, that has lived amongst the *Grisons* besides this *Vergerio*, I'll own my self in a very great Error; if not, the Reader has another Instance of an excessive Confidence, joyn'd to a profound Ignorance.

I argued in my last, That because the *Augsburg* Confession takes no Notice of the sole Power of Ordination, even when it makes particular mention of the Power and *Jurisdiction* be- longing to a Bishop by a *Divine Right*; that therefore the *Lutherans*, who generally subscribe thereto, acknowledge no such peculiar Power in a Prelate as is pretended. *Mr Agate* indeed most

† Seekendorf's *Hist. Lutheran*: L. 3. p. 241 * *Ibid*: p. 500. † *Ibid*: p. 499. || *Heylin's Cosmogr.* 2d Edition, pag. 171

most strenuously denies this Consequence, whilst tis most certain, that both the *Opposers* and *Defenders* of this Confession understood it in the very same Sense that I have done. In the Year 1540, *Cochläus* (a Learned *Romanist*) writ his Remarks on this Confession, to be presented to the King of the *Romans*; when he comes to the 14th Article, he thus expresses himself: "The Words (*says he*) are good and right, but the Custom and Meaning of the *Protestants* is not so; they deprive Bishops of their Ordinary Vocation, and having chosen some *Apostate Monks*, they ascribe to them a pretended Power of Ordaining *Presbyters* and *Deacons* *. That Learned Person who *defends* these Articles against the Cavils of this inveterate Adversary, acknowledges, "That the *Protestants* deny the Power of Ordination so to depend on *Bishops*, that it is only to be fought at their Hands, though they refuse to correct their deadly Errors †. Thus, though they vastly differ about the *Truth* and *Orthodoxy* of this Confession, they both agree with me in the Sense and Meaning of it.

WHOEVER peruses the *Wirtemberg* Confession with a Mind free from Prejudice, will find, that the *Identity* of a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* is most expressly asserted in it: Nay, this very *Identity* is insisted on as an Argument, to prove, that every Gospel-Minister should be capable of instructing others, in Opposition to the *Popish Priests*, who could only mumble over a few *Masses* when in a Book before their Eyes. The words of this *Protestant* Confession are as follow ||: "St. *Paul* writes, "That a Bishop should be one that is *apt to teach*; but St. *Jerom* teaches us, That a Bishop is the same with a *Presbyter*: Whence tis manifest, unless a *Priest* be capable of Teaching in the Church, he deserves the name of neither Bishop nor *Presbyter*. So that their *Argument*, if reduced into Form, would thus stand: A *Bishop* must be one that is *apt to*
K 2 Teach;

* *Eligunt præterea Apostatas quosdam Monachos, quibus prætensam tribuunt Potestatem ordinandi Presbyteros & Diaconos.* Seckend: *Hist: Luther: L. 3. p. 287*

† *Negarunt tamen (Protestantes) jus Ordinationis ita dependere ab Episcopis, ut ab illis præcise petenda esset, licet errores Capitales corrigere nollent.* Ibid.

|| *Scribit Paulus, Episcopum Oportere esse Didacticum, Docet Autem Hieronimus eundem esse Episcopum & Presbyterum. &c. Cap. de Ordine.*

Teach ; Every *Presbyter* is the same with a *Bishop*, therefore every *Presbyter* must be apt to Teach. Whoever pleases to peruse these Articles with any tolerable measure of Attention, will find this to be the true meaning of them.

Mr. *Agate* indeed affirms [p. 131], That *St Jerom* expressly tells us, That Ordination was the peculiar Prerogative of *Bishops*, which they had been in possession of ever since the *Apostles* days. This *Father* indeed confesses, " That in the Age " in which he lived, (which was the 5th Century) the *Bishop*, " and not the *Presbyter*, did Ordain : But that it had been always so from the *Apostles* days, he no where affirms ; this is a Fiction of Mr *Agate's* own Brains. So far was *St Jerom* from such a Conceit, that he has this very Expression in one of the places referred to by our Author : " Let *Bishops* know, that " they are greater than *Presbyters*, rather by Custom than a " Divine Institution †.

'Tis confess'd, the Protestants in *Poland* had *Superintendents* ; but then 'twas expressly provided, That their Office should continue but from one *Synod* to another *. And as I might justly argue, that the QUEEN of *Great Britain* would be no absolute Sovereign, were it in the Power of a *House of Commons* to place another in Her Throne every Session ; so I may fairly conclude, That the Divine Superiority of these *Bishops* was never thought of when they lay at the Mercy of their own *Presbyters*, either to be confirmed or discarded by 'em.

I just hinted in my last, at the *Smalcaldick Articles* ; to be a little more particular now, the Reader may observe that they were drawn up by *Luther* and *Melancton*, in the Year 1537 : In them 'tis most expressly said, " That *Bishops* and " *Pastors* are not of a different degree by any Divine Right : " That both *Jurisdiction* and *Ordination* belong to all the " *Ministers* of the Gospel, whether they be called *Bishops* or " *Presbyters*. The Historian tells us, That the most Eminent *Divines* in all the Provinces of *Germany* were present, and subscribed these Articles ; particularly those of † *Saxony*,
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† Ita *Episcopi* noverint se magis *Consuetudine*, quam *Dispositionis Dominicæ* veritate *Presbyteris* esse *Majores*. Hieron: Comment: in Tit. 1. 5.

* V: *Polon. Consen. c. de Seperintend.*

† V: *Hickman's Apolog: pro eject: in Anglia Ministr: p. 158. Sickend: Hist: Luther: L. 3. p. 156 || Ibid. p. 153*

Brandenburgh, Hanover, Lunenburgh, Pomerania, Wirtemberg, Hess, Anhalt and Mansfeld as did the Ministers sent by the Great Imperial Cities of Frankfurt, Hamburg, Bremen, with many others ; so that this may very well be looked upon as the *Sense* of all the Protestants in Germany, from which they have not receded to this very Day.

IN discoursing of *Foreign Churches*, Mr. *Agate* often tells his Reader, *That the Lutherans do all live under the Jurisdiction of Bishops* : This he repeats in every other Page, with a peculiar Air of Triumph and Ostentation. If by Bishops he means some Ministers, to whom the Civil Magistrate has granted a larger Revenue than to others, with an Authority to supervise the Conduct and Behaviour of their Brethren ; this is true, but very *Impertinent* ; for all this while they are but *Presbyters*. If by Bishops he means such as have an *Episcopal* Consecration, and pretend to derive their Authority by a constant Succession from the *Apostles*, or to possess it by Virtue of a *Divine Institution*, this is absolutely false, nor has he given the least true Proof of it. This being a *Matter of Fact*, I hope the Reader will allow, the *Lutheran* Divines and Learned Men to be the most competent Witnesses in the Case ; to them I make my Appeal, who, as far as I can find or hear of, are all unanimous in this, That their Ministers have no other than a *Presbyterian Ordination*.

* MY first Witness is *Gothofred Voigtius*, a *Divinity Reader* in Germany, who wrote a Book with this Title, *A Presbyterian is the Lawful Minister of Ordination*, which was printed at *Rostock*, in the Year 1680. In his *Preface*, he acquaints us with the Occasion of his Performance, in these Words *, " Certain Persons, of late come from the *Pope*, have been wandering in these Parts, some coming from *Hildesheim*, and others from other Quarters, who endeavour to persuade People, especially Persons of *Quality*, That the *Ministers* of our Churches are no *Lawful Ministers*. To stop the Mouths of this *Jesuitical Gang*, our Author does not pretend either that they have Bishops properly so call'd, or that the want of them is a Case of *Invincible Necessity* ; But he writes a Book on purpose to prove, that *Ordination by Presbyters is Valid* and

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* *Et multis, etiam illustribus animis persuadere conati sunt non esse Legitimos quos haberemus Ecclesie Ministros. Voigtius de Presbytero legitimo Ordinationis Ministro in Pref.*

Authentick. This was the Course he took to silence their unreasonable Clamours.

TO the same purpose speaks *Joachim Hildebrand*, who wrote a Treatise concerning the *Hierarchy of the Ancient Church*; printed at *Helsmstat*, in the Year 1702: He affirms, "That the *Papists* look upon all the *Lutherans* as meer Laymen †. And the great Question betwixt us (*says this Learned Man*) is, Whether, in the Days of the *Apostles*, there was "one Order of Bishops, and Another of Presbyters? The *Protestant Churches* hold the *Negative*, and the *Papists* the *Affirmative* ‖. The Reader may observe, that in this Testimony the Author mentions the *Identity* of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, not as his own particular Opinion, but as the General Sense of all *Protestant Churches* in Opposition to the *Romanists*, and that the *Jesuites* in *Germany* make the same bawling Noise that *Mr. Agate* does in *England*, and exclaim against all the *Reformed Ministers* as meer usurping *Laymen*.

MY third Witness is *Lewis Seckendorf*, Privy Counsellor to the *Electors of Saxony*, who, in Answer to *Maimburg*, has written the *History of Lutheranism* in two Volumes, Folio; printed at *Frankfort*, in the Year 1692: This Author having produc'd several Quotations out of *Luther's* Books, in one of which tis expressly said, That Bishops and Presbyters are the same Order, he makes this Observation of his own: "Tis "evident, (*says he* †) that *Luther* built upon a firm Foundation: In vain therefore is it demanded of the *Protestants* by the Church of *Rome*, with so much Noise and Clamour, "By what Authority their *Ministers* are Called and Ordain'd. So that this *Historian* owns it to be a *Matter of Fact*, That the *Lutheran* Ministers have but a *Presbyterian Ordination*; affirming, that the Objections of the *Papists* on that Account are *groundless* and *unreasonable*.

IN the Year 1669, Dr *Bebelius*, Publick Professor in the *University of Strasburg*, published a Book under the Title of *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*; in which he undertakes to prove, That there is no distinction by a *Divine Right* between a Bishop and a Presbyter: And having quoted *St. Jerom* as countenancing

† *Pontificii, cum Lutheranos omnes pro Laicis habeant. De Hierar. Vet. Eccles. p. 78* ‖ *ibid: p. 85*

‡ *Hist. Lutheran: L. 3. p. 60, 61*

tenancing his Opinion, (*says he*) “ The *Papists* and *English*
 “ *Prelatists* disturb themselves in endeavouring to take this
 “ Man off from us. A plain Intimation, that he himself lookt
 upon St *Jerom* as countenancing a Parity amongst Gospel-Mi-
 nisters, and that all the Churches of his Communion took En-
 couragement from the Authority of so great a Man, to embrace
 the same Opinion, which was opposed by none but *Papists* and
 some *English Prelatists*.

IF any thing can be more exprefs than what has been already produced, tis the Testimony of Dr *Ostlander*, Chancellor of the University of *Tubingen*, and principal Minister of that Church, who in the Year 1681 published several Treatises of *Casuiſtical Divinity*; amongst other Questions he proposes this, *Whether a Bishop and Presbyter be Jure Divino different*? In answering which he has these following words: “ The
 “ *Popish Doctors* suppose, that *Presbyters* cannot be Ordain’d
 “ but by a *Bishop*, nor a *Bishop* but by three other *Bishops*;
 “ and for this very Reason they deny the Truth of the *Luther-*
 “ *ran Ministry* †. Which puts the Matter beyond all Dis-
 pute, that the *Lutherans* at this very Day have but a *Presby-*
terian Ordination. This is the very City in which the Bishop
 of *Justinople* breathed his last, after his Conversion from *Po-*
pery: And therefore, if a Succession of *Protestant Bishops*
 were to be looked for any where in *Germany*, it might be well
 expected here; and yet no such thing is in the least pretended
 to.

TO these Authors already mentioned, I might add the Te-
 stimony of their Learned Adversary the famous Cardinal *Bel-*
larmino, who assures us ‖, “ That in his Days both *Calvinists*
 “ and *Lutherans* did hold, That the *divine Law* made no dif-
 “ ference between a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*; and for this very
 “ Reason, condemned them as guilty of the *Heresy* of *Aerius*.
 And none can doubt, but that he was more Conversant with
 their Writings than Mr *Agate*, who knows little or nothing of
 them, but what he has collected out of three or four *English*
 Authors.

I hope

* Torquent sese Pontificii, & Hierarchici in Anglia, ut
 hunc Virum nobis eripiant. *Antiquit: Eccles: § 1. Art: 2.*
 p. 11 † Ex hoc Capite Ministerii Lutherani Veritatem im-
 pugnans. *Theolog: Casual: pt. 5. c. 2. De Minist: Eccles:*
 p. 413 ‖ *Bellarmini Disput: L. 1. c. 14. de Clericis.*

I hope I have sufficiently prov'd, that what Mr *Agate* asserts concerning *Bishops* among the *Lutherans*, is either Impertinent or False. He indeed, with as much Confidence, and as little Truth, affirms [p. 133], *That they have no other than a Prelatical Ordination*; and I am desir'd to give one Instance, where *Presbyters* have ever offer'd to Ordain amongst them [p. 129]. All this is but a Dust rais'd to blind the Reader's Eyes: He owns [p. 110], *That the first Protestant Bishops in Germany had but a Presbyterian Ordination*; and if so, their Successors ever since could have no other. The Truth on't is, the *Lutheran Bishops* and *Superintendents*, at this very Day, are no more than *Presbyters*, to whom the Civil Magistrate has granted a Jurisdiction over the other Clergy within such or such a District: Nay, if the *Jesuites* and Mr *Agate* may be believed, they are all meer *Laymen*, having no such Thing as *Episcopal* Consecration, nor yet pretending to an uninterrupted Succession: This is evident from what has been produced out of their own Authors.

TO which I may add, the Testimony of *Benedict Carpzovius*, Counsellour to the late Elector of *Saxony*, who has written a large Volume concerning the present Constitution of the *Lutheran Churches*, and their Management of Ecclesiastical Affairs; printed at *Leypsick*, in the Year 1695. He lays down this as the Foundation of his Discourse *; "That by Virtue
" of the Pacification at *Passaw*, the *Episcopal* Rights are de-
" volved on the Protestant Princes and States of the Empire;
" for this Reason (he says †) these Princes are called *Bishops*,
" and do exercise both a *Political* and *Ecclesiastical Power*:
" That they do || assume the *Person*, and stand in ‡ the place of
" *Bishops*, within their respective Territories. We are further informed, That the Supream Ecclesiastical Court amongst the *Lutherans*, is what they call *their Consistory* |||, which is compos'd partly of *Divines*, and partly of *Laymen*, much after the manner of our Prerogative Court in *England*, only the former is constantly in Being. In this Book we have some Hundreds

* *Vigore Pacificationis Religiosæ, Jura Episcopalia Principibus & Statibus Imperii Evangelicis competunt. Carpz. Jurisprudencia Eccles: p. 3. 5 † lb: p. 78 || Principes Evangelici in suis Provinciis sustinent Personam Episcopi. lb. p. 169 ‡ Locum Episcoporum tenent. lb. || lb. p. 15.*

dreds of *Rescripts*, or *Edicts*, from the *Supream Consistory* to the *Superintendent* of such or such a Place.

AS for *Ordination*, we are informed by this Learned Author, ' That it is performed by the *Superintendent* and his *Presbytery* * in the common Name of the *Church*. He further adds, ' That when the Power of Ordination is entrusted in the Hands of their *Superintendents*, tis the Prince, whom he calls *Bishop*, and the *Consistory*, which permits them to exercise this Power for Order's sake; and that the *Superintendent* does nothing in this Affair by † his own Power, but in the Name, and by the Authority, of the whole Church. We are further informed by this Learned Man, ' That when a *Superintendent* dies, one of the Neighbouring ||| *Ministers* is substituted in his room, whom the Prince thinks fit; and that this *Substitute* || has an Inspection over the whole Diocese, and performs EVERY THING belonging to the Office of a *Superintendent*, till another be fixed and settled in the room of the Deceased. By this the Reader may see, that every thing belonging to the Office of a *Superintendent*, and consequently Ordination, is frequently performed by Ordinary Pastors.

TO what has been now offered, I shall subjoyn the Testimony of an Eminent Divine, who still is, or very lately was, living in *Germany*, who assures us ‡, ' That to this very Day all Protestant Ministers, whether they are called *Superintendents*, or meer *Presbyters*, are equal as to a Power of Ordaining.

I presume, the Evidence produced is sufficient to prove that the *Lutherans* have no such thing as Bishops properly so called, no such Officers as pretend to an *Apostolical Authority* or *Succession*, or any *Jurisdiction* over other Ministers, which they have not derived from the Laws and Constitutions of the

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Civil

* *Carpzov: p. 30* † *Nil quidquam facit is privato Arbitrio ac Potestate propria, sed Nomine, Jure, &c. Ib: p. 64* ||| *Ib: p. 181* || *Substitutus in locum defuncti Superintendentis, usq; dum novus Ecclesiæ præficiatur, in tota Diocesi habeat Inspectionem, omniaq; gerat quæ Superintendenti incumbunt, & ad ejus Officium spectant. Ib: p. 182* ‡ *In Hunc usq; Diem omnes Evangelici Pastores, siue Superintendentes, siue simplices Presbyteri vocentur quoad jus Ordinandi sunt æquales. Joach: Hildebrand de Hierarchia vet: Ecclesiæ p. 87, printed 1702*

Civil Magistrate. That they have really no other than a Presbyterian Ordination, and are for this Reason insulted by the Papists just as the *Dissenters* are by Mr *Agate*. This Gentleman indeed talks of an *Incconquerable Necessity* that *Foreign* Protestants labour under, and that they would have Bishops if they could: All this is pure Imagination, and to cure him of his Frenzy, I shall refer him to an Author he himself admires, the Learned Dr *Hicks*, who addresses himself to the *Reformed Churches* on t'other side the Water, in these following words, ' * But if this may serve as some Plea for those, who really using all Endeavours, yet could not have *Episcopal Mission*; yet it could serve them no longer than they were in that supposed State of Unavoidable and Insuperable NECESSITY, which never was, nor now is, your case. He affirms further concerning the *Foreign* Protestants, ' That the Necessities they plead are Necessities of their own making and continuing; chosen and wilful Necessities, and by consequence unjustifiable Necessities †.

THE Truth on't is, when the *Papists* object to these great Men that I have mentioned the Want of Episcopal Ordination, there is not one of them that makes this plea of *Insuperable Necessity*: They all affirm, that a *Presbyter* has Originally as much Power to Ordain as a *Bishop*; and tis only Custom, or the Law of the Country, that puts a Difference between them. I appeal to the common Reason of Mankind, Whether *Foreign Churches* can think themselves *Unhappy* for want of an uninterrupted Succession of *Prelates*, when they have done nothing to restore the broken Line? Can we suppose them uneasy in their present Circumstances, when they do not move one Step to alter their Condition? Do they passionately desire the End, and yet make use of no Means in order to obtain it? Had they in their Eyes an Happiness so full of Charms and Attractives, as it is pretended, and would they keep themselves at a cold affected distance for so many Scores of Years together? Did these Churches look upon their present Constitution as lamentably defective, would they not petition those Princes which are of their own Communion, that their Grievances may be redressed? Would they not make one Generous Essay, in Order to correct so Fundamental an Error, as that in which they are pretended to be involved? This cannot be supposed, without casting

* Hicks *Pref. to the Christ: Priesthood*, p. 197 † *Ibid.* pag. 193

casting a most grievous Reflection on all their Eminent *Divines* and Famous *Synods*, their Learned *Academies* and Glorious *Confessors*, as if they were all of a most supine and careless Temper.

IF Mr *Agate* thinks fit to engage any further in a Debate about the *Foreign* Protestants, I would make this Proposal to him, which I think very Just and Reasonable; *viz.* That he would not amuse his *Reader* with Quotations out of *Durel*, in which *their* *Divines* make an Honourable Mention of good Bishops, of such as we had; and still have in this Island. The Question is not, Whether a *Stillingfleet* or a *Tillotson* deserves to be treated with due Respect and Deference, and a Regard had to their Character: But the Question is, Whether *Bishops* are *Successors* to the *Apostles*, and absolutely Necessary to the very Being of a Church? In this particular, all the *Protestants* beyond the Seas are on my side. If my *Antagonist* pretends to prove the contrary, let him name that one Church that he can hold Communion with out of the Queens Dominions; or that one Protestant Bishop, that pretends to an Uninterrupted Succession from the *Apostles*: Let him produce the Declaration of any Protestant Synod, or University; nay, let him but produce the Testimony of any two *Divines* of Note and Eminence amongst them, who declare *Presbyterian* Ordination to be Null and Invalid, or pretend to any other themselves, and I will own my self in a very great Mistake. If he can do nothing of this Nature, let him for Shame retract that Egregious **FALSHOOD** which he has published to the World, [*pag.* 119] *That there is not one of the Foreign Churches but have publickly condemned me and my Followers.* But if Mr. *Agate* attempts a thing of this Nature, I expect that he should translate his *Authors* a little more justly than he has done *Chemnitius*, when he produces him affirming, *That Ordination is the Bishops Right* [*p.* 137] ; as if it were his Sole Right, exclusive of Presbyters: Whereas his words are, as cited by this Gentleman in the Margin *, *True Bishops rightly claim a power of Ordaining*: This is what I know no Person that denies them. But *Chemnitius* was far from thinking they only had a power of setting Men apart to the Ministerial Office.

Notwithstanding all the Noise that the *Geneva* Letter has made in the World, what I observed in my former is not disproved by this Gentleman; they no where affirm, That the

L 2

Dissenters

* *Veri Episcopi recte hoc sibi arrogarent.*

Dissenters are *Schismatics*, or their Teachers no *Ministers*. He endeavours to persuade the World, That I have represented the *Genevans* as the vilest *Hypocrites*, because I suppose them to be obliged in Policy, as well as Decency, to speak with Deference and Respect of the *Church of England*. For my part, I thought that the Wisdom of the *Serpent* might sometimes be united to the *Dove's* Innocence; but belike, Mr. *Agate* knows no Difference between Civility and Hypocrisy; well seeing he has openly discovered himself, we may know for the time to come, what Judgment to pass upon his *Complements and Cringes*.

I shall conclude this Treatise, as I did my former, with a Set of AGATISMS; not to mention the Stories of *Ferguson* and *Nowland*, though absolute Falshoods, because for them he has produced his Vouchers. The Reader may guess what Credit his Book deserves, by perusing this following List, which contains Some of his Many FORGERIES.

I. IN his Preface, he charges the *Author* of the *Rights* with pronouncing it a Thing Indifferent, whether we believe there is a God or no! Whereas there is no such Expression in his whole Book, nor any thing like it.

II. [p. 63] He affirms, That *Jesuites* and *Romish Emissaries* are used to preach and pray amongst *Dissenters* in their *Conventicles*; and [p. 68] tis a very common thing for them to preach and pray in their (the *Dissenters*) *Conventicles*. 'Tis plain he does not himself believe this to be true, in that he does not so much as pretend to give one Instance of this Nature, ever since our Religious Assemblies have been publickly allowed, which is now near 20 Years ago.

III. [p. 68] He pretends to give us an Abstract of those Directions which the Pope gave to *Romish Emissaries*; amongst other things, they were to cry up *Extempore prayer*: But this, as well as a great part of the Harangue, is an Addition of Mr. *Agate's*, there being no such thing to be found in the Pope's Bull.

IV [p. 70] One *Malone*, a *Friar*, was sent to distract the Protestants, by devising new Doctrines, and acting the Puritan.

tan. His acting the Puritan, is foisted in by Mr *Agate*, his own Author says no such thing.

V *Ibid.* Throgmorton confessed, That he knew above 12 Romish Emissaries, that preached amongst the Puritans. The preaching of these Fellows among the Puritans is a perfect Forgery, nor did Throgmorton make any such Confession.

VI [p. 72] One Ramsey, a Romish Priest, preached sometime among the Holy Brethren the Presbyterians and Independents. The Presbyterians are foisted in by Mr *Agate*, when his own Author makes no mention of them.

VII [p. 73] In the Year 1641, John Brown preached downright Popery in the Conventicles of the Covenanters. At that time the Covenanters kept no Conventicles, but were possessed of the publick Churches.

VIII *Ibid.* Thomas Gage, a Jesuite in Masquerade, preached in Kent among the Independents. This Gage never was a Jesuite*, but a Dominican; he preached his Recantation Sermon at St Pauls, by Order of the Bishop of London †: And I have been well assured that he died a Protestant.

IX *Ibid.* Father Bernard, in a Pamphlet printed 1650, gives us a long Catalogue of Romish Priests, that frequented the Meetings of Presbyterians and Independents, thumping the Pulpit undiscovered many Years. This Bernard says no such thing, nor were there any such Meetings at the time referred to; but the Presbyterians preached in publick Churches.

X [p. 74] Dr Oats says, nay swears, That White, Morgan and Ireland, preached in Scotland under the Notion of Presbyterians. The Doctor only says, they were employed to preach, but no where affirms, that they actually did preach, or had any Opportunity to execute their Instructions.

XI. [p. 92] The Ministers of the Church of England he (Mr Tross) says are grossly Ignorant, dangerously Erroneous,

710-

* Gage's Surv: of the W. Indies, p. 12 † Ib: p. 211

notoriously Prophane, &c. Mr *Tross* passes no such Censure on all, or the generality of the Clergy, he only affirms, That when a Minister is so ill qualified, tis Lawful to leave him, and attend upon another.

XII [p. 95] *They (the Dissenters) are linked in Confederacy with all the Deists and Libertines in the Nation; and hug the accursed Author of the Christian Rights.* This is an absolute Falshood, and he is defied to prove his Charge.

XIII [p. 98] *The Dissenters Employ and Relieve none but those of their own party.* Another most Notorious Untruth!

XIV [p. 112] *Luther acknowledged, That Ordination was the peculiar Act of Bishops.* A pure Invention of Mr. *Agate*! *Luther* made no such Acknowledgment.

XV [p. 125] *They (the Synod of Dort) acknowledged, that Episcopacy was Christ's own Institution.* That Synod made no such Acknowledgment; all that is pretended, is, that some of its Members spoke Honourably of the Church of England to Dr *Carlton* *.

XVI [p. 125] *Calvin confesses, That the Discipline of Geneva was defective without Episcopacy, and that he endeavoured to restore it, but was opposed.* *Calvin* in Truth makes no mention of Episcopacy in the place referred to; the Discipline which he endeavoured to restore, was such as the Papists had abolished; which could not be Episcopacy, for that was never abolished by them.

XVII [p. 131] *St Jerom expressly tells us, That a power to Ordain was the peculiar Prerogative of Bishops, which they had been in possession of ever since the Apostles Days.* A meer Invention of Mr *Agate's*! *St Jerom* has no such Expression.

XVIII [p. 135] *According to Father Baxter, Bishops are the Devil's Instruments.* Mr *Baxter* passes no such Censure on them.

XIX

* V: *Append: to Friendly Debate, p. 34*

XIX [p. 94] *The Communion-plate which belonged to St David's, was put to the common Uses of a publick House, by Old G---- (that is Goswell) at the Oxford-Inn. Mrs Hoar, who still keeps that Inn, and who lived with Mr Goswell when this was pretended to be done, affirms, That no Church-plate was so employ'd.*

XX [p. 97] *Coblers and Tinkers are Preachers amongst the Dissenters at this Day. If he means the Presbyterians, tis a Falshood; if others, tis a grand Impertinence.*

ALL that I desire of the Reader is, That he would consult the Authors Mr *Agate* has abused, and I leave him to judge, Whether FORGERIES and FALSHOODS will prove an Honour or Support to His, or any other CAUSE.

F I N I S.

P O S T S C R I P T.

TH O' these Papers were prepared for the Press before Mr. *Agate's* Second Part was published, yet there is one Notorious Calumny in that Book, relating to my self, which calls for an immediate Vindication, which the *Reader* will find in the following Certificates.

WHereas Mr. *Agate* has asserted, [*Plain Truth*, Part 2d, p. 198.] That the *Printers* are ready to Certify, That Mr. *Withers* brought the Copy of his late Book to them; but there being a great deal of *Mis-spelling* and *false English* in it, they did not think fit to print it, for the Credit of their Press, till it had passed some farther Corrections and Amendments: I must Attest, That Mr. *Agate* hath been misinformed, and that no part of Mr. *Withers's* Copy was refused to be printed upon the Account of any False English in it, or returned to be further Corrected.

Jos. Blifs.

WE whose Names are hereunto subscribed do Certify, That Mr. *Sam. Farley* did, in our hearing, solemnly declare, That Mr. *Withers* never brought any part of his Copy to the Printing-House, which was refused to be printed upon the Account of its False English, or which was carried away to be further Corrected.

Jos. Hallet.

John Atkin.

Will. Reynolds.

Mr. *Farley* was so Just as to offer me to make the same Declaration before a *Magistrate*. But this is enough to give Men a Taste of Mr. *Agate's* Honesty, and the Truth of those other Tales he has collected.

E R R A T A.

PAge 10 l. 31 read *Amusement*; p. 12 l. 14 r. *Profelytes*; p. 22 & *passim* r. *Commin*; *ib.* l. 29 r. 1678; p. 39 in *Margent*, r. *Corporis*; p. 45 in *Margent*, r. *Cæcilianum*. And lest the Reader, who has only seen *Foxes* and *Firebrands*, may fancy me to be guilty of a worse Thing than a Mistake in what is related p. 22, concerning Dr *Nalson*, whom Mr *Ware* calls *Henry*, I must add, That the Doctor in his *Historical Collections* writes himself *John*; and I hope he best knew his own Name.

Truth Try'd :
O R,
Mr. AGATE's
P R E T E N D E D
PLAIN-TRUTH
Proved An
UNTRUTH:
In Which

HIS FALSE STORIES and UNFAIR
QUOTATIONS are further Detected; The
DISSENTERS Vindicated from the Charge of
REBELLION and IRRELIGION ; And the *First*
Authors of the late WAR against King *CHARLES*
Proved, from the Lord *Clarendon's* History, to be
CHURCH-MEN.

P A R T II.

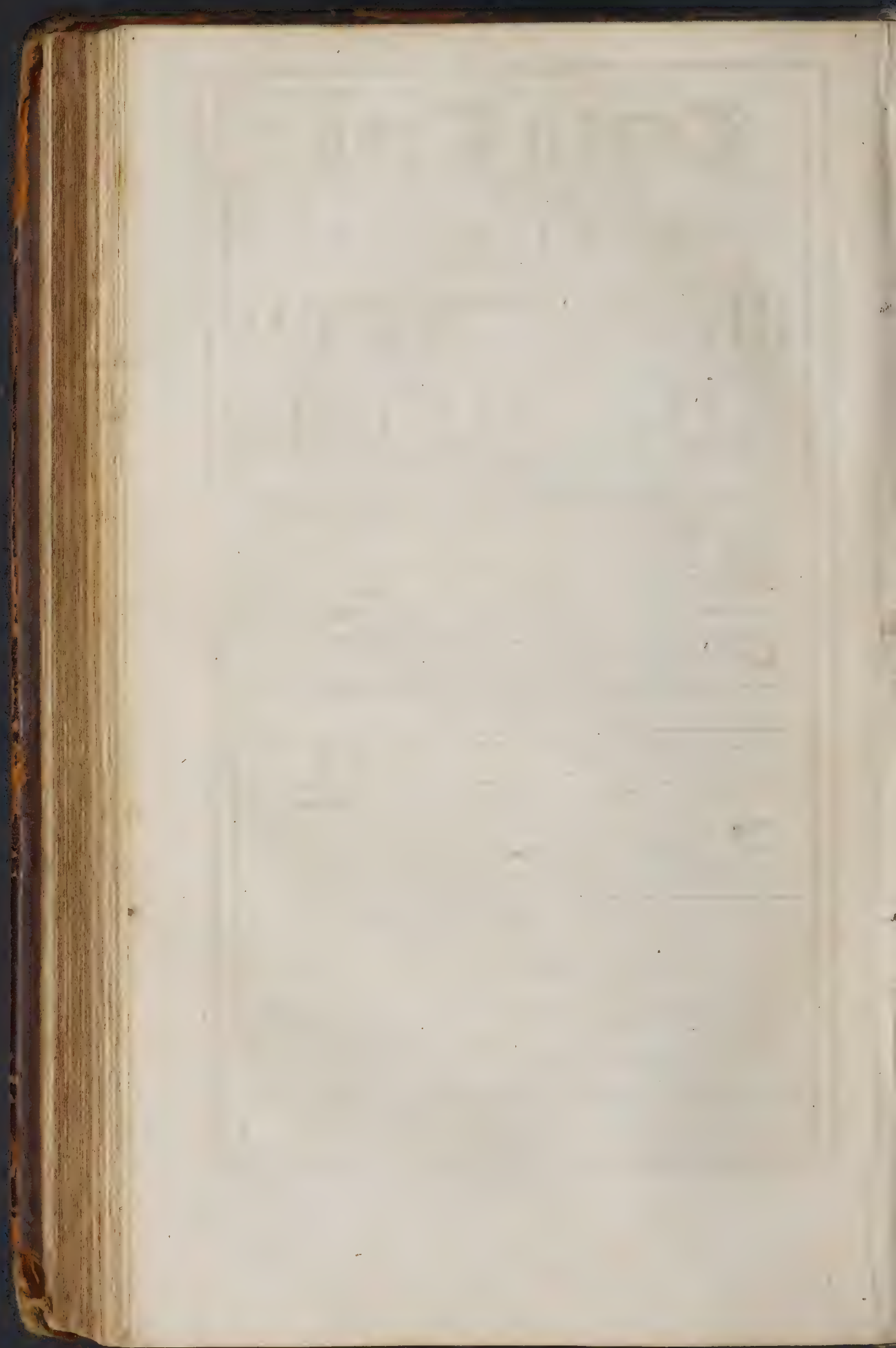
By *JOHN WITHERS.*

*JOB II. 2, 3. Should not the Multitude of Words be
Answered? And should a Man full of Talk be Justi-
fied? Should thy Lies make Men hold their Peace?
When thou Mockest shall no Man make thee Ashamed?*

Familiares est omnibus etiam Hæreticis in publicis Congres-
sibus se jactare, in Concionibus Dominari, in Conven-
tibus gloriari, **DISPUTATIONES** cupide re-
quirere. *Jesuitismi, Pars I. p. 92.*

Dicebant (Manichæi) Veritas! Veritas! Et nunquam
erat in eis. *August. Confes. L. 3. C. 6.*

EXON: Printed by *Jos. Bliss* in the Exchange, and
Sold by the Booksellers of *Exon.* M.DCC.IX.



Truth Try'd:

O R,

Mr. *Agate's* Pretended *Plain Truth* proved an *Untruth*.

THERE is nothing more usual, than for Persons to conceal their *malicious Inclinations*, under a Pretence of *Loyalty* to their Prince, and Zeal for the *Publick Safety*. When the obdurate *Jews* pursu'd the Great REDEEMER of the World with an *Implacable Revenge*, their Bloody Cruelty was disguised by this Profession, That they would have no King but *Cæsar*. And when *Tertullus*, that Mercenary Tongue-Pad, was employ'd to Harangue *St. Paul* out of his Life, he could think upon no more probable Expedient to prejudice the Judge against him, than to describe him as a *Pestilent Fellow*, and a *Mover of Sedition amongst the People*. Amongst all the *Calumnies* with which the *Primitive Christians* were oppress'd, their pretended Disloyalty and Contempt of *Sovereign Authority* was most usually, tho' *falsly*, Objected to 'em. The Truth on't is, the *Princes* and *Grandees* of the World are generally very *Jealous* of their *Rights*; and nothing will prevail with 'em sooner, to make their own *Power* subservient to the *Interests* and *Passions* of other Men, than to perswade them, That the Persons, which those *sneaking Parasites* Accuse or Envy, do either conspire their *Destruction*, or embrace those *Principles* which are inconsistent with their Honour. 'Tis the peculiar HAPPINESS of the *British Subjects*, that they Live under the PROTECTION of that Great PRINCESS, who

has render'd Her NAME as *Illustrious* by the MODERATION of Her Government, as by the TERROR of Her Arms. A QUEEN whose Beams of Royal Bounty, like those of the Sun, are free and unconfined; who consults the Universal Welfare of All Her Subjects; who will not lend Her Power to one part to oppress the other, but Nobly scorns to be made so vile a Tool to Bigottry and Party Faction.

WHEN the Dissenters, for more than Twenty Years, have Behaved themselves so Peaceably towards the Civil Government, that they cannot truly be accused of making the least Approach towards a Treasonable or Disloyal Combination, it might be very well expected, that such a Conduct should have blotted out those Unkind Impressions, which the Rage and Fury of a CIVIL WAR had made in some Mens Minds; And I doubt not, but that the Better and Wiser part of the Establish'd Church cease to be prejudiced against Us upon that Account. But 'tis too evident, That there is a Faction in the Kingdom, who, if they cannot fetch down Fire from Heaven to Consume Us, will borrow a Spark from Hell it self, not sticking at the BASEST Lies and Calumnies, to inspire the Minds of their too Credulous Disciples with an Infernal Rage and Diabolical Fury. Amongst all those who, have of late Years appeared as Champions for the HIGH CHURCH Cause, there is not one who has made a more Resolute and bold Assault upon TRUTH and HONOUR, or has more despised those low-spirited Virtues of MODESTY and SHAMEFACEDNESS, than This Gentleman, with whom 'tis my Misfortune to be Engaged: When he has nothing, with any Colour of Reason, to object against the Loyalty of the present Generation, he stuns his Readers with the Echo of our late Intestine Broils, disturbs the Ashes of the Dead, arraigns their very Ghosts, and pursues the Presbyterians with a Malice more Outrageous than the Grave, and more Implacable than Death it self.

BEING obliged to attend the Motions of my Antagonist, and to re-view the Confusions of the former Century, I shall observe the Method he has chalk'd out before me: And in Opposition to what has been so confidently advanc'd, I shall clearly prove,

I. THAT our late Unhappy War began (Principally) upon a Civil, not a Religious Account.

II. THAT the most Eminent Leading Men, who first engaged in the Parliament Quarrel, were Churchmen, for Bishops and Liturgy.

III. THAT

III. THAT the *Presbyterians* did *Oppose* the Murder of King *CHARLES*; And

IV. DID very much *contribute* to the *Restoration* of the *Royal Family*.

WHEN I say, the *War* began upon a *Civil Account*, I would be understood to mean, the *War* between the *King* and his *Parliament*, without having any *Regard* to the *Commotions* in *Scotland*, which were *all appeased* before the *Flames* broke out in *England*; and the *King* returned from his *Northern Expedition* (as Mr. *Agate* himself tells us, *Pl. Tr. Pt. 2. p. 149.*) a *Contented King from a Contented People*.

BUT to give a few *Hints* at that *Affair*: 'Tis evident from our most *Impartial Histories*, that tho' the *Averseness* of that *People* to the *Liturgy* and *Bishops*, had a considerable *Influence* on their *Revolt*, 'twas far enough from being the *solitary Cause* thereof. Arch-bishop *Laud* (who Govern'd all Things at the *Council Board*, as well as in the *Church*, and who, as a *Noble Cavalier* expressed it, *destroy'd Unity under a pretence of Uniformity* *) had obtruded * Lord upon the *Church of Scotland* such *Bishops* as Cor- *Falkland*, responded best with his own *Humour*, who by their *Insolent* and *Imprudent* Management *disobliged* all sorts of *People*. The present *Bishop of Sarum* gives us this Account of the *Scotish Prelates* at that *Time*: 'Apprehending the Prejudice of that *Nation* against the *Papists* too High, they endeavoured to *Lessen* it, both in their *Sermons* and *Discourses*, mollifying their *Opinions*, and commending their *Persons*, not without some *Reflection* on the *Reformers*. This, with their *loose Principles* about the *Lords-Day*, made them *odious* to the *Common People* as *popishly affected*. The *Nobility* were no less *disgusted* at them, for their *intermeddling* with *State Affairs*; 'Nine of them were *Privy Counsellors*, 'divers of them were of the *Exchequer*; the *Arch-bishop* of *St. Andrews* was *Lord Chancellour*, and Another stood fair for the *Treasury* *. Thus their *ambitious Grasping Secular Employments* exhaled those *Envious Vapours* which condens'd into a *Cloud*, and at last ended in a *Storm*, that overwhelmed the whole *Order*.

WHEN

* *Duke of Hamilton's Mem.irs quoted by Rushworth, Coll. pt. 2. p. 392.*

WHEN the Nation was thus *distemper'd*, the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* (like an *Impolitick* Physician) prescribed so strong a Dose, that instead of *purging out* these peccant Humours, it put them *into* a more violent and rapid Motion. By his Advice King CHARLES sent down a *Liturgy*, and a *Book of Canons*; the first to be the *Form* of the *Scottish Worship*, and the latter the *Model* of their *Government*. As for their *Liturgy*, 'twas the same with the *English*, except some *Variations*, which rendred it the more *Unsatisfactory*: But as for the *Canons*, they were some of the most *Extravagant* that ever were imposed upon a *National Church*; I shall only take Notice of one of these *Injunctions* recorded by my *Ld. Clarendon*, which Commands 'That no Clergy-man shall conceive Prayers Extempore, but be bound to pray only by the Form prescribed in the *Liturgy*; which, by the way, (*says my Lord*) was not seen nor framed *. Nay, this *Noble Historian* tells us in the preceding Page, 'That it was not ready in a Year after, or thereabouts. Which was, in effect, the renewing the *Decree* of the *Persian Monarch*, That no Man should offer any *Petition* to the God of Heaven for so long a time. That these *New Laws* might be vigorously executed, the Bishop of *Sarum* tells us, 'That the *Scottish Prelates*, not satisfied with the *General High-Commission Court*, procured Warrants from the King, for the setting up such Commissions in their several *Diocesses*, in which, with other *Assessors*, all of their own *Nomination*, they might punish *Offenders* †. When these Gentlemen screw'd up their *Authority* so very High, tis no great Wonder if the Strings broke, and flew about their Ears.

BESIDES all this, the manner of obtruding these *Canons* upon the *Scottish Nation*, did as much, if not more, *exasperate* their Spirits, than the thing it self. They were imposed upon 'em by the King's sole *Authority*, without the *Approbation* of any *Parliament*: 'Twas a fatal *Inadvertency*, (*says my Ld. Clarendon*) that they had been never seen by the *Assembly*, or any *Convocation* of the *Clergy*, nor so much as communicated to the *Lords* of the *Council* of that Kingdom †. And my Lord of *Sarum* tells us, 'That that which heighten'd all into a *Crisis* was, the Advising the King to introduce some *Innovations* in the *Church* by his own *Authority*

* *Clar. Hist. Vol. I. p. 86.* † *Burnet's Memoirs, &c. apud Rushworth, pt. 2. p. 393.* ‡ *Clar. Hist. V. I. p. 54.*

‘thority §. ’Tis true, the *Common People* might be prejudiced against the *Liturgy* it felt, but ’twas that *exorbitant Power*, by which ’twas introduced, that the *Nobility* and *Gentry* were so offended at. ’Tis none of my Business to justify the *Scotish Tumults*; but this I may safely say, That ’tis no great Wonder, if those *Bitter Waters* did flow from such a *Fountain* as has been described. We will suppose, for once, that King *WILLIAM* had made use of the same Authority in *England*, which His Grandfather did in *Scotland*; That He had imposed New Modes of Worship, without the Concurrence of *Parliament* or *Convocation*; Can we imagine, that the *Doctrines* of *Passive-Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* would not have been once more exploded? *Nature* would doubtless have been roused a second time, the *Hogan Mogans* must have received their *Old Statholder*, and *Poor SORREL* had lost a *KISS*.

AS I had no Respect to the *Scotish Tumults*, in affirming, That the *War* between *King* and *Parliament* began upon a *Civil Account*; so I had no Design to exclude *Religion* from having any thing to do in the matter. ’Tis owned, Mens *Fears* and *Jealousies* of *POPERY*, did dispose a great many Persons to fight under the *Parliament Banner*: And the Question is, Whether the furious Conduct of the *Topping Court Prelates* did not give too great Occasion for such *Apprehensions*? I shall only hint a few Things, which are undeniably True as to *Matter of Fact*, and let the *Reader* Judge for himself. *Religion* may be considered, either as it relates to those *Doctrines* we are obliged to believe, or those *Virtues* we ought to practise; and if we review the *Methods* eagerly pursued by *Arch-bishop Laud*, and some of his *Creatures*, they will look very much like *Violences* intended against it in both these Branches.

AS the *English*, ever since the *Reformation*, have been deeply prejudiced against every Thing that favours of *Popery*; so ’tis very well known, that the *Adoration* given by the *Papal Church* to *Crucifixes*, *Images* and *Relicks*, scandalizes the *Protestants* more than most other Things. I shall not, at present, dispute, Whether it be *Lawful* to set up the *Images* of *Saints*, or of *CHRIST’s Humane Nature*, in the *publick Temples*, as so many *Historical Emblems* of what we believe to be done or suffered by them; but, I am sure, the *Expediency* of such

§ Vid. Rushworth, pt. 2. p. 393.

such a *Method* may very well be questioned, since *Experience* tells us, they had not long been introduced into the *Christian Church* under this Specious Pretence, before they became *Occasions* of a most *Execrable Idolatry* to the *Common People*. Were this otherwise, yet, as *GOD* is a *Spiritual, Invisible Being*, so it is absolutely Impossible that His *Immense Nature* should be represented by any *Corporeal Figure* whatsoever. *St. PAUL* mentions this as a *Crime* in the *Ancient Pagans*, That they changed the *Glory of the Incorruptable GOD*, into an *Image made like to Corruptible Man*, *Rom. i. 23*. And the present *Roman Catholicks* are Condemned for allowing such *scandalous Representations* of the *DEITY*, by all *Protestant Churches*, and by none more than by the most *Eminent Divines* and *Bishops* of the *Church of England*. 'Tis not, therefore, much to be wondered at, if Persons were *allarm'd* at the setting up of *Pictures* and *Crucifixes* in the *publick Temples*, when the *Affair* was prosecuted with so much *Zeal* and *Fervency*, as if the *Substance of Christianity* consisted In it. If we consider the *Informations* given in at the *Bar of the House of Lords* on Oath, at the *Trial of A-bp. Laud*, he will be found to be one of those *Prelates* who, as a *Noble Royalist* expressed it, 'Brought in *Superstition* and *Scandal* under the 'Titles of *Reverence* and *Decency*, and defiled our *Church* by 'adorning our *Churches**. No sooner was this *Gentleman* advanced to the *Dignity of a Metropolitan*, and possessed of the *Palace at Lambeth*, but he began to *repair* those *Pictures*, which, in pursuance of *Qu. Elizabeths* *Injunctions*, had been defaced at the *Reformation*, and to *rear up* those *Monuments of Superstition*, which, for some *Scores of Years*, had lain buried and entombed in their own *Ruines*. Not to mention a large *Crucifix* which hung over the *High Altar*, there was in one *Window* of his *Chappel*, the *Picture of CHRIST* raising up *Lazarus* out of his *Grave*, and of *GOD* Himself raining down *Manna* from *Heaven*†. In another *Window* was represented *GOD the Father*, in the *Form of an Old Man*, with a *Glory* round about His *Head*, striking *Miriam* with a *Leprosy*‡. And is it any *Wonder* if *Protestants* were scandalized at such *Representations* as these are? Whilst this *Gentleman* was *Dean* of His *Majestys Chappel-Royal at Whitehal*, he caused a fair *Piece of Arras* to be hung up over the *High Altar* with a

Crucifix.

* *Ld. Falkland, V. Nalsons Collect. V. i. p. 768.* † *Pryn's Canterburys Doom, p. 60.* ‡ *Ibid. p. 61.*

Crucifix embroidered with Gold and Silver, the full length of a Man; and he was the *first* who introduced *bowing* towards it, as Sir *Hen. Mildway*, an old Servant of the *King's*, deposed on Oath *.

IF we take a view of this *Archbishop* as *Chancellour* of the *University* of *Oxford*, we shall find him keeping the same *Stir* and *Pother* there, about *Pictures* and *Crings* at the *Altar*. In *Magdalen-Colledge*, a *Crucifix* was placed over the *Communion-Table*; the same was done at *Lincoln-Colledge*, at *Christ-Church*, and several other *Colledges* †. By his *Authority* and *Influence*, the same *Innovations* were introduced into the *Cathedrals* of *Winchester* and *Canterbury*; and at *Litchfield* a large *Crucifix*, with the *Picture* of *CHRIST* on it, almost as big as a *Gyant*, was hanged over the *High Altar*, with the *Pictures* of *Men* and *Women* kneeling down before it, and *praying* to it.

ADD to all this, that Dr. *Jackson* witnessed on Oath, That the *Archbishop* sent down the *Statutes* to the *Cathedral* of *Canterbury*, which the *Prebends* and *Chapter* were obliged by Oath to obey; by one of which they were enjoined, as they came in or went out of the *Quire*, *adorare Versus Altare*, to Adore towards the *Altar*. Now when *Crucifixes* were so industriously placed over *Altars*, and Men required to make their *Adorations* towards them, 'tis no great Wonder if Persons of *Sober Principles* disliked those Courses, as favouring too much of *Papist Superstition*. As these *Innovations* were brought in with a *HIGH Hand*, so it was made very Penal for any Person to move, so much as a *Tongue* or a *Finger*, against them. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in Mr. *Hen. Sherfield*, who was *Recorder* of *Sarum*, and a *Justice of Peace* in that City: In the Church of *St. Edmunds*, there was a Window of old Painted *Glass*, in which *GOD* the *Father* was represented as an *Old Man* in a blue and red Coat, and some Ancient Women being demanded, To whom they made their low *Curtesies*? Answered, 'Twas to their Lord *God* in the *Glass-window*. Mr. *Sherfield* being offended at this, moved the *Parish* at a *Vestry*, where six *Justices* of the *Peace* were present, That he might have Liberty to remove these *Offensive Pictures*, and put up white *Glass* in their room: Which Motion was assented to by all the *Parishoners*, and according-

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* *Canterburys Doom*, pag. 67, 68.
† *Ibid.* pag. 79, 80.

† *Ibid.* pag. 71.

ly, some of these *scandalous* Representations were broken and picked out: For which Offence this Gentleman was *prosecuted* in the *Star-Chamber*, *dismissed* his *Recordership*, and *fined* 500 l. Ep. *Laud* defending these Images by GOD's being called the *Ancient of Days*, in the Prophet *Daniel* *.

AT the *Instigation* of the same Prelate, Mr. *John Workman*, a Minister in *Glocester*, was *Suspended* and *Excommunicated* for *preaching* against *Images*. And whereas the Corporation of *Glocester* had settled an Annuity of 20 l. *per Annum* on him a little before his Troubles, in Consideration of his *painful Preaching* and *numerous Family*, the Mayor and several of the *Aldermen*, for this their Charitable Benevolence, were *prosecuted* at the *Council Table* and *High Commission*; where, after a very chargable Attendance, their Grant was vacated, and they had a *Fine* imposed upon them †. And so implacable was the *Archbishops* Animosity against this poor Clergyman, that he would not permit him so much as to Teach School, or Practise *Physick*, for the support of Himself, his Wife and Children.

ANOTHER Thing which made Men suspect that *Ill Designs* were carrying on against the *Protestant Religion*, was the refusing *Licenses* for Printing such Books as *detected* the *Idolatry* and *Superstition* of the *Church of Rome*. In the Year 1628, I find a Petition from the Booksellers and Printers in *London*, against Dr. *Laud*, at that time *Bishop* of the *Diocese*, complaining, That divers of the said Booksellers and Printers had been sent for by Pursuivants, for printing Books against *Papery*, and Instanced in several such Books, which had been denied a *License*; and all this by vertue of a Decree in the *Star-Chamber*, which the Great *Selden* declared to be an *Invasion* on the *Liberty* of the *Subject* ‡. But all this to no purpose, for the Bishop carried Things with an *High Hand*, till he ran all into Confusion.

WHEN a Stop was thus put to the printing of *New Books*, an Attempt was made to *re-print* some of the most Valuable *Treatises* which had been published by the *Church of England* against the *Papists*; for which the Undertakers were severely Threatened by the forementioned *Bishop*, and forced to give over the Project ||. And to make *sure Work*, the *Star-Chamber*

* *Rushworths Coll. pt. 2. p. 153, &c. Canterbury's Doom, p. 102, &c.* † *Ibid. p. 107.* ‡ *Rushw. Coll. v. 1. p. 667.* || *Canterbury's Doom, p. 183.*

ber issued out a second Decree, forbidding all Persons to re-print any Book formerly Licensed, without a New License first obtained. After the making this Decree, the Books of Martyrs, the Works of Bp. Jewel, Dr. Willet, and others, formerly published by Authority, were denied New Licenses *. Mr. Pryn gives us a Catalogue of many Treatises, written by Gentlemen and Divines in Confutation of Popery, which were not permitted to see the Light; and Dr. Featly, who suffered deeply for the Royal Cause, was not permitted by the Archbishop to publish a Volume of Sermons, preached with good Acceptance at Court and in the University, 'till he had shown them to his Chaplain, who expunged all the smart and masculine Passages against the Jesuites and Papists †. Nay, so mighty careful was this Great Prelate to gratify the Catholics, that he prosecuted Mr. Gillibrand, the Mathematical Professor at Gresham-Colledge, for publishing an Almanack, in which he inserted the Names of Protestant Martyrs out of Mr. Fox's Kalender, instead of those pretended Saints which the Pope had canonized: And yet his Favourite-Chaplain could License a scandalous Book, in which those Worthies, who sealed the Doctrine of the Church of England with their Blood, were stigmatized with the Odious Names of Traytors, Hereticks and Rebels ‡. All these Things, with many more of a like Nature, were attested at the Bar of the House of Lords, by the Oaths of many Gentlemen, Divines and others.

I leave the Reader to Judge, Whether all these Things did not look with an untoward Aspect upon the Protestant Religion, and give too great a Cause for Fears and Jealousies. I am far from thinking that King CHARLES was popishly inclined, but doubtless, 'twas the great Misfortune of His Reign, that he had such an High Panty Church-Man for His Prime Minister.

IF we consider Religion as to the Practice of it, we shall find, that a great deal of Care was taken by this Zealous Metropolitan, that the Precepts of Piety and Virtue might not be too frequently inculcated on Peoples Minds, nor they too much disturbed in the Prosecution of their Debaucheries: For this end, all Afternoon Sermons were suppressed with a great deal of Rigour, under pretence of complying with His Majesty's Instructions of Catechising, by way of Question and Answer;

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* Rushworths Coll. pt. 2. p. 450. † Canterb. Doom, p. 254 ‡ Ibid. p. 182, 183.

swer; under colour of which, all *Catechisms*, except that in the Common-prayer, were prohibited, and no *Exposition* at all permitted; such *Exposition* being declared by Bp. Wren as *Ill* as a *Sermon* *. Many Ministers were Suspended in the Diocesses of *London* and *Norwich*, for their *Non-compliance* with those Orders: But none declared themselves more violently than Dr *Pierce*, Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*; he gave GOD Thanks, That he had not one Lecture left in all his Diocess. He suspended Mr *Devenish*, the Minister of *Bridgwater*, for preaching a Funeral Sermon on a Lord's-Day Evening: And convented the Minister of *Beercookham* before him, for having two Sermons on that Parish Revel-Day; alledging, That it was an Hindrancel to the Revel, and to the Utterance of the Church Ale. Mr *Erford* was summoned before him as a Delinquent, for preaching on a Revel-Day, on *Joel's Exhortation to Fasting, Weeping and Mourning*; and was told, That his very Text was scandalous to the Revel †. And when some Ministers enlarged themselves upon the Questions and Answers in the Church-Catechism, for the better Instruction of their People, they were sharply Rebuked by their Diocesan, who told them, That it was Catechising Sermon-wise, and as bad as Preaching ‡.

BUT tho' the People had not the Liberty to hear two Sermons in one Day, yet their Ecclesiastical Governours were very Indulgent to 'em in other Respects, they might dance a Figg, or toss a Foot-ball, on a Sunday; and the poor Country People, who had no Organ in the Church, might have a Fiddle in the Church-Yard; which, doubtless, was a mighty Incentive to Devotion, and made 'em rattle over their Prayers, that they might Trip it on the green Grass: The Occasion of which Indulgence was as follows. The Lord Chief-Justice *Richardson* and Baron *Denham* being at the Assizes in *Somerset*, many Persons were Indicted for Murdering Bastard-Children, begotten at *Wakes* and *Revels*; upon which, the Judges were requested by the Justices of the County, to make an Order for suppressing these Licentious Meetings: Which accordingly they did, and for which they deserve the Praises and Encomiums of all good Men. But A-bp. *Laud*, belike, had other Apprehensions of the matter, who complained the Chief-Justice to the King, caused him to be summoned before the Council-Table, where he was Hectored and insulted, and (to

* *Canterb. Doom*, p. 376. † *Ib.* p. 378. ‡ *Ib.*

(to use his own words) almost choak'd with a pair of Lawn Sleeves ; having this mortifying Penance imposed upon him, That he should publicly *revoke* his own Order *. When the principal Gentlemen of the County were informed of this, they drew up a *Petition* to His Majesty, desiring, That no Encouragement might be given to these Riotous and Lewd Assemblies : But before it could be presented, the pious Metropolitan had prevailed with the King, to issue out His Declaration for Sports and Gaming on the Lord's-Day. Which was in effect, the opening the Flood-Gates to all manner of Debaucheries. That this might be a Snare to Conscientious Men, all Ministers were required to read this Declaration in their Churches in Time of Divine Service ; and such as refused, lost their Benefices. Sir Nath. Brent attested on Oath, That being the Archbishop's Vicar-General, he had express Orders from his Grace, to suspend all such as refused to read this Book of Sports in the Diocese of Canterbury †. Now, when the Devoutest Ministers in the Kingdom were silenced, and their Families turned out a starving, because they durst not encourage Dancing upon Sundays, I leave the World to judge, Whether this was not a mighty Evidence of the Piety and Charity of that Blessed Martyr Laud ! And whether this might not give too great a Cause to sober and thinking Men, to fear lest ill Designs were carrying on against the Protestant Religion, if not against Christianity it self.

I deny not but there were some Pious and Learned Men, who filled the Episcopal Chairs at that Time, such as Bp. Hall, and others ; but 'twas Laud and his Creatures who sat at the Helm, and managed all Things in Church and State, 'till by their Violence and ill Conduct they ran the Ship amongst the Rocks : And therefore, we find these Court Prelates as bitterly Inveigh'd against in Parliament by such as drew their Swords in the King's Quarrel, as by those that Fought against him. My Lord Falkland (whose Loyalty cost him his Life) charges them, ' With trying how much of a Papist might be brought ' in without Popery ; and that 'twas as much as 1500 l. a Year ' could hinder some of them from declaring themselves direct- ' ly Papists ¶ I protest (says my Lord Digby, an Early and ' a Zealous Royalist) I cannot cast my Eyes upon some Church Men

* Canterbury's Doom, p. 128, &c. Rushw. Coll. pt. 2. p. 191. † Canterb. Doom, p. 148. ¶ Nalson's Coll. Vol. I. pag. 76).

‘ Men who have governed of late, but they appear to me as a
 ‘ Scourge imploy’d by God upon us for the sins of the Nati-
 ‘ on *. The Pride, Ambition and Oppression of our Ill-Ru-
 ‘ ling *Clergy* is Epidemical, says Sir *Edw. Deering* †; who
 yet declared against the *Extirpation* of the *Episcopal Order*.
 To the same purpose Sir *Benj. Rudyard*, Mr. *Bagshaw*, and
 others, delivered themselves, who never concurred with the
 rest in their *High Designs* against the King ‡. The Truth on’t
 is, there were Thousands afraid of *popish Innovations*, who
 yet were no Enemies to *Bishops* or *Common-prayer*.

THE *Question* in Dispute between me and my *Antagonist*
 is, Whether the *Hatred* of any Party to *Episcopacy* and the
Liturgy, enflamed the Nation to a *Civil War* [p. 149.]?
 This he positively affirms, and I deny. I shall first shew the
Insufficiency of his *Evidence*, and then produce my own.

Mr. *Baxter* is first brought upon the Stage, affirming, That
 our *Calamities* began in *Differences* about Religion. [p. 150.]
 Who ever reads the History of that Age must know, that there
 was a great *Contention* in the Church of England at that time,
 about the Doctrine of *Arminius*, which Bp. *Laud* endeavour’d
 to Introduce, and others as vehemently Opposed: This was
 complained of in all K. *CHARLES*’s Parliaments, who look’d
 upon *Arminianism* (how justly I shall not now dispute) to be a
 Branch of *Popery*. This may be said to be the beginning of
 Trouble; but Mr *Baxter* does not pretend Things would have
 issued in a *Civil War*, had it not been for the *Encroachments*
 made on the *Liberties* and *Civil Priviledges* of the Nation.

AGAIN; Mr *Baxter* is pretended to affirm, That the
 King’s intending *Popery* gave the Parliament great disadvan-
 tage [Ibid.]; for this, *Notes on his H. C. Wealth* are quoted,
 but no page mentioned: And though I have desired Mr *Agate*
 to direct me where this Expression may be found, he has not
 yet thought fit to oblige me so far; which makes me conclude
 this to be a *meer Fiction*, especially when I consider, that a
 little before his *Holy Common-wealth* saw the Light, he prin-
 ted two other Books, in which he declares to all the World,
 ‘ That he had not the least Desire to perswade Men King
 ‘ *CHARLES* was a *Papist*, nor did he believe any such thing ||.

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* *Nelson’s Coll. V. 1. p. 750* † *Ibid. p. 720* ‡ *Rush-
 worth’s Coll. pt. 2. p. 1343* § *Grotian Religion, p. 105. Key
 for Catholics, p. 327*

MY Antagonist goes on, *The Grotian Religion*, says he, (Baxter) was carrying on in the Church of England, and that caused all our War. Here he gives us a Specimen of that Sincerity we are to expect from him in quoting Authors; for Mr. Baxter's very Words are the c, 'If I should shew the Probability that the Grotian Design was the Cause of all our Wars and Changes here in England, I should neither please you nor my self ^{††}. So that Mr. Baxter is made to affirm that, which he declares would be displeasing to himself, if he should affirm it.

Mr. Baxter is again quoted [*Ibid.*], saying, It was principally Differences about Religion that filled up the Parliament Army; Bishop or no Bishop was the greatest part of the Controversy with the Scots: And therefore it was called Bellum Episcopale. Had Mr. Agate acted the part of an Ingenious Adversary, he would scorn to have perverted his Author's Meaning, by tacking the Head and Tail of a Sentence together, and leaving out the Middle, and most considerable part, as has been done in this Instance: For these are Mr. Baxter's Words; 'The publick Safety and Liberty wrought very much with most, especially the Nobility and Gentry, who adhered to the Parliament, yet it was principally the Differences about Religious Matters that filled up the Parliament Armies, and put Resolution into their Soldiers. Not that the Matter of Bps. or no Bps. was the main thing, (for thousands that wished for good Bps. were on the Parliament side) though many called it Bellum Episcopale; (and with the Scots that was a greater part of the Controversy) * Hence Mr. Baxter positively affirms, That 'twas Liberty and Safety for which the Parliament contended; That thousands who were for Episcopacy, engaged with them against the King; That the Quarrel between the English was not about Bps, though the Scots had a particular Animosity against that Order of Men. Had Mr. Agate acted the part of an Honest Disputant, his own Citation would have confounded his Cause, and established mine.

Mr. Baxter is once more brought upon the Stage; affirming as follows, [p. 150] We took up Arms, I am most certain, to prevent the Extirpation of Piety, design'd at that time. But Mr. Agate should have mention'd those Reasons, which made

†† Grotian Religion, p. 105. * Baxter's Life, p. 31.

the great Man conclude, that the *extirpation* of Piety was then intended, even because *Ministers* were *licensed*, *Evening Sermons* were *suppress'd*, the *Lord's Day* Devoted to *Pastimes*, and Men forbid to hear Sermons *Abroad* when they *had none at Home* †. This is what made many fear, least Religion had been devoted unto Ruine, and embarque in the same Bottom with those who assum'd to themselves the Characters of its most Eminent Defenders: But here is nothing yet produced to prove, that any in *England* took up Arms to *confound* the *Bishops*, or to *destroy* the *Common-Prayer*.

THE Citations produced by Mr. *Agate* in the next Page, [p. 151.] relate only to the *Scottish Wars*, of which I have already given an Account; And the *Dispute* between us, is not how far Mr. *Henderson's* Zeal for the *Covenant* might engage him, or some of his Country Men, but what were the *Grounds* on which the *English* Parliament proceeded.

BUT Dr. *Heylin* is pretended to *demonstrate*, That the *Presbyterians* began the *War* purely on the account of Religion; for which his *Life of A-bp. Laud* is cited, without directing to any Page [p. 152.]: When, in all probability, this is a *FICTION* of Mr. *Agate's*; for the Doctor in that Book affirms, 'That the King's demanding the Five Members, was Voted by the House of Commons for such an unexpiable Breach of Privilege, that nothing must satisfy the Jealousies, and secure their Fears, but the putting the Tower of London into their Hands, together with the Command of the Navy, Forts, Castles, and Trained-bands of the Kingdom. ¶ And these were far from being Things of a Religious Nature.'

HE next falls upon me with a whole Squadron of Authors, as *Bates*, *Dugdale*, *Warwick*, and others [p. 152.]; but as he produces none of their Expressions, so it cannot be expected that I should make a particular Reply unto them. And tho' *Hudibras* may go for a Witty Poet, I never yet saw him quoted for a Credible Historian. Whether *Prin* says any such thing as is pretended, I cannot be certain; sure I am, that whereas his *Necessary Introduction* [p. 288] is cited, the whole Book contains but 255 Pages.

THO' Mr *Agate* gives *Ludlow* the Character of an Infamous Wretch, yet he produces him [p. 154.] affirming, that He

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† *Saints Rest*, pt. 2. p. 257, 258. ¶ *Life of Archbishop Laud*, p. 500.

with his Associates took up Arms in Defence of their Religion, to which Ludlow adds, and Liberties : And this Mr. Agate, like an HONEST Disputant, leaves out. Nor is the next Citation from that Author to be found in the Page referred to. 'Tis true, there was a Petition presented to the House by Pennington against Bps [p. 155.] ; but the poor Mechanicks that subscribed it, were not the Authors of the War : These were not the Men that gave Commissions to Essex, and his Officers, to fight the Kings Army. And if some Sectaries made a Riot in St. Pauls Cathedral, 'twas because Laud had adjourned the High Commission to that Place* : A Court which, by its Lawless Tyranny, had made it self ODIIOUS to the whole Kingdom. To bring this Matter to an Issue ; I will grant my Antagonist, that Mens Fears of Popery, and Concern for the Protestant Religion, did contribute some Fuel to the enkindling those Flames which almost consumed the Nation ; but it by no means follows, that they were all Presbyterians who took the Alarm. I have already hinted at the Zeal which A-bp. Laud discovered in setting the Communion Table Altarwise, which formerly stood in the Body of the Church. In this, as well as in several other Innovations, he was opposed by Dr. Williams, Bp. of Lincoln, who wrote a Learned Treatise against this Practice. The Ld. Clarendon makes this Judicious Observation on that Controversy : ' From this Unhappy Subject proceeded upon the Matter a Schism amongst the Bishops themselves, and a great deal of Uncharitableness in the Clergy towards one another : For, without doubt, many who loved the Established Government of the Church, yet liked not any Novelties ; and so were liable to entertain Jealousies, that more was intended than was hitherto proposed, especially when those Infusions proceeded from Men unsuspected to have any Inclination to Change, and known Assertors of the Government both in Church and State †. Hence 'tis evident, that many Conformists to the Established Church suspected the Design of A-bp. Laud, and his prevailing Faction ; and of such the Earl of Essex's Army was for the most part made up ; for I hope Church-men may fight for the Protestant Religion as well as Presbyterians.

THE Question between me and my Antagonist, is not whether Mens Ill or Well-grounded Fears of POPERY, did
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* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 453
pag. 75

† Clarend. Hist. V. i.

in some measure promote the late *Unhappy War*; but, Whether the *principal* Cause thereof was the *Hatred* which the Parliament Party had to EPISCOPACY and LITURGY. This is a *peculiar Whimsy* of Mr *Agate's*, nor is he countenanced in it by any *credible Historian*.

IN Answer to the Challenge made me by this Gentleman, [p. 157] to produce any one of the Remonstrances, Declarations, &c. in which Religion is not mentioned as the principal Ground of the Quarrel between the King and Parliament, I shall, at present, refer him and the Reader to *Ruskworth's Collections*, Pt. 3. Vol. 1. in which are to be found abundance of Messages, &c. between the King and Two Houses, whilst they were whetting of their Swords, which relate only to the Militia, and the Affront which Sir *J. Hotham* offered to his Majesty when he shut the Gates of *Hull* against him; and in the sequel of this Discourse, I shall take Notice of the COMMONS Large Remonstrance, and the Famous *Nineteen Propositions*, in which it will appear (the King himself being Judge) that they desired not the Destruction of the *Common-prayer*.

BEFORE I proceed further, 'tis requisite that I take Notice of those *Bloody Tragical Harangues* Mr. *Agate* has presented to the World in the Names of Mr *Marshal*, *Cafe*, and other *Long-Parliament* Preachers. The First of these is introduced declaiming before his Masters in these following words: [p. 158.] 'The Prelates join'd the Papists, to bring in Confusion and Persecution, exceeding all the Ten under the Heavens, then Emperors.--- Look on me this Day, as one come to beat a Drum in your Ears--- *Josiah* dug up the Bones of the Idolatrous Priests, the same Lord direct you; let not the MAN escape--- He is cursed that with-holds his Hand from shedding the Blood of the Enemies of God's Church--- All this is pretended to be preached by him in the Year 1641. I find, upon a strict Enquiry, that Mr *Marshal* preached Three Sermons that Year before the Parliament on their publick Fasts; one on the 7th of *September*; another on the 22d of *December*; a third on the 23d of *February*; and that he preached no other in that Year is evident from hence, There is added to Mr *Strickland's* Sermon before the COMMONS *Decemb. 27th 1643*, a Catalogue of the Names of all the Divines that preached before the Parliament, from its First Sitting 'till that very Day: By this Catalogue it appears that Mr *Marshal* preached no more than the Three Sermons already mentioned before the Parliament in that Year. I have carefully read over these

these Sermons, and can't find the *Bishops* or *Prelates* so much as once named in either of 'em. 'Tis true, in the second of these Sermons he has this Expression: *Josiah* (of whom his Text spake) *executed the Justice of God on the Idolatrous Priests, &c. the same Lord direct you, let not the Men escape, whom God appoints out to Punishment*; But the *Bishops* are not so much as hinted at: And therefore, 'tis *Barbarous Injustice* in Mr. *Agate* to apply these words to our *English Prelates*, who are not once named, or any manner of way described in the whole Discourse. In a Sermon preached by Mr. *Marshal* the next Month, he cites these two Scriptures, *Jer. 48. 10. Cursed be he* (said the Prophet, speaking of *Moab*) *that keepeth back his Sword from Blood*; And *Psal. 137. 8. O Daughter of Babylon, happy shall he be that rewardeth thee as thou hast served us*. In relating these Passages, Mr. *Agate* leaves out *Moab*, particularly named by Mr. *Marshal*, and refers them to our *Bishops*, of whom the Preacher had not one word to say. He that can allow himself in such an abusive Method, may make Blasphemy of the very Bible; 'tis but take a Text in which Christ and his Apostles are named, and tack to it another which denounces Woes and Curses against Impostors and false Prophets. How horrid and offensive would this sound? I appeal to all Mankind, whether any thing can be more base and disingenious, than for this Gentleman to pick up two or three Scraps out of different Sermons, and apply 'em to *Bishops*, who are not so much as named or hinted at by the *Author*.

BUT there is one Consideration, which demonstrates that *perverse Interpretation* which has been put on Mr. *Marshals* Words; When these *Sermons* were preach'd, there was no open Rupture between the *King* and his *Two Houses*. On *Jan. 4th*. His Majesty came in Person to the *House of Commons* to demand the Five Members *. On *Jan. 15. 1641-2*, the *Royal Assent* was given to two *publick Bills* †. On *Feb. 14*. two other Bills were passed into Acts ‡. And 'twas the 12th of *July, 1642*. when the Vote was pass'd to raise an Army, and to Constitute the *Earl of Essex* General of that Army §. And I appeal now to the common Reason of Mankind, whether there be any probability that Mr. *Marshal* should talk of bearing a Drum in the *Parliaments Ears*, and excite 'em to shed the *Blood of their Enemies*, for Six Months before there was a

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Sword

* Rushworth's Coll. pt. 3. V. i. p. 477. † Ibid. p. 496.
‡ Ibid. p. 554. § Ibid. p. 755.

Sword drawn, or so much as a Resolution taken to raise an Army.

AS for those *Bloody Declamations* presented to the World under the Name of Mr. *Cafe*, *Lightfoot*, and others, Mr. *Agate*, with more *Art* than *Honesty*, hath declin'd to let us know *when* these Sermons were preached, or *where* those *violent Expressions* may be found; for which Reason, I wrote him a Letter sometime since, in which I told him, *That seeing he had Blamed me in his late Phamphlet, for not accepting Directions from him, where to find a Passage in my Lord Clarendon which he had mis-quoted; I did then Address my self to him, desiring, He would direct me where to find that Outrageous Language which he had imputed to those Divines; Letting him know, That I must otherwise take publick Notice of the Imposture.* To this he returned me Answer, *That as soon as he was a little at leisure, he would examine the Passages I mentioned, and set me at Rights about them.* Though this be near Three Months since, he hath not yet found Leisure to oblige me in this Respect: But the Truth of it is, I am very well satisfied that he hath the strongest Plea in the World to make for his *Breach of Promise*, even an *utter Impossibility* to perform it. But I must leave the World to judge, how far it is consistent with *Honour, Truth* and *Conscience*, to *accuse* Men of those *Barbarous Expressions*, which he knows not where to find.

MY *Antagonist* ends, as he began, with Mr. *Baxter*, making him say [p. 161.] *I am confident my blowing up the Coals and encouraging so many Thousands to take up Arms, was the greatest Outward Service that I ever performed to God.* For this he quotes *Holy Common-wealth*, p. 485. Whereas Mr. *Baxter's* words in that very page are these that follow: ' Though I was in no Capacity to have done much, yet I unfeignedly Repent that I did no more for Peace in my place than I did; And that I did not pray more heartily against Contention and War before it came, and spake no more against it than I did; And that I spoke so much to blow the Coals: For this I daily beg Forgiveness of the Lord, &c. Let the Reader judge, whether this be a fair Quotation.

AND so much for the *Long-Parliament* Preachers.

HAVING shewn the *Defectiveness* of Mr. *Agate's Testimonies*, I come next to prove, That *Differences* about *Civil Matters* were the most *Remarkable Causes* of the late *WAR*, and

and gave *Birth* to all those *monstrous Productions* which did ensue upon it.

IF we ask, What 'twas that drew the *Sword* out of its *Scabbard*, and made it *Drunk* with the *Blood of Thousands*; every One will say, 'Twas a *mutual Dissatisfaction* between the *Contending Parties*. 'Tis *Discontent* is at the *Root* of all *Rebellions*; and therefore, what ever gives *Occasion* to the *former*, may be truly said to have an *Influence* upon the *latter*. The *Seeds* of those *Distempers*, which threw the *Body Politick* into such *terrible Convulsions*, were not presently ripen'd into a *Crisis*. The *CAVALIERS* and *ROUND-HEADS* did not, like the *Teeth of Cadmus*, on a suddain spring up into *Armies*, ready and prepared for mutual *Slaughter*: Nor can it be supposed that these *Gentlemen* were, like *Mastiffs* or *Game-Cocks*, for picking out each other's *Eyes* at the very first view. There must be a long *Series* of *mutual Jealousies* and *Provocations*, before Things could be heightened into a *Civil War*.

BEING forced by my *Antagonist* to review those *Unhappy Days*, I shall be constrained to hint a little at the *Temper* in which the *Nation* generally was, when the *Flames* at first broke out. Such *Authors* as treat of the *Revolutions of Kingdoms*, endeavour to discover these *secret Springs* which first set the *Wheels* in motion. My *Ld. Clarendon* (in his *Celebrated History of the great Rebellion*) spends some *Scores of Pages* in describing those *Causes* which did dispose so many, of all *Ranks*, to a *Revolt* from their *Natural Sovereign*; and, indeed, without such an *Introduction* his *Piece* had appeared without those *Beauties*, which *Charm* and *Captivate* the *Reader*. All our *Historians* agree in this, That when the *Long-Parliament* first met, there was an *Universal Murmur* and *Discontent* throughout the *Nation*; which arose, not from a *Prejudice* against *Episcopacy* or the *Common-prayer*, but from *Political* and *Civil Causes*.

'Twas the *Great Misfortune* of King *CHARLES's* *Reign*, that he always *Dismissed* his *Parliament abruptly*, and in a *Pet*, and so sent *Home* the *Gentlemen* of the *House of Commons* full of *Dissatisfaction* into their *Respective Counties*. And that which heightened the *Disgust*, was, that the *Freedom of Debate*, judg'd now so *essential* to a *Parliament*, was in a manner ravish'd from them: Such as *inveigh'd* against an *illegal Tax*, or the *Corruption* of a *Court Favourite*, being *Prosecuted*, *Fin'd*, and *Imprison'd*, and a thou-

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and Vexatious Methods invented to *Oppress* 'em, of which we have *many* Instances upon Record *. To which we may add, That the long *Interruption* of Parliament for 12 Years, with the *Imposing Taxes* on the Subjects, by Virtue of the *Royal Prerogative*, gave too much Occasion to some to insinuate, as if His Majesty intended to Govern in an *Arbitrary* Manner, and to suppress all such *Conventions* for the future, as his Brother in-Law the King of *France* had lately done in his Dominions. As many Gentlemen had been *persecuted* for speaking their *Minds* freely in the *Parliament House*; so a far greater Number had been *Imprison'd*, for *refusing* to lend the *Crown* such Sums of Money as had been demanded of 'em. Mr. *Rushworth* gives us the Names of about 25 *Knights*, besides abundance of *Esquires*, *Gentlemen* and *Citizens*, who had suffered a *tedious* Confinement in divers Parts of the Kingdom, for their *Non-compliance* with these *illegal Impositions* †. The Persecution of these Persons (who were many of them of great *Quality* and *Interest*) by the Court, did the more endear 'em to the Country, which had 'em in singular *Esteem* and *Reverence*, as the *Patrons* of *Liberty*, and the *Generous Asserters* of the *Nations Rights*. When the *Necessities* of the *Kings Affairs* oblig'd Him to call a Parliament, abundance of these Gentlemen were elected to serve therein; who doubtless entered the *Senate House* with Minds *imbittered* by their former Sufferings, and full of *High Resentments* against the Court. If it should be said, *They should have sacrificed their Private Animosities to the Publick Safety*; I will not deny it. But we must suppose *Humane Nature* more refin'd than generally 'tis, before we can conclude it not at all Retentive of those Impressions which *Violence* and *Injustice* makes upon it.

ANOTHER thing which disgusted Persons of Quality in a *peculiar Manner*, was the *Exorbitant Management* of the *Court of Wards*. That Noble *Historian*, of whom I shall make a frequent mention in this *Treatise*, tells us, 'That when my Lord *Cottington* was Master of the *Wards*, he raised the Revenues of that Court to the King, by which Husbandry all the Rich Families of *England*, of Noblemen and Gentlemen, were exceedingly incens'd, and even indevoted to the Crown; looking upon what the *Law* intended for
' their

* *Hist. of Eng.* V. 3. p. 49. 96. † *Rushworth's Col.* pt. 1. p. 477.

‘ their *Preservation*, to be now applied to their *Destruction* *. So that ’twas not the *King’s Zeal* for the *Church* or *Common-Prayer*, but the *Greediness* of his *Officers*, that rendred so many Great Men *indebted* to his Service, and their Fears, least *dying* during the *Minority* of their Heirs, they should leave both *them* and their *Estates* a *Prey* to those *Court Harpies*.

ANOTHER *Grievance* which concerned Men of Estate in a particular manner, was the *extending* the *Kings Forests* beyond their *Ancient Limits*. To this purpose, old musty *Records* were pretended to be found out by the *Attorney-General*, in which it appeared, that such *Houses* and *Estates* as had been in Possession of Mens Families for 300 Years successively, were *Encroachments* upon some of his Majesties *Forest Lands* †: Just as the *French King* hook’d in many *Rich Towns* and *Cities*, under pretence of being formerly *Dependencies* upon some of those little *Villages*, which were yielded to him by the *Treaties of Peace*. My Lord *Clarendon* tells us, ‘ That Men had been Immoderately vext by the ‘ *Justice* in *Eyres*, and that few Men could assure themselves ‘ that their *Estates* and *Houses* might not be brought within ‘ the Jurisdiction of some *Forest*; the which if they were, it ‘ cost them great Fines ‖. And the Noble *Author* observes, ‘ That this Burthen lighted most upon Persons of Quality and ‘ Honour, who thought themselves above Ordinary Oppressi- ‘ ons, and were therefore like to remember it with more sharp- ‘ ness ‡. If it be demanded, *What made the Parliament* so vehement and eager against the *Court*? ‘Twas the setting on foot tho’ *Methods* which rendered their *Titles* to their *Estates* precarious; which sure is a *Thing* of a quite different Nature from *Religion*.

BUT that which gave the greatest dissatisfaction to all Ranks of Men, was, the *imposing* upon the *Subjects* the *Tax* commonly called *Ship-Money*, without *Consent* of *Parliament*. This *Mr. Agate* owns an extraordinary Expedient, and tells us, *That the Kings pressing Occasions put His Ministers upon it*. Tho’ the Lord *Clarendon* assures us, *They proceeded in this way of Supply, when there was no Necessity* ††, and upon that Occasion expresses himself in these following Words,

* *Claren. Hist. Vol. 1. p. 119. fol.* † *Rush. Col. pt. 2d. Vol. 2. p. 1056.* ‖ *Clarendons Hist. v. 1. p. 223.* ‡ *ib. p. 53.* †† *ib. p. 126.*

Words : ' Those Foundations of Right, by which Men valued
 ' their Security, to the Apprehension and Understanding of
 ' Wise Men, were never more in Danger to be destroyed †. 'Tis
 true, *Ten* of the *Twelve Judges* gave their Opinion for the
Legality of this *Tax* [*Pl. Tr. p. 148*] ; But 'tis as true, that
 King *JAMES* had the *Opinion* of the same sort of Men for
 his *Dispensing Power*. Notwithstanding which, the *Exer-*
cise thereof was Voted a *Breach* of the *Original Contract*.
 When the Lord *Clarendon* makes his *Remarks* on that *Cor-*
rupt Determination, he decides the *Matter* in *Dispute* be-
 tween me and my *Antagonist*, by assigning the same Cause
 for our *Unhappy Wars* as I have done ; ' No Question (*says*
 ' He) as the *Exorbitancy* of the *House of Commons* in the
 ' next Parliament, proceeded principally from their Con-
 ' tempt of the Laws, and that Contempt from the Scandal of
 ' that Judgment ; so the Concurrence of the *House of Peers*
 ' in that Fury, can be imputed to no one thing more, than to
 ' the Irreverence and Scorn the Judges were justly in *. If it
 be demanded, What 'twas that made the *Lords* and *Commons*
 so Furious and Extravagant ? Mr. *Agate* indeed affirms,
 'Twas the *hatred* of the Party to *Episcopacy* and *Liturgy*. But
 this Celebrated *Author* puts it out of all Question, that 'twas
 their *Contempt* of the *Laws*, occasioned by a Set of *Mercenary*
Judges, who prostituted the *Dignity* of their *Office*, and the
Liberties of the *Nation*, to their own *Ambition*, and the *fan-*
tastick Humours of a few greedy *Courtiers*.

NEXT to the Two Houses, we may consider the City of
 LONDON, as having the greatest *Influence* upon the *Na-*
tion : If it be demanded, What made them so Chagrin and
 Discontented ? We are told, ' That a Grant being made them
 ' by the Crown (in consideration of great Sums of Money) of
 ' good Quantities of Land in *Ireland*, and of the City of *Lon-*
 ' *donderry*, by Virtue of a Decree in the Star-Chamber, all
 ' the Lands, after a vast Expence of Building and Planting,
 ' were resumed into the *King's* Hands, and a Fine of Fifty
 ' Thousand Pounds imposed upon the City ; which made a
 ' General Impression in the Minds of the Citizens of all Con-
 ' ditions, much to the Disadvantage of the Court †. To
 which I may add, the *Imprisonment* of several of the *Alder-*
men, because they refused to certify to the *Council Board* the
 Names

† *Clarendons Hist. V. 1. p. 54*
pag. 292.

* *Ibid. p. 55*

† *Ibid.*

Names of such Persons as they concluded able to lend the Crown Money against their *Inclinations*: That is, (in the Language of the *Sufferers* because they would not concur with the Court in *Robbing* of their *Neighbours* *. This is what made the *Londoners* so *Mutinous*, and so disposed to *Revolt*. To which might be added, that vast Variety of *Monopolies* which were very *Grievous* to the *Subject*, and descended so very low as the *making of Pins*, and the *gathering of Rags* †.

IF the *Reader* pleases to consult His Majesty's *Declaration* of *August* 12th 1642, he may find him acknowledging ' That the *Star-Chamber* had invaded the *Laws* of the *Land*, and ' *Liberty* of the *Subject*, by the *Exercise* of an *Arbitrary Power*: That the *High Commission* had so far outgrown the *Power* of the *Law*, that it would not be limited and guided by it: That under colour of *Executing* the *Forest Laws*, very many Persons had been *grieved* and *vexed* by *Presentments*, *Fines*, &c. And some *Endeavours* had been made to ' set on foot *Forests*, where in truth none had been; and that ' the *Proceedings* in the *Court of Exchequer* relating to *Knight-hood*, were not fit and warrantable ‡. These are His Majesty's own words, and I hope they may be credited.

'TIS true, (as my *Antagonist* observes) many of these *Grievances* had been *redressed* [p. 148.]; and I am verily persuaded, that the *King's* Consent thereto ought to have given greater Satisfaction than it really did: But who ever studies *Humane Nature* must know, that when *Prejudices* are deeply rooted in *Mens Minds*, they are not easily removed; And that *Mens Passions*, like the *Waves* of the *Sea*, are not presently calmed, when they have once been agitated by a *Tempest*. When that *mutual Confidence* that ought to be between the *Prince* and the *Subject* is destroyed, every *little Accident* will contribute to *widen* the *Breach*, and make the *Wound* more *incurable*. I have already shewn, from the most Celebrated *Historians* of the *Age*, what it was that sowed the *Seeds* of *Discontent* in *Peoples Minds*; and we are next to consider, What it was that ripened these *Seeds* into a *Consuming Bloody War*.

HIS Majesty having consented to several good *Laws*, took His *Progress* into *SCOTLAND*: During His *Abode* in
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* Rushworth's Coll: pt. 2. v. 2. p. 1182 † Ibid: pag. 916, 917
‡ The Works of K. Charles, Edit: 2, pag. 288, 289.

that Kingdom; the *Bloody IRISH MASSACRED* their *Protestant Neighbours*; which, we may very well *suppose*, did heighten *Mens Fears and Jealousies* of that *BARBAROUS RELIGION* here in *ENGLAND*. On the 25th of *November* 1641, the King returned thro' *LONDON* to His own *Palace* *. *Decemb. 1.* The *House of Commons* presented to the King, and afterwards printed, their *Large Remonstrance* of the *State of the Kingdom*; 'Which contained a *Bitter Representation* of all the *Illegal Things* that had been done; from 'the first Hour of His coming to the Crown, to that very Minute †. The publishing those *Grievances*, which had lately been redressed, *incensed* His Majesty to a High Degree against the *Prime Managers*. On the other Hand, The King dismissed the *Guards* which attended on the *Parliament*, placing such in their rooms as they did not like: He made *Col. Lunsford* (a Soldier of Fortune) *Governour* of the *Tower*, at which the *Citizens* were mightily disgusted. But that which made the *Breach* between the King and *Parliament* *IRRECONCILEABLE*, was His Majesty's going in Person to the *House of Commons*, attended by His *Armed Guards* and some *Hundreds of Pensioners*, to demand Five *Gentlemen* whom he had accused of *High Treason*; as He had done the *Ld. Kimbolton* in the *House of Peers*. The *Members* accused, were some of them the most popular Men in the whole Kingdom; who having secret Intimation of the *Design* against them, had withdrawn themselves into the *City*, where they were safe enough. This *Unadvised Action* was indeed the very *Spark*, which set Fire to that fatal *Train* which blew the *Nation* into a *Flame*. The *Two Houses* exclaim against it, as a *Violation* of all their *Privileges*, and an *Assault* upon their very *Constitution*. They *Adjourn* themselves for several Days, the *Commons* appointing a *Committee* to sit at the *Guild-Hall*. The King proclaims these *Gentlemen Traitors*; the *Parliament* vindicates them; the *City of LONDON* entertains, caresses and protects them. On *Jan. 11th*, They were conducted by Water to the *Parliament-House*, more than an Hundred *Lighters* and *Long-Boats*, laden with small Pieces of Ordnance, attending on them, the *Train'd Bands* marching down by Land to *Westminster* at the same time. The King, unable to stem the Torrent, and loth to see this Triumphant Cavalcade from His

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* Rushworth's Coll: pt: 3, v. 1, p. 429 † Clarendon's Hist: V. 1, p. 245

own Windows, retirès the Day before, from *White-Hall* to *Hampton-Court*, with all the *Royal Family*. ' From this ' Day (*says the Ld. Clarendon*) we may reasonably date the ' Levying of War in *England*; whatsoever hath been since ' done being but the Superstructures upon those Foundations ' which were then laid *. And *Whitlock* affirms, ' That this ' suddain Action was the first visible and apparent Ground of ' all our following Miseries †. Thus these two Gentlemen, who were Men of great Penetration, and engaged in Opposite Interests, who were both *Members* of the *House of Commons*, and understood as well as most the secret Springs which set the Wheels in motion, do both agree, That 'twas the *demanding* of those *Five Members*, in such an *unusual manner*, that lay the Foundation of the War. On the other Hand, Mr. *Agate* pretends, 'Twas the *Hatred* of the *Party* to *Bishops* and the *Common-prayer*. I must leave the *Reader* to his own Discretion, Whether he will believe those forementioned Celebrated *Historians*, or one who has committed so many Blunders, and obtruded so many Falshoods upon the World.

THE *Accused Members* being restored to their Seats by an *High Hand*, the first thing they attempt is, to *secure* themselves from a *future Vengeance*. By their *Influence* the *Two Houses* importune the *King*, To settle the *Militia* in such Hands as they may confide in; that is, their own *Friends*. Their several *Petitions* to this purpose, the *Readers* may peruse in *Rushworth's Collections* ‡. Meeting with several *Repulses*, at last, they tell the *King* roundly, in an Address presented to him at *Theobalds*, *March 1*. That if he *refuses to comply with their Desires*, they resolve to settle the *Militia without him*. Accordingly, they appoint Sir *John Hotham* Governour of *Hull*, where lay a great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition. He refuses *Entrance* to the *King*, for which he is proclaimed *Traitor*: The *Parliament* justify what he has done, and resolve to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes §. The *Parliament* proceed to make an *Ordinance* for settling the *Militia*, requiring Persons concerned to put it in Execution: This the *King* Forbids, and, on the contrary, sends forth His *Commissions of Array*; which the other declare to be *Illegal*. Thus while some Endeavour to Obey the *King*, and

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others

* *Clarendon's Hist. V. 1. p. 300* † *Whitlock's Memorials, p. 51.* ‡ *Pt. 3. p. 516, &c.* § *Whitlock's Memorials, p. 55.*

others the *Parliament*, there arose several *Bickerings* and *Ren-counters*, in divers Counties, between the *Contending Parties*, 'till, at last, the whole Kingdom became engaged in BLOOD and CONFUSION. The Truth on't is, the *Gentlemen* Impeached were Men of great Ability and Interest; they saw their *Heads* were aimed at, and others perhaps were afraid of the same *Fate*; for which Reason they Combined together, to wrest the *Sword* out of the *King's* Hand, that it might be never sheathed in their own Bowels. 'Tis none of my Business to *Vindicate* the *Two Houses* in their *Demands*; 'tis like there was a *Fault* on both sides: My Design is only to shew, That the *Quarrel* began about the *Train'd Bands*, and not about *Religion*. Nothing can be more positive than the Assertion of the *Ld. Clarendon*, who affirms, 'That the Ordinance for settling the Militia, was the most avowed Foundation of all the Miseries that have followed *. It is evident to all Men (says the same Historian) where the Difference now lay between them, being, Whether the *King* would reserve the Disposal of those Offices and Places of Trust to himself, which was a part of his Regality; Or whether he would be content with such a Nomination as should depend upon their Approbation †. To this purpose let the *King* himself be heard, who in His large Declaration thus expresses himself, speaking of those *Leading Members*: 'They perswaded (says His Majesty) such as had complied with 'em, that we would never forget the Disservice they had done us; and therefore, there was no Way to Safety for themselves but by weakening us, and putting themselves into such a Condition, as it should not be in our Power to suppress them ‡. This sets the *Affair* in a true Light; these *Gentlemen* had Disobliged the *King*, and thinking themselves not Secure whilst the *Sword* was in His Hand, were resolved to get it into their Own. No Man, in his *Wits*, can imagine that the *Common-prayer* was concerned in this, which was indeed the most *Mischievous* and *Dividing Controversy*.

IF all that has been said will not satisfy my *Antagonist*, or the *Reader*, that the late WAR began principally upon a CIVIL, not a RELIGIOUS Account, I am ready to appeal to the publick *Declarations* and *Demands*, made by the two *Contending Parties*, *King* and *Parliament*, immediately before they

* Clarendon's *Hist.* V. 1. p. 336
 † *Works of K. Charles*, p. 303

† *Ibid.* V. 2. p. 170.

they proceeded to open *Hostilities*. On the 2d of *June* 1642, the *Lords* and *Commons* presented to the *King* their Famous *Nineteen Propositions*, 'The granting of which (as they tell 'His Majesty in the *Preamble*) was the most NECESSARY 'Effectual Means of removing those *Jealousies* and *Differences* which had Unhappily fallen betwixt Him and his People*. In these *Propositions* they desire, *That the Militia may be managed according to their Ordinance; That the Privy-Council, Governours of the King's Children, and the great Ministers of State, may be only such as they shall approve of*; with other Demands of an Exorbitant and High Nature. Amongst all these *Propositions*, there are but Three which do at all concern *Religion*, Two of which refer only to the *Papists*, the other, which is the Eighth in Order, is expressed in these Words: 'We desire that Your Majesty will be pleased to Consent, that such a Reformation be made in the 'Church Government and *Liturgy*, as both Houses of Parliament shall advise†. His Majesty in His *Answer* to these *Proposals*, declares His Satisfaction, 'That in this Proposition 'they did seem to desire but a *Reformation*, and not the *Destruction* of the present *Discipline* and *Liturgy*. He further declares His *Readiness*, 'To remove any Illegal Innovations 'which may have crept into the Church, and any Ceremonies 'which gave just Cause of Offence; as also to exempt Tender 'Consciences from Punishment for Indifferent Matters‡. To all these Things His Majesty consents: But when he comes to Answer their Demands about the *Militia*, and other Matters. He solemnly protests, 'That though he were Vanquished and 'a Prisoner, he would never abandon that Power which did 'enable Him to perform what he was Sworn to, the *Protection* 'of his People§. Hence I infer, that *Religion* did not occasion the *Quarrel* between the *King* and his *Two Houses*; for they desired no more on that Head than he was ready to grant: Whereas they found Him most *Inexorable* to their *Demands* about the *Train'd Bands*, without which they would not think themselves Secure; or as their *Commissioners* told His Majesty some time after, 'No sure way could be found out to 'cure their Fears and *Jealousies*, but the gratifying them in 'the *Nomination* of Military Officers¶¶.

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* *Works of K. Charles*, p. 260 † *Ibid.* p. 261 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 270
 § *Ibid.* p. 264 ¶¶ *Clarendon's Hist.* Vol. 2. pag. 171.

I shall, in the next place, take Notice of a *Declaration*, published to the World by the Earl of *New-Castle*, His Majesty's General in the *North of England*, in which he affirms, ' That the Quarrel between the *King* and *Two Houses* was not grounded upon ANY *Matter of Religion*, the *Rebels* professing themselves to be of the same of which His Majesty was known to be *. These words are so plain that they need no Comment; and the *Reader* has his Choice, whether he will believe this *Noble Earl*, who acted so Great and Honourable a Part in the fatal *Tragedies* of that *Day*; or whether he will give Credit to a MUSHROOM SCRIBLER, who advances any Thing which his own *Furious Imagination* shall suggest unto him.

IS Mr. *Agate* willing to Appeal to *CÆSAR*? I will attend his Motions there, and stand to his *Judgment*. His Majesty, about Ten Days before he set up His *Standard* at *Nottingham*, published a Large *Declaration*, recounting all the *Concessions* which he had made, and all the *Indignities* and *Provocations* which had been offered to him: ' And for all this Impudent Injustice (odious to GOD and Man) what is there (*says the King*) objected against us? We will not consent that the Ordinance of the *Militia* shall be Executed; that is, we will not allow that both *Houses of Parliament* shall make Laws, and impose upon the Property and Liberty of our Subjects without our Consent, &c. What is there else? (*says he in the next Paragraph*) We do not think Sir *John Hotham* hath dealt well with us in keeping our Town from us, nor do take it kindly that we are robbed of our Magazine and Munition; but think of Recovering both by Force, &c. Is there no more? Yes, we will not submit to those Nineteen Dutiful and Modest Propositions, which have been lately thrown at us as the necessary Means of removing Jealousies †. Thus if the *King* himself deserves any Credit, 'twas not an Hatred to the *Common-prayer*, but Things of a *Civil* and *Military Nature*, that engaged the *Parliament* in a WAR against their *Sovereign*.

I shall present the *Reader* with one Testimony more, which is that of Dr. *Nalson*, whom Mr. *Agate* describes as a most *Ingenuous and Impartial Author*; who having told us, How the *Parliament* took upon them to order the *Militia*, to appoint

* Clarendon's *Hist. V. 2. p. 133* † *Works of K. Char. p. 309, 310*

point *Lord-Lieutenants, Deputy-Lieutenants, and other Officers*, hath this Remarkable Observation upon the whole: ' This was (*says he*) the Apple of Contention; and though they have endeavoured to make it *Bellum Episcopale*, yet, *most certainly*, it was a War begun, not for the *Mitre*, but the *Scepter* and the *Sword* †. My *Antagonist* tells us of this *Gentleman*, That none of his *Enemies* have been able to detect him in any one Thing that is False; after such an *High Encomium* for his Truth, I hope he will not himself pretend to make him a *Liar*. What the *Doctor* offers is confirmed by an *Observation* of the *Ld. Clarendon*, upon the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, who tells us, ' That many of the *Parliament* desired to have *Peace* without any Alteration in the Government, so they might be sure of *Indemnity* *. And yet, that most of these *Commissioners* who desired it, insisted upon ' Having the whole Command of the *Militia* by Sea and Land, without which they looked upon themselves as lost, and at the *King's* Mercy ††. So that 'twas not *Hatred* to the *Bishops*, but *Love* to their *Safety*, and *Distrust* of the *King*, (how Causeless soever that might be, which made these *Gentlemen* so obstinate and *pertinacious*.

2. I proceed now to the 2d Head which I at first propounded, which was, To prove that the most eminent *Leading Men*, who at first engaged in the *Parliament Quarrel*, were *Church-men*, for *Bishops* and *Liturgy*; and the Evidence which I shall principally insist upon, is that of the *Lord Clarendon*, who must be allowed a very competent *Witness*, and whose *History* is illustrious for nothing more, than for those *Noble Characters* which he gives of those *Gentlemen* who were the *Prime Actors* in that *Unhappy Tragedy*. If we consider the *Temper* and *Humour* of the *Kingdom* in general, when the *Long Parliament* began, we are assured, ' That it was little inclined to the *Papist*, and less to the *Puritan* *. On the other hand, this Celebrated *author* affirms, ' That generally there was a due Submission to the Government, and a singular Reverence of the *Liturgy* of the *Church of England* †. And speaking of the *King's* Absence in *Scotland*, which was near Twelvemonth after the opening of the *Parliament*, He declares, ' That the *Common-Prayer* at that time

' was

† *Nalson's Introduction to Coll.* p. 77 * *Clarendon's Hist.* V. 2. p. 457 †† *Ibid* p. 453 * *Ibid.* V. 1. pag. 71 † *Ibid.* p. 414

‘ was much revered throughout the Kingdom †. Nay, after the *Differences* grew very *High*, and the *Ordinances* for the *Militia* were put in *Execution*, we are told, ‘ There was, ‘ throughout the whole Kingdom a Wonderful and Superstitious Reverence towards the Name of a *Parliament*, and a ‘ Prejudice to the Power of the *Court*; yet a full submission ‘ and love of the Establish’d Government of the *Church* and ‘ *State*, especially to that Part of the *Church* as concerned the ‘ *Liturgy*, or Book of *Common-Prayer*, which was a general ‘ Object of Veneration with the People ‖. Hence ’tis evident, that many who lou’d the *Common-Prayer*, did yet joyn with the *Two Houses* against the *Court*; and ’tis highly Improbable, that when the *Generality* of the *Nation* had such an *High Value* for it, they should yet chuse such *Representatives* as were resolved to *Destroy* it.

BUT to put this Matter beyond all Dispute, I will give the Names of some of the *Prime Managers*, and *Eminent Commanders*, of the *Parliament* side, who were yet for *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*, if the Lord *Clarendon* deserves any Credit, who was a *Member* in this very *House of Commons*, and had a particular knowledge of the Persons he describes, and whose *History* is had in the *highest Reputation* by such as would be thought the *True Sons* of the *Church*. Amongst all those who drew their *Swords* against their *Sovereign*, the Earl of *Essex* deserves first to be considered, as being their *Captain-General*: So Great his *Reputation*, that we are told, ‘ It had been very ‘ difficult, if not impossible, for the *Two Houses* of *Parliament* to have rais’d an Army then, if the Earl of *Essex* had ‘ not consented to be the *General* of that *Army* *. That he ‘ was entirely their Founder, that the being able to raise an ‘ Army, and conduct it to fight the *King*, was purely due ‘ to him and the effect of his Power †. When Mr. *Vines* preached this *Noble Man’s* Funeral Sermon, he told the *Two Houses*, ‘ That the very Name of *Essex* had commanded thousands into their Service *. So that he was not only the *Head* that commanded, but the very *Soul* that animated the *Rebellion*; yet so far from being a *Dissenter*, that we are assured, by one who knew him very well, ‘ That he was rather displeased with the Person of the *Arch-bishop*, and some ‘ other

† *Clarendons Hist. V. 1. p. 231*

‖ *Ibid. V. 2. pag. 98.*

* *Ibid. V. 1. p. 374*

† *Ibid. V. 2. p. 434*

‡ *Essex’s*

Hearse, p. 27

other *Bishops*, than indevoted to the Function; and that He was as much devoted as any Man to the Book of *Common-Prayer* *.

NEXT to the *General* at Land, we may reckon the *Admiral* at Sea, as the most considerable Person, and that was the Earl of *Warwick*; if we examine his Principles as to Religion and Church-Government, 'He never discovered any Aversion to *Episcopacy*, but much professed the contrary †. If it be demanded, *Who 'twas that seiz'd upon the King's Ships; expressly contrary to his Command, and employed them to his great Disservice.* The Answer must be this, 'twas no *Presbyterian*, but a professed *Episcopalian*. I might mention the Earl of *Bedford*, who was *General* of the *Horse* under *Essex*, the Lord *Roberts*, and others, who lived and died in *Communion* with the *Church of England*; but I need not Name particulars, when in the whole *House of Peers* there were but two Persons who seemed to desire the *Dissolution* of the *Government* ‡.

WE will therefore consider the *Temper* of the *House of Commons*, and here 'tis fit that their *Speaker Lenthall* should have the Precedency. He is described, 'As one who was not without good Inclinations to the Church §. I may defy Mr. *Agate* to name one *Presbyterian* who Voted in that *House* for the erecting a *High Court of Justice*, to Try and Condemn the King; yet here is a *Gentleman* well inclined to the Church, that is a *Church-Man*, who possess'd the Chair at that very time, and concur'd with others in the Extirpation of *Monarchy*, and Banishing the *Royal Off-spring*.

IN the Front of those who did most immediately contribute to the enkindling of our *Civil Flames*, I may very well rank Sir *John Hotham*; this is the *Gentleman* who shut the *Gates* of *HULL* against the King, and planted his *Musquetiers* upon the Walls and Ramparts of the *Town*, to keep Him and His Retinue out; Who, in a *Sally* that he made upon the King's Forces, shed the FIRST BLOOD that was spilt in all the *War* (*), and was the FIRST His Majesty proclaimed a *Traitor*. 'He was in truth (says the *Historian*) the Immediate Cause of the War (†). But was he a *Dissenter* all this while? No; that Noble *Author*, who both knew the Man and his

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* Clarendons *Hist.* V. 1, p. 184

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid. V. 3, p. 48

(*) Whitlocks *Memorials*, p. 59

(†) Clarendons *Hist.* V. 2, p. 476

Communication, assures us, ' That he was VERY WELL
' AFFECTED, in his Judgment, to the Government in *Church*
' and *State* (†). So that 'twas a *Church-man* who first threw
the *Gauntlet*, and bid *Defiance* to *Royal Majesty*: ' The Bu-
' siness of *Hull* being the first Visible Rupture between the *King*
' and His *Two Houses* (‡). Which, 'tis very probable, might
have otherwise been prevented without Blood.

NEXT to him I may very well reckon the Famous Mr.
John Pym, ' Who seemed to all Men to have the greatest Influ-
' ence upon the House of Commons of any Man; and was, in
' Truth, the most popular Man, and the most able to do
' Hurt, that hath lived in any Time. Yet the *Ld. Clarendon*,
who gives him this Character, assures us, ' That though he was
' an *Enemy* to the *Arminians*, yet he professed to be VERY
' ENTIRE to the *Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the *Church of*
' *England* (||). And the same *Author* has left it upon Record,
' That no Man had more to Answer for the *Miseries* of the
' *Kingdom*, or had his Hand and Head deeper in their Contri-
' vance, than this Entire *Church-man* *. As this Gentleman
was One of the *Five Members*, so after that Attempt to seize
him by Force, He never entertained Thoughts of Moderation †.

WE are left a little more in the Dark as to the Famous
Hambden, nor is it certain what *Inclinations* he had to *Epis-*
copacy; but we are told, ' That most believed his Dislike ra-
' ther to be of some *Church-men*, than of the *Ecclesiastical*
' *Government* of the *Church* ‡.

NEXT to the already mentioned, we may very well rec-
kon Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, whether we consider the *Eminency* of
his *Parts*, or the *Activity* of his *Zeal*. ' He had an Indigna-
' tion against all the *Independent Party*; nor was he affected
' to the *Presbyterians*, any otherwise than as they Constituted
' a Party to oppose the other ||: But was well pleased with the
' *Government* of the *Church* (*). This Gentleman survived
the Confusions of the War, and was by K. CHARLES promo-
ted to the Dignity of a *Baron*. His *Funeral Sermon* was
preached April 10th 1680, by *Sam. Reyner*, M. A. Rector of
St Peters, Dorchester, who mentions with Honour, ' His Con-
' stant Opposition against all *Innovations* in the *Church*, and
' any Thing that looked like a Publick Grievance in the Com-
' mon-

(†) *Clarendons Hist.* V. 1, p. 305 (‡) *Ibid.* V. 2, p. 120
(||) *Ibid.* p. 354 * *Ibid.* p. 353 † *Ibid.* p. 355 ‡ *Ibid.*
p. 205 || *Ibid.* p. 460 (*) *Ibid.* V. 1. 184

‘ mon-Weal. He was in the most secret Councils with those
 ‘ who most Governed (†) ; as the *Ld. Clarendon* informs us.
 And K. CHARLES declared him, to all the World, ‘ To be the
 ‘ most malicious Promoter and Contriver of *those Tumults*
 ‘ which first drove Him from His Royal Palace (†). Thus Sir
Her. Vane the Elder did the King an *Unspeakable Prejudice*,
 and yet ‘ In his Judgment, liked the Government both of
 ‘ Church and State (‡). Nay, he not only appeared highly
 ‘ Conformable himself, but exceeding Sharp against those that
 ‘ were not *. I hope this Gentleman may be allowed to be a
 True Son of the Church, who was yet as deeply plunged in the
 Rebellion as any of his Neighbours.

I might mention *Whitlock* †, *Laughorn* ‡, and others, who
 are represented without any Inclination to *Presbyterian* Prin-
 ciples, and were yet engaged with some of the first against the
 King : But what need is there to descend to Particulars, when
 the *Ld. Clarendon* has left a most remarkable Observation
 exactly to my Purpose. Having spoken of Two or Three that
 were indeed for Root and Branch ; ‘ Yet (says he) Mr *Pym*
 ‘ was not of that mind, nor Mr *Hollis*, nor any of the *Northern*
 ‘ Men, or those Lawyers who drove on most furiously with ‘em ;
 ‘ ALL who were pleased with the Government it self of the
 ‘ Church ‖. So that if this Celebrated History deserves any
 Credit, the most FURIOUS DRIVERS in the House of Com-
 mons were Men of *Episcopal Principles*.

NOR can it be pretended, That these good Inclinations to
 the Church were presently lost ; for, after *Edghill* Fight, and
 the shedding a great deal of Blood, we are informed, ‘ That
 ‘ the Design against the Church was not grown Popular even
 ‘ in the Two Houses (*). Now a Proposal is said to be popu-
 lar, when ‘tis Grateful to the Generality of the People : And
 when this Design is denied to be popular, it necessarily follows,
 that the greater part of the Parliament did not concur there-
 with. The *Ld. Clarendon* assures us, ‘ That when they began
 ‘ to cast their Eyes on *Scotland* for Assistance, there were, in
 ‘ Truth, very few of the Two Houses who desired the Extir-
 ‘ pation of *Episcopacy* (††). And therefore Mr *Agate* labours
 under a gross Mistake when he pretends, That this was the

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(†) *Clarendon's Hist. V. 1, p. 150* (‡) *Works of King*
Charles, p. 306 (‖) *Clarendon's Hist. V. 2. p. 163* * *Ib.*
V. 1. p. 149 † *Ib. V. 2, p. 460* ‡ *Ib. V. 3, p. 111.*
 ‖ *Ib. V. 1, p. 184* (*) *Ib. V. 2, p. 51* (††) *Ib. p. 133*

very End for which they began the War. And though there was a *Bill* afterwards brought in for that purpose, yet 'twas well enough known, ' That most of the Peers, and Persons of Quality, in the other House, were willing to depart from that Overture*.

I have already hinted at the *Manifesto* published by the E. of *Newcastle*, the King's General in the North of *England*, who declared to all the World, ' That the Rebels professed themselves to be of the same Religion with His Majesty †. Whence it follows, Either that the King was a *Presbyterian*, or the *Parliament Church-men*; and my *Antagonist* shall take his Choice.

WHEN His Majesty was a Prisoner in the *Isle of Wight*, the Lords and Commons at *Westminster* sent down several of their own Body to Treat with Him about the *Settlement of the Nation*. His Controversy with some *Presbyterian Divines* about the Government of the Church is in Print, in which he discovered a vast Capacity and wonderful Acuteness. Whilst this Affair was canvassing, several of the Commissioners found Means to advertise the King, ' That they were of His Majesty's Judgment with reference to the Government, which they hoped might yet be preserved, but not by the Method His Majesty pursued ‡. By this Instance it appears, that their Quarrel with the King was not about Matters of an Ecclesiastical Nature; they concurring with him in these things, whilst they disputed their State Differences upon the Sword's Point.

IF we consult the Temper of *Essex's* Army, we shall find them cherishing the same Inclinations to *Episcopacy*, with those who gave them their Commissions. The *Ld. Clarendon* tells us, ' That when *Vane*, and some others, were sent down to procure Aid of the Scots, they knew well that many of their greatest Friends, both in the *Parliament* and the Army, had not any mind to change the Government of the Church §. Nay, we are informed, ' That all those who were countenanced by the Earl of *Essex*, or in his Confidence, were Men of such Principles, that they desired no other Alterations in the Court or Government, but only of the Persons who acted in it ||. If Mr *Agate's* Logick will hold Water, That all such as fought against the King were guilty of His Blood, some part of

* *Clarendon's Hist.* V. 2, p. 285 † *Ib.* p. 133 ‡ *Ib.* p. 3, p. 167 § *Ib.* V. 2, p. 295 || *Ib.* p. 291

of it must be laid at the *Church-mens* Doors; for these very *Gentlemen* commanded at the BLOODY BATTLE of *Edg-hill*, where the *King* was in Person present. Mr *Baxter* gives us the Names of many *Major-Generals*, and other great Officers, in *Essex's* Army, who to his own knowledge were CONFORMISTS, and some of them 'so Zealous for the Liturgy' and *Diocefans*, that they would not hear a Man as a Minister that had not *Episcopal Ordination* *. And it Prejudice should object against his Testimony, yet no Exception can lye against that Noble Author who has been so often quoted, who was a professed Champion for the Church, and an avowed Enemy to all *Dissenters*.

BY him we are informed, 'That even the *Independent* Party comprehended many, who were not so much Enemies to the State, or to the Church, as not to desire heartily that a Peace might be established upon the Foundations of both, so their own particular *Ambition* might be complied with †. So that some Hearty Church-men, to gratify their own *Avarice* or *Ambition*, concurred with those who are said to have subverted the *Ancient Monarchy*, in order to erect a *Common-Wealth* upon the Ruins of it.

TO all the Instances that have been given, I might subjoyn that of Dr *Williams*, Arch-Bishop of *Tork*; I hope his Character may skreen him from the Imputation of *Fanaticism*: And yet this very Gentleman accepted a Commission from the Parliament, whose General, in a manner, he became in *Wales*, reducing the Town of *Aberconwey* to their Obedience ‡.

If we consult the publick Acts and Manifestos of the Long-Parliament, we shall find them declaring for *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*. On the 20th of *November* 1640, there was an Order made in the House of Commons, 'That none should sit in that House after the *Communion-Day*, but those that had first received the *Sacrament* §. Which proves, that they were all in *Communion* with the Church of *England*; nor can *Occasional Conformity* be objected to these Gentlemen, for this (according to Mr *Agate's* Calculation) is of a far later Invention, being set on Foot in the Reign of King *WILLIAM*.

On the 17th of *July* 1641, 'twas Voted in the House of Commons, 'That every *Shire* should be a several *Diocefs*,
with

* *Penitent Confession*, p. 30 † *Clarendon's Hist.* V. 2. p. 576
 ‡ *Fuller's Church Hist.* L. 11. p. 227 § *Rushworth's Coll.* pt. 3. V. 1. p. 53

‘ with a *Bishop* to preside over it *. Which is an *Evidence*, that these *Gentlemen* were no such *mortal Enemies* to *Episcopacy*, as is pretended by my *Opponent*.

ON the 1st of *December* following, the *Commons* presented to the *King* their *Large Remonstrance* of the *State* of the *Nation*, in which they complained of a *Malignant Party*, ‘ Who (say they) infuse into the *People*, that we mean to *Abolish* all *Church-Government*, and leave every *Man* to his own Fancy for the *Service* and *Worship* of *GOD*. To which they Answer, confessing, ‘ That their *Endeavours* had been to *REDUCE* within Bounds that *Exorbitant Power* which the *PRELATES* had assumed to Themselves, that they might the better apply Themselves to the *Discharge* of their *Functions*. Concluding in these words: ‘ We do declare, That it is *FAR* from our Purpose or Desire, to let loose the *Golden Reins* of *Discipline* and *Government* in the *Church*, to leave *Private Persons*, or *Particular Congregations*, to take up what *Form* of *Divine Service* they please: For we hold it *Requisite*, that there should be, throughout the whole *REALM*, a *CONFORMITY* to that *Order* which the *Laws* Enjoin according to the *Word* of *GOD* †. This *Declaration* for *Conformity* was made, when they had sat about *Thirteen Months*; by which we may easily guess, what *Spirit* possessed *Mr Agate* when he tells the *World*, *That before the Long Parliament* was a *Year* old, the *Body* of the *House* was possessed with the *Spirit* of *Presbytery* [Pl. Tr. p. 164.]

I shall conclude my *Evidence* on this *Head* with a *Testimony*, to which I hope my *Antagonist* will pay a *Deference*; 'tis of no less a *Person* than *King CHARLES* himself, who in 1644, vouchsafed to write a *Letter* with His own *Hand* to the *Earl of Essex*, in which he told him, ‘ How much it was in his Power to restore that *Peace* to the *Kingdom*, which he had professed always to *Desire*; and upon such *Conditions* as did fully comply with all those *Ends* for which the *Parliament* had first taken up *Arms*: For His *Majesty* was still ready to *Satisfy* all those *Ends* †. Hence I infer, that the *End* for which they took up *Arms*, was NOT to *Destroy* the *BISHOPS* or the *COMMON-PRAYER*; for this is what His *Majesty* would never have complied with.

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* *Whitlock's Memorials*, p. 45 † *Rushworth's Collect.*
p. 33, p. 450 † *Clarendon's Hist. V. 2. p. 399*

'TIS time now to see what my *Antagonist* offers to prove his own Assertion, *That 'twas the Parties Hatred of Episcopacy and Liturgy, that lay the Foundation of our Civil Wars.* To this purpose he quotes the *Ld. Clarendon* [*Pl. Tr. p. 163*], as if he assured us, *That all the Leading Men of the Long-Parliament appeared to be Puritanical.* What that *Historian* affirms in the Page to which we are directed, is, in Truth, no more than this : Giving us the Characters of Two Noblemen, he says, *One was the Oracle, and t'other the Patron of the Puritans* *. But in the whole Page there is no such Thing asserted, as that *all the Leading Men were Puritanical* : This is a *Fiction* of *Mr Agate's*, and the Effect of an *Inveterate Bad Custom*. But supposing they had been stiled *Puritans*, it by no means follows that they were *Enemies to Bishops* : For we are told by a *Learned Doctor* of the *Church*, 'That though the Word formerly was taken to denote such as Dissented from the *Hierarchy*, yet it was now (in *K. Charles's Reign*) extended to brand such as were *Anti-Arminians* in their Judgments †. The Truth on't is, all such as *disliked* the *Innovations* that were introducing, that were not *Friends* to *bowing at the Altar*, and the like, were by the *Laudensian Faction* stigmatized with the *ODIOUS* Name of *Puritans*.

I can't find in the Pages referred to by *Mr Agate*, that the *Ld. Clarendon* calls the *Parliament* a *Raging Fanatical House* ; though, if he did, these words may be applied to *Church-men*, when they act *Madly*, and do *Extravagant* and *Odd Things*, as well as to other People. 'Tis true, he affirms, 'They made *unwarrantable Breaches* on the *Church* ; but this refers only to a *Committee*, and not the *whole Hou'e* ‡. And the *Breaches* they are said to make, were only the *removing* of the *Communion-Table* to the same Place it had stood in but a few Years before ; and sure the *Essence* and *Safety* of the *Church* did not consist in such a *Circumstance*.

ALL that can, with any colour of Reason, be objected to what I have said, is, 'That this *very Parliament* did actually *abolish* [*p. 162.*] both the *Liturgy* and *Episcopacy*, in pursuance of the *Solemn League and Covenant* which they had taken. But to set that Affair in a clear Light, we must understand, that in the *Second Year* of the *War*, the *King's Party* grew formidable beyond Expectation, and were *Victorious* in
several

* *Clarendon's Hist. V. 1. p. 145* † *Fuller's Church Hist. L. 10, p. 100* ‡ *Clarendon's Hist. V. 1. p. 234*

several *Rencounters*. 'Twas in this *Distraction* of their *Affairs*, 'when Sir *William Waller* was defeated, and the *E.* of *Essex's* Army unserviceable, that they sent down some Gentlemen into *Scotland*, to implore the Aid of their Friends the *North-Britains* *. At the sending of this *Embassy*, they are said, 'to be in the greatest Dejection of Spirit, looking upon themselves as near swallowed up by the *King's* Power †. The *English Commissioners* are told by those of *Scotland*, 'That it would be impossible to engage their Nation in a Joint Concurrence with them, unless 'twere made evident, that the *Government* of the *Church* in *England* should be reduced to the same Model with theirs in *Scotland*; and that *Episcopacy* should be Totally Extirpated: Without which (they said) they could never think their own *Government* Securely Established; But if such a Promise were solemnly made, their whole Nation to a Man would enter into the Quarrel ‡. The *Ld. Clarendon* (in the *Judicious Remarks* he makes upon this *Treaty*) observes, That many of the greatest Men, both in the *Parliament* and *Army*, had no mind to to Alter the *Government* of the *Church*: But these were the ONLY Terms on which Assistance could be obtained. And that Noble Author tells us, 'That these Proposals were sent up to the Committee at *Westminster*, in the Time of their Consternation, before the Relief of *Glocester* ||, who immediately complied with them.

BY what has been said 'tis evident, that the Introducing the *Solemn League and Covenant*, was, in relation to the *English Parliament*, a Matter of Necessity rather than Choice: They Sacrificed *Episcopacy* and *Liturgy* to their own Safety: They had rather see the *Prelates* Honour in the Dust, than their own Heads upon a Block; and thought the *Bishops* might better lose their *Mitres*, than they their *Estates*. This no more argues that they in their own Judgments Hated *Episcopacy*, than that a Merchant hates a Valuable Cargo, when he throws it over-board in a *Tempest* to save his own Life.

'TIS none of my Business to Vindicate the *Scots* in obtruding their own Model upon their Neighbours, for I can't persuade my self, that either *Episcopacy* or *Presbytery* are so absolutely Necessary to the BEING of a *Church*, as that the Introducing of either of those Forms can justify a *Civil War*.

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* *Clarend. Hist.* v. 2, p. 283 † *Ib.* p. 291 ‡ *Ib.* pag. 294 || *Ib.* p. 295

WERE there need of any to corroborate the Testimony of this *Incomparable Historian*, (as Mr Agate owns him) I could easily produce a Cloud of Witnesses. Dr Heylin tells us 'That the Scots, well knowing in what Necessity their Dear Brethren of England stood of their Assistance, they were resolved to make Hay while the Sun shined, and Hubband that Necessity to their best Advantage: The English must first enter into Covenant with them, for Conforming This Church with That *. There is little Reason (says a Gentleman, who was far from being a Dissenter) to charge the GUILT of the Unexpiable Murder of our late Excellent King upon PRESBYTERY, which was not thought of here in England till the War began. The Parliament prayed Aid of the Scotch Nation; who refused them any Assistance, except they would enter into that Covenant which they had passed upon their own Nation †.

MY Antagonist falls very foul upon me [p. 166.], as affirming that the Generality of the Church-men did adhere to the Parliament: But this was not exactly my Expression, nor was the word Generally intended by me to refer to Church-men. However, I am verily perswaded that the Thing is true, so far as it relates to the First Scuffle about the Militia. I have already proved, from my *Ld. Clarendon*, that the Nation was little inclined to the Puritans, and had a mighty Veneration for the Common-prayer; to which I may add, 'That very many, both of the Clergy and Laity, who had suffered under the Imputation of Puritanism, did apply themselves with great Resolution and Constancy to the King's Service ‡. When the Quarrel about the Train'd Bands began, Rushworth gives us an Account of many Counties in which the Ordinance of Parliament was submitted to, whilst the King's Commissioners of Array could make but little of it §. As Whitlock was One of the First that appeared in Arms, so was he very well received by the Citizens of Oxford; Nay, the Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Professors, paid a Visit to the Lord Say, protesting, 'Their Duty to the Parliament; and engaged themselves not to do any Thing against 'em; and that their Plate should not be made use of by the King against the Parliament *]. I hope Mr Agate will not cast such an Aspersi-

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* *Life of A-bp. Laud*, p. 509 † *Pref. to Hunts P. Manuscript*.

‡ *Clarendons Hist.* v. 2. p. 42. || *Rushworths Coll.* pt. 3. v. 1. p. 669, &c.

*] *Whitlocks Memorials*, p. 60

on upon the *University*, as to *Condemn* the *Gentlemen* for *Hypocrites* and *Cowards* in speaking contrary to the *Apprehensions* they then had. When the *King* set up his *Standard* at *Nottingham*, the *Appearance* was so *inconsiderable*, that if the *Parliament Army* had advanced directly towards him, we are told, 'That His Majesty's few Forces must immediately have been scattered, and himself fled, or put himself into their Hands *'. The truth of it is, the *Parliament* fancied, that an *Army* could not have been drawn together to fight against their own *Representatives*; and that the *King*, being Abandoned, would have been forced to Return to *Whitehall*, and Comply with their *Demands*. This made them too *secure*, and *averse* to an *Accommodation*, whilst, on the other hand, their *Stiffness* encreased the Number of the *Cavaliers*. In one Word; Seeing, at the Time we are speaking of, there were very few *Dissenters* in the *Kingdom*, How came the *Parliament* to be possessed of the greatest *Towns* and *Cities*? How came whole *Counties* to submit to their *Ordinances* about the *Militia*? All which had not been possible, had there not been *multitudes* of *Church-men* concurring with them.

BY what has been produced out of our most *Eminent Historians*, I presume I have made it evident, that the *Long Parliament* was made up of *CONFORMISTS*; That there was at that time, an *universal Murmur* and *Discontent*, throughout the *Nation*; That the *Members* of that *Senate* came together, with Minds *exasperated* by those *illegal Prosecutions*, which divers of them had endured, and full of *passionate Resentments* against the *Court*. I will not deny, but according to the Custom of *Angry People*, they might do many things which were too *provoking* to His Majesty; and so by mutual *Jealousies* and *Unkindnesses*, as by so many *insensible Steps*, they became at last *involved* in a *destructive BLOODY WAR*, which I am confident was at first intended by *neither Party*.

TO conclude this Head; as I pretend not to be an *Advocate* for either side, when I believe there were *Faults* on both, all that I affirm in this, Suppose this *War* on the *Parliament* side to be *REBELLION*, and this *Rebellion* to be as *BLACK* and *ODIOUS* as *Fancy* is able to imagine, or a *skilful Pencil* to describe; yet sure it ought not to be objected to the *Dissenters*,

* *Clarendons Hist: v. 2. p. 5*

ers, when the **FIRST** Authors and **PRIME** Managers thereof were *Church Men*. And if this will not *Justifie* such *Presbyterians*, yet it must *stop* the *Mouths* of their *Adversaries* if they have any *Modesty* left 'em. I must be extremely *Impudent* to quarrel with another, for what I my self have been guilty of. And so much for the **ORIGINAL** of the **Late WAR.**

3. I am next to consider, Whether the *Presbyterians* **KILLED** the *King*. This is the *Common Place* which furnishes my *Antagonist* with the most *Virulent Invectives* on all Occasions; this is *Sauce* to his *Common Conversation*; the *Principal Ingredient* of his *Pulpit Oratory*, and an inexhaustible *Fountain* of *Railery* and *Ill-Language*. When I reflect upon those **RAVING FITS** which do so frequently possess Him, I am tempted to suspect, that he has been *scared* by *Dreams*, *terrified* by *Visions*, or *frighted* by the *Ghosts* of some of the poor *Defeated Cavaliers*; that this made such an *Impression* on his *Fancy*, that he can *Think* or *Talk* of little else; and that *Hellebore* and a *Dark Room* are fitter for Him than a *Confutation*.

I need not produce many *Authors*, when we have such a *Compurgator* as the *Lord Clarendon*: He affirms, ' That the *Presbyterian Scots* had never any Purpose to *Renounce Subjection* to *Monarchy*, or to withdraw it from their present *King* *. 'Tis true, they thought the *Crown* might do well enough without the *Mitre*, and were perhaps a *little too severe* against the *Bishops*; but were far enough from *Republican Principles*. Whilst His Majesty was a Prisoner, an Army of *Scots* came into *England*, in his Favour, under Duke *Hamilton*; and we are told, ' That the most Considerable Persons, who in Contest with the other *Faction* were content to be thought *Presbyterians*, were so only as they thought it might *Restore the King* †. An Argument that the *Presbyterians* were looked upon as **WILLING** to *Restore the King* to his *Liberty* and *Royal Dignity*. Whilst this *Expedition* was preparing in *Scotland*, ' Both the *Presbyterians*, who were their *Chief Correspondents*, and the *Royal-Party*, bethought themselves how they might be ready ‡. And is there any *Conscience* in laying that *Prince's BLOOD* at their Door, when they were ready to **UNITE** with their avowed *Enemies* the *Cavaliers*,

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* *Clarendons Hist.* v. 3. p. 86
v. 3. p. 95

† *Ibid.* p. 78

‡ *Ibid.*

valiers, in order to prevent the spilling of it? This Noble Author tells us, ' That about this time there was a passionate desire, throughout the Nation, that all their *Follies* and *Madness* might be forgotten, in restoring the King all they had taken from Him, and repair the Building they had thrown down; that many Officers and Soldiers, who had serv'd under *Essex*, had the same Disposition; and that the *Presbyterian Ministers* talked very loud against the then prevailing Faction *. And does not all this sufficiently declare, their HIGH dislike of the Design that was then carrying on? When the High Court of Justice was erected, ' They preached furiously against all wicked Attempts and Violence against the Person of the King, urging the Obligation of their Covenant for the security of his Person †. All which demonstrates their Detestation of that most Execrable Parricide which was afterwards Committed.

If we consult the Management of *Cromwel* and his Faction, we are told, ' That he discountenanced and suppressed the *Presbyterians* in all places ‡. That he admitted few or no Chaplains in the Army, but such as bitterly Inveighed against the *Presbyterian Government* §. This was his Conduct; and no Reason can be assigned of this his Animosity against them, but their Aversness to Concur with him in his Grand Design, of Changing the Ancient Monarchy into a new fangled Common-Wealth.

The Lord-Chancellor *Hyde* is not the only Person that has Absolved US from the pretended Guilt of *Reicide*; the Author of King *CHARLES's* Life, prefixed to his Works, chimes in exactly with him: ' The *Presbyterian Ministers*, (says he) almost all those of London, and very many out of the several Counties, and some (though few) also of the *Independents*, did, in their Sermons and Conferences, as also by monitory Letters, Petitions, Protestations and Remonstrances, publicly divulged, adjure the *Affassinates* not to draw so Great a GUILT upon Themselves and the whole Nation by that MURDER *].

TO these I shall subjoyn the Testimony of the present Bishop of *Sarum*, who, in a Sermon preached before the Court of Aldermen, Jan. 30th 1680, affirms, ' That this was but the Crime of a few Hot-headed Enthusiasts, or Ambitious Soldiers: ' diers:

* *Clarendons Hist.* v. 3. p. 93 † *Ibid.* p. 193 ‡ *Ib.* p. 292 § *Ib.* p. 32 *] *Life of K. Ch. I.* p. 52

‘ *diers* : That many of the most Considerable *Dissenters*, did
 ‘ even *then*, when it was not so *Safe* to do it as *now*, openly
 ‘ declare against it, both in their *Sermons* and *Writings*. This
 ‘ is what in Justice cannot be *denied* them.

AMONGST those who appeared as *Champions* for the
New Republick, there were few more *Eminent* for their *Parts*
 and *Learning* than Mr *John Goodwin*, who published a *De-*
fence of the Sentence passed upon the late King ; In which he
 ‘ exclaims against the *London Presbyters*, for their most *shame-*
 ‘ less and *seditionous Vociferations* and *Out-cries* against the *Par-*
 ‘ liament, as having no *Authority*, or *Right of Power*, to pro-
 ‘ ceed as they did against the *King* †]. These were (*says he*)
 ‘ the *Ghostly Fathers* of *all*, or the *greatest part*, of those
 ‘ *Anti-parliamentary Barabbasses* who so lately commenced
 ‘ *Masters of Mis-Rule* in *Surrey, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Wales,*
 ‘ &c. †]. Which last Words refer to the *Insurrections* raised
 in those Counties, in Order to Rescue the *King* from his *Cap-*
tivity, and Reinstat him in his former *Grandeur*. Thus the
Presbyterians are Acquitted of the *King's Murder* by the *Roy-*
alists on the one Hand, and the *Common-Wealth Men* on the
 other.

AND there is a very *great Reason* for it, when the *Mini-*
sters of that *Perswasion*, in and about *London*, did print a *Vin-*
dication of themselves, in which they *protested* against the *In-*
tended Trial of the *King* ; exhorting all their People, ‘ to main-
 ‘ tain the *Fundamental Constitution* and *Government* of the
 ‘ *Kingdom*, and to pray, That *GOD* would restrain the *Vi-*
 ‘ lence of Men, that they may not dare to draw upon them-
 ‘ selves and the *Kingdom* the *Blood* of their *Sovereign*. And
 to this near 60 of them subscribed their *Names*. This *Vindi-*
cation is printed at large in a *Pamphlet*, called, *The Rights of*
Protestant Dissenters ; to which I refer the Reader. This
 Mr *Agate* cannot deny ; but to let us see that he hath *shaken*
Hands with *Conscience* and *Honour*, he tells us [*p. 171.*], that
 the *Ministers*, in this *Vindication*, charge the *King* with being
 the great Cause of *all* the *Bloodshed* in the Nation. That they
 accuse him for endeavouring to subvert the *Protestant Religi-*
on ; and tell the *World*, That the *Martyr's Wickedness* was
 the *Foundation* of his *Misfortunes*. But all this is a *Fiction*
 of his own *Brain* ; a *scandalous* and *vile Misrepresentation*.
 They do indeed, ‘ Invite their *Plots* to *mourn* bitterly for
 ‘ their

 †] Goodwins Defence, &c. p. 12

†] Ib. p. 2

‘ their own Sins, the Sins of the City, Army, Parliaments
 ‘ and the Miscarriages of the King himself in his Government,
 ‘ that have cost the Three Kingdoms so Dear, and cast him
 ‘ down from his Excellency. But I can, with all Solemnity,
 assure the Reader, (who is desired by me to Consult the said
Pamphlet, and believe his own Eyes) That there is not One
 such Expression as accuses the King of Bloodshed, or the Sub-
 version of the Protestant Religion. And it strikes me with
 Horror and indignation, to think that One who calls himself
 a Minister of Christ, should Stain the Honour of his Functi-
 on by such a BASE Imposture.

BUT my Antagonist will needs have it, That the Presby-
 terians Killed the King, let all the World say what they please;
 This is the Post he is resolved to maintain, though confronted
 by the most Authentick Records of the Kingdom: Let us there-
 fore attend his Motions, and see how he makes good his
 Charge.

THE first Thing he urges is [p. 167.] That they fought a-
 gainst the Royal Army, when His Majesty was present in
 Person. And the Bullets had no Commission to distinguish
 Royal from Plebeian Blood. Allowing this to be true as to
 Matter of Fact, We are still as Loyal as the Church-men; for
 (as I have proved) the Earl of Essex and his General Officers
 were for Bishops and Common-prayer, and yet these Gentle-
 men did actually fight against the King at Edge-Hill and New-
 berry. And pray who were those that fought against King
 JAMES at the Boyne? And would have done the same in Eng-
 land, had that Prince had enough of his Dear Joys to look
 them in the Face. So that if Fighting the King's Forces be Kil-
 ling the King, we stand upon a Level with those who cause-
 lessly Insult Us: Or it there be any Difference, 'tis, that the
 Church-men have Killed TWO Kings for the Dissenters ONE.

BUT 'tis further urged by Mr Agate [p. 167.], That Case,
 Love, Strickland, and others, did encourage the King's Mur-
 der, and recommend it publickly in their Pulpits, and in
 Print, as a Lawful Action. But this is a most Egregious Ca-
 lumny, and downright Falshood; so far from being True,
 That some of those very Men did publickly Protest against
 that Execrable Fact. I desired Mr. Agate in a Letter writ-
 ten to him many Weeks since, to make good his Charge against
 these Men, and to direct me where I might find that Bloody
 Harangue which he has Fathered upon them; letting him
 know

know, that otherwise I must proclaim it to all the World an Imposture of his own ; but to this Day he has not thought fit to oblige me so far. Perhaps *Hugh Peters* might talk after this *Wild Rate*, but 'tis barbarous Injustice to Father these Expressions upon such as did detest 'em. I have consulted some of the *Long Parliament Preachers*, and find them speaking in a quite different Language from what is pretended by their *petulant Accuser*. Mr. *Case* Preach'd a Sermon before the *House of Commons*, February 19. 1645, to whom he Addressed himself in these following Words : ' Let this be your Wisdom and Honour, God hath given you the *Strong Holds*, give them back to God, by placing *Faithful Ministers* in these *Eminent Places*, that may undeceive the poor *misted People*, and season them with Principles of RELIGION and LOYALTY *. This Gentleman was so far from being an Enemy to Monarchy, That he lost his Benefice for refusing the Engagement, to be true to the *Common-Wealth* without King and House of Lords. He was Imprisoned in the Tower for plotting against the *Rump* ; and was one of those deputed to wait upon the King at the *Hague*, to Congratulate his Restoration †. Notwithstanding all which, Mr *Agate* has the Forehead to tell the World, That this very Man did publickly recommend the Kings Murder, as a *Lawful Action* : Whereby he prophanes the Ashes of the Dead, and betrays a barbarous Disingenuity, which a Generous Pagan would be ashamed of, and none but a *High Flyer* can Reflect upon without Blushing.

AS for Mr *Love*, he was so far from preaching up the Lawfulness of putting the King to Death, that about a Year before the Fact was committed, he published a Book, Intituled, *Works of Darknes brought to Light*, on purpose to warn the Nation of that Wicked Design which the Army was then carrying on against Him. ' The *Sectaries* (says he) publish to the World in print, That the King for Misgovernment must lose his Life. What Desperate Speeches have some Independent Members uttered against the King † ? And so goes on, bitterly exclaiming against the Army, for entertaining Principles directly against Monarchy. Notwithstanding all which, my Antagonist has so little Regard to Truth and Honour, as to make this Man a Regicide.

HE

* *Cases Ser. p. 31* † *Calamys Life of Baxter, p. 191.*
 † *Vindicat. of Lord Ministres against Price, p. 24*

HE has published the same *Calumny* concerning Mr. *Marshall*, who preached a *Funeral Sermon* for the Famous Mr. *Pym*, and had both *Lords* and *Commons* for his *Auditory*: Amongst other high *Encomiums* which he bestows on that *Gentleman*, he mentions this as a part of his *shining Character*, 'That
' when he lay Languishing upon his Death-Bed, many of his
' Friends, who endeavoured to be near him, have overheard
' him importunately pray for the King's Majesty and His *Posterity* *. And is it likely, That he should persuade the *Parliament* to Cut of His Head, when he commends one of their most Eminent Members for breathing out his Soul in pious *Intercessions* for him.

FOR my part, I have cast an Eye upon some of the *Long-Parliament Sermons*, but can find no such sanguinary *Expressions* as are charged on them, nor any *Violence* suggested against the King's Person. 'As for the Crown, let *Mercy*
' and *Truth* be the Supporters of it for ever, says Mr. *Vines*, an Eminent *Presbyterian*, in his *Sermon* to the *Two Houses*, in July 1644. 'For my Loyal Affections to His Majesty,
' (says Mr. *Ley*) I had rather my Body should be the Sheath
' of a Two-edged Sword, than consent to lay any Hand upon
' Him, but as the Angels did upon *Lot*, for his Deliverance
' from Danger †. Might we but see our Sovereign Lord the
' King brought in Peace again to His own House, and to His
' Two Houses of Parliament, &c. (says Mr. *Newcomen*) I
' perswade my self, every *Honest Heart*, that is Loyal to
' GOD to the King, to the *Publick Weal*, would willingly
' speak it, and seal it ‖.

THUS have I given the Reader a Taste of the *Long-Parliament Sermons*, that he may guess whether the *Preachers* were acted by such a *Spirit of Bitterness* and *Rage* as is pretended. I have also directed him where to find the *Quotations* I have cited, which my *Opponent* durst not do, lest his *FORGERIES* should be detected.

Mr. *Agate*, to Blacken the *Presbyterians*, cites a Passage from *Milton* [p. 170.] accusing them of representing Him as worse than *Ahab* or *Nero*. But here is no Person named by *Milton*; and a *General* Accusation signifies nothing; besides, Mr. *Agate* gives him the Character of a *Vile Miscreant*
[p.

* *Marshals Ser.* Dec. 15. 1643 † *Ep. Dedicat. to a Ser.* before the *Commons*, April 26. 1643 ‡ *Ser. before the Commons* Nov. 5. 1643, p. 46.

[p. 205.] If so, I am sure he deserves no Credit ; and my Opponent has gained no Honour by producing an Evidence, which his own Pen has so stigmatized.

BUT Col. Axtel, a Regicide, acknowledged, That the Sermons of the Presbyterian Divines, made him conclude himself Damned if he had not acted his part in that Tragical Scene [p. 170]. But all that can be inferred from Dr South, is, that these Sermons made Axtel think him self obliged to engage in the War ; which is quite another Thing from cutting off the King's Head.

'TIS urged by the Sons of Thunder, That the Dissenters discover their Approbation of the King's Murder, by celebrating their Annual Calves-Head Feasts on the 30th of Jan. in which the Royal Martyr is represented as a Beast, a Fool, and a Tyrant ; and the Execution of that Prince is applauded as a most Glorious Heroick Action. Thus runs the Tale ; and if a proof be demanded of it, we have Mr Agate's word for it, that the Matter of Fact is undoubtedly true, the secret History of the Calves-Head Club is lately published [p. 170]. Thus have I heard an Old Woman gravely argue, That such or such a Thing must needs be true, For 'tis in Print, (quoth she) and I have read it in a Ballad. But, to make a few Remarks upon this Worshipful History, the first Thing that renders it very Suspicious, is, that the Author has not Forehead enough to prefix his own Name to it : 'Tis such a deformed and ugly Brat, that none will Father it. 'Tis true, in Controversy and Disputable Points, we ought to regard the Argument more than the Author. But when Matters of Fact are advanced, and Secret Histories detected, we ought to be satisfied that the Discoverer is a Man of an Established Reputation, and Approved Fidelity : But as for the Calves-Head Historian, we are wholly Ignorant what Character he bears, and by Consequence what Credit he deserves. 'Tis very likely, he may be one of these Grub-street Pamphletiers, who are every other Day amusing the World with one Lying Wonder or another, on purpose to employ the Hawkers, and turn a Penny.

HOWEVER, if the Author conceals his own Name, does he produce any Vouchers ? No ; all the Satisfaction which he gives us is this, He happened to be in Company of a certain active Whig, who told him, He knew some of the Club, and had been Invited, but never was present. In the next page he tells us, That sometime after another Gentleman, who had

gone out of Curiosity to see their Clubs, furnished him with that Relation which Mr Agate has transcribed. If it be demanded, Who was this *active Whig*, or this *other Gentleman*? This is a *Secret* the World is not thought fit to be entrusted with. So that this *Story* has no Foundation to support it, but the *uncertain Hear-say* of--- we know not whom. If Enquiry be made concerning the *Guests*, this *Unknown Gentleman* tells us, That the Company consisted wholly of *Independents* and *Anabaptists*; and that he was glad, for the *Honour* of the *Presbyterians*, to set down this Remark. Now, either this *Calves-Head History* is *true or false*; if *false*, no Consequences can be drawn from it; if it be *true*, there is not one *Presbyterian* belonging to the *Club*. And had Mr Agate one Spark of *Honour* or *Generosity* in his Bosom, he would never have accused the *Dissenters* in General of this Crime, when his own *Author* has, in such *express* words, **ACQUITTED** the most *considerable* Party amongst them. If there should be Ten or a Dozen *Extravagant Fellows* amongst the *Anabaptists* or *Independents*, I would fain learn a Reason, why that *Body of People* must be more Responsible for such an *Execrable Club*, than the *Established Church* for those Cabals of *Pick-pockets*, *Bawds*, and *Money-clippers*, who have professed themselves the *Members* of it.

BUT there have been *Atheistical Anthems* composed, and these, without all Dispute, must have an *Author*, and this (as Mr Agate's Undoubted *History* informs us) was one Mr *Benj. Bridgwater*, a Fellow that had his Education in *Trinity-Colledge* in *Cambridge**, and improved his *Rhyming Faculty* in that Noble Seat of the *Muses*. By this Instance, let the *Reader* judge of the *Conscience* of my *Opponent*, in making me Accountable for the *Lewd Poems* of one of his own University **RAKES**.

BUT we are told, That the Composers of these Rhimes are the *Darlings* of the Party, and have Money given them [page 182.]; for which Mr *Westly* is quoted. When, in truth, all that he says is, That these *Fellows* are *caressed*; and this he does not pretend to speak upon his own *knowledge*, nor does he produce any *Vouchers* for it: So that it may very well pass for a *Vision* of his own *Brain*.

HOWEVER, on Jan. 30th 1704, at two Meetings in London They sung these Verses of the 118th Psalm, This is the

* *Palmer's Vindic.* p. 40 *Westlys Reply*, p. 66

the Joyful Day Indeed, &c. As to Matter of Fact 'tis absolutely *false*, that these Lines were sung which Mr *Agate* has presented to the World; the Version of *Sternhold* and *Hopkins* being never made use of at these Meetings; nor have other Versions so harsh a Sound. What was really done was owing to the *Inadvertency* of the *Clerk*, as he himself acknowledges in the following words:

WHEREAS I, as Clerk to the Merchants-Lecture at Pinner's-Hall, did on the 30th of January 1704 sing some part of the 118th Psalm, these are to certify, That it was done without the Instigation or Knowledge of any Person whatsoever; And that I did not in the least, in my own Thoughts, accommodate it to the Beheading of King CHARLES in ---48, but took it meerly as it fell before my Choice, as any other Psalm of David might, without the least Reference to that Matter. Witness my Hand, which also, were there Occasion, I am ready to depose on Oath.

Tho. Burrow.

'TIS urged, That once upon a time a *Calves-Head* was carried through St. Peter's Church-Yard. Yes, and the Gentleman, by whose Order this was pretended to be done, was at that very time in St. Peter's Church, nor did he know any thing of it, or tast one Bit of it. His Mother, who lay at that time in a Languishing Condition, of which she shortly Died, ordered her Servant to buy a Joynt of Veal to make a little Broth, who bought a *Calves-Head*, and carried it through the Church-Yard, that being the only way of conveying it; but neither Mistress nor Servant knew any thing of this *miserious* Club.

AFTER the Tale of the *Calves-Head*, our Author goes on to Catechise me; I am asked, *Whether when we fasted on the 30th of January, 'twas because we had been guilty of Rebellion, Sacrilege, &c.* To deal Ingenuously with him, I know no Person in the Congregation guilty of these particular Crimes; and therefore, this could not be the *direct* Occasion of our Meeting. We begged Pardon of Almighty GOD for our own Sins, and for the Sins of the Nation: But as our Prayers are not printed, so I can't pretend to give him Satisfaction two Years afterwards, as to the particular Expressions we then made use of. In the three next pages, he pursues his

Old Trade of *Scandal* and *Defamation*: He charges me with approving those Principles which brought the Martyr to the Block: Affirms, That I do belong to the same set of Men by succession, that do Yearly celebrate the Memories of the Regicides; and that I do maintain their murdering Principles. All which are *Calumnies* as BLACK as HELL, and as contrary to Truth as *Belzebub* himself is. I desire this Gentleman to inform me, What makes me guilty of Crimes committed before I was Born, which I do neither imitate, nor approve of? K. EDWARD the Second was Murdered by the Contrivance of the Bishop of Hereford*; but I never heard that his Successors think themselves Responsible for his Villany. And I know not why the Contagion should descend farther amongst other people.

4. HAVING proved (I hope to the Reader's Satisfaction) that the *Presbyterians* are NOT Chargeable with the King's Murder, the next thing I am to prove is, That they did contribute their good Offices to the Restoration of the Royal Family: For the Truth of which, we need no clearer Evidence than that of the Ld. Clarendon. When Cromwel was Dead, and his Son Richard Degraded by a wild *Enthusiastick Army*, there were several Designs set on foot in favour of King CHARLES II, at that time an Exile. That which was best digested, and most like to succeed, was 'the Surprisal of Lyn, ' a Maritime Town, and of great Importance. This was undertaken by the Ld. Willoughby of Parham, who was (says ' that Noble Author) in great Credit with the *Presbyterians* †. At the same time, Major-General Massey undertook to secure Gloucester. ' And Sir George Booth, a Person of one of the ' best Fortunes and Interest in Cheshire, and of Absolute Power with the *Presbyterians*, promised to possess himself of the ' City and Castle of Chester. With him joyned Sir Tho. Middleton, and were both ready to Unite Entirely with the ' King's Friends in those Counties ‡. 'Tis true, these Designs did not succeed, and Booth's Army was defeated by Lambert; but the *Presbyterians* shewed their good Will, and many of ' em lost their Lives in the Attempt. The Ld. Fairfax is represented as ' a perfect *Presbyterian* in Judgment, and that ' Cromwel had the Ascendant over him purely by his Disimulation

* Hist. of Engl. v. 1. p. 212

† Claren. Hist. v. 3. pag.

‡ Ibid. p. 522

‘ lation and pretence of Conscience *. And when *Monk* began to stir in *Scotland*, this *Nobleman* marched into *Tork*, attended with the principal Gentlemen of that large County, with a full Resolution to declare for the *King* †. When General *Monk* came up to *London*, he was present at *Northumberland-House* in a Conference with that Earl, and other Eminent Persons, who were looked upon as the Heads and Governors of the MODERATE *Presbyterian* Party, who most of them would have been contented, their own Security being provided for, that the *King* should be Restored to his full Rights, and the *Church* to its Possessions. In this Conference the *King*’s Restoration was proposed in direct Terms, as absolutely Necessary to the Peace of the Kingdom ‡. In this Design these *Gentlemen* had the Hearty Concurrence of the *Ministers*, who, in their Sermons, discoursed of the several Obligations in the *Covenant*, That, without exposing themselves to the Danger of Naming the *King*, which they did not long forbear, every Body understood, they thought it necessary the people should return to their *Allegiance* §.

IF we cross the Seas, and see what was doing in *Ireland*, we are told, ‘ That the *Ld. Broghil* and *Sir Charles Coot*, notwithstanding the Jealousy that was between them, joyned with such other persons who were *Presbyterians*, who all concurred in seizing upon the persons who had been put in by *Lambert*, or the *Rump Parliament*, and submitted to the Orders of General *Monk*, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to Serve the *King* *. Thus far the Lord Chancellour, a *Royalist*.

IF we consult *Whitlock*, who was of the *Republican Faction*, he will inform us, ‘ That the City of *London* was generally inclined to the bringing in of the *King*; and that the *Presbyterians* there, and in the Countries, joyned with the *Cavaliers* herein †]. And upon *Monk*’s Re-admission of the Secluded Members, he makes this Observation, ‘ That the Spirit of the People generally, Especially the *Presbyterians*, ran that way; and the *Cavaliers* agreed to it, as the Way to bring in the *King* ‡].

’TIS known to every one who reads our *English Histories*, how General *Monk* was Assisted by the *Presbyterian Scots*, in

* *Clarend. Hist.* v. 3. p. 35 † *Ibid.* p. 554 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 572 § *Ibid.* p. 573 *] *Ibid.* p. 589 †] *Whitlock’s Memorials*, p. 697 ‡] *Ibid.* p. 698

his Expedition against *Lambert*. When he came to *London* the Eyes of all Men were fixed on him, to see what Course he would steer to compose the *Distractions* of the Kingdom. The Friends to Monarchy we may be sure were not wanting to make their *Addresses* to him. Mr *Thomas Bampfield* (who Died not long since, a Noted and Strict *Dissenter* in this City) was sent up by the *Gentlemen* of the *West* *. 'Twas by the Perswasion of Dr *Jacomb*, and other *Presbyterian* Ministers, that the LORD-MAYOR of LONDON Invited Monk into the City, to joyn with them against the *Rump* †. And this was indeed that *Very Act* which turned the Scales, and determined all things in favour of the Long-Exiled MONARCH. In one Word, Either General Monk was a *Presbyterian*, or a *Church-man*; if the former, then the *Glory* of the *Restoration* belongs to Men of that Character; if he were of the latter Denomination, then we have an Instance of another Great *Church-man*, who, according to Mr *Agate's* Logick, was a *Regicide* and a *Rebel*: For this very Man went down into *Scotland* a Lieutenant-General under *Oliver Cromwel*, in Order to fight against an Army commanded by King CHARLES II, in his own person, and was very Instrumental in Crushing the *Royal Interest* in that Kingdom.

LET us once more hear what the Bishop of *Sarum* says on this Head, in his *Sermon Jan. 30th 1680*. Having affirmed, that many of the most Considerable *Dissenters* did openly declare against the *King's Murder*, he adds, 'And many of them were no less Active and Industrious, and were indeed highly Instrumental in bringing home His Majesty that now Reigns. At the *Restoration* (says a Noble Peer, famous for his frequent Speeches) the *Presbyterians* were as Zealous for that as any Men whatever ‡.

IF that great Ornament both to the *Law* and *Gospel*, the Lord Chief-Justice *Hale*, may be allowed to give Sentence in the Case, he will tell us, 'That many of the *Non-Cons* had merited highly in the Business of the *King's Restoration*, and at least deserved that the Terms of *Conformity* should not be made stricter than they were before the War §. Will Mr. *Agate* appeal from the Judgment of this Renowned Lawyer? I am willing to refer my self to the Determination of King CHARLES II, who in a *Declaration* published October 25. 1660,

* *Baxters Life*, p. 214 † *Ib.* p. 105 ‡ *Annals of Queen Anne*, v. 5. p. 446 § *Conform. 2d Plea for Noncon.* p. 65

1660, has this remarkable Expression: 'When we were in *Holland*, (says His Majesty) we were attended by many *Grave and Learned Ministers* from hence, who were look'd upon as the *most able and principal Assertors* of the *Presbyterian Opinions*; and, to our great Comfort and Joy, found them persons *Full of AFFECTION* to us, of *ZEAL* for the *Peace of Church and State*, and neither *Enemies* to *Episcopacy or Liturgy*, but *modestly* to Desire such *Alterations* in either, as, without shaking Foundations, might best allay the present Distempers *. Here we have the *King* himself declaring, that he found the *Presbyterians* Full of *Affection* to his person. And they who have left us the *Records* of that *Time*, who were best acquainted with the *Transactions* of it, and saw the most Secret Springs by which the greater Wheels were moved, do all unanimously agree, That the *Restoration* of the *Royal Family* was very much promoted by Men of that Denomination. Notwithstanding all which, we have an *Upstart Scribler*, who Out-stares the *brightest* and most *glaring Truths*, and is not ashamed to tell the World [p. 172], That *this is one of Mr Baxter's Stories, and most abominably false*. But what will not that Man dare to say, who has surrendred up himself to the *furious Transports* of his own *unruly Passions*, and *sacrificed his Conscience* to his *Revenge and Malice*?

BUT let us hear what Mr *Agate* offers in order to prove his *Negative*; *Why, if this be true, they acted against their avowed Principles*: But this is absolutely false, nor can *Anti-monarchical Principles* be imputed to Us without a *Barbarous Injustice*. Again, they broke through all *their Covenants and Engagements, and were the most perjured Wretches in the World* [p. 171]. Whether this must be imputed to his *Ignorance* or *Malice*, or a *Complication* of both, I cannot say. As for the *Covenant*, the preservation of the *King's person* was particularly promised in it. 'Tis true, when *Cromwells Army* had garbled the *Parliament*, and cut off the *King*, there was an *Engagement* obtruded upon the *Nation*, in which people promised to be *True and Faithful* to the *Common-Wealth* of *England, as it was established without a King and House of Lords*. But this was no *Presbyterian Contrivance*; Mr *Baxter* not only refused it himself, but *wrote and preached* against it †. And many of their *Ministers* lost their *Benefices* for their

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* *Hist. of England, v. 3. p. 225* † *Baxters penitent Confession, p. 25*

Non-compliance. On the other Hand, the *Cavaliers* generally swallowed it, in Order to compound more easily for their Estates; and no less a Man than Bp *Sanderson* did, at that time, endeavour to smooth this rugged Pill, by a mollifying Interpretation, that it might slide more glibly down their Throats. Nay, that Learned *Prelate* has left upon Record, That very many Men, known to be well-affected to the King and his Party, did subscribe this *Engagement**; and that many prudent and consciencious Men of the Royal Party, as well *Divines* and *Lawyers*, as others, had taken it†: And these, according to Mr *Agates* Logick, were the most perjured Wretches in the World. Thus when a Sword is put into a Mad-mans Hands, he wounds his own Friends with it.

BUT we are told, That Mr. Baxter, and the rest of his Perswasion, endeavoured to dissuade General Monk from his Intention to Restore the King; telling him, That if the King Returned [p. 172], the Power of Godliness would be lost in this Nation, and that the Body of the London Ministers were of the same Opinion. We have indeed this Story of Mr Baxter cooked up by Mr Long, who in this Instance made Brick without Straw, and obtruded a Tale upon the World without producing any Vouchers for it, or letting us know how the Secret came to be revealed to him. And whereas he mentions only Baxter, my Antagonist, to let us see how impossible it is for a LYE to slip through his Fingers, without some Additions of his own, hooks in those of his Perswasion, and the London Ministers, when his own Author takes no Notice of them.

AS for the Calumny trumpt up against Mr Baxter, it will appear Incredible to any one who considers how Odious he was to the Republican Faction, and how Graciously he was received by K. Charles at his Restoration. In 1659, one Henry Stubbe writ a Treatise in Defence of Sir Hen. Vane and the Good Old Cause, in which he accuses Mr Baxter of bespattering the Army: 'They (says he) who have avowed the Punishment of the late King to be condign, ought in Justice to demand Exemplary Satisfaction of Mr Rich. Baxter, who hath dealt with them more bitterly and undeservedly than all the Virulent Pamphlets put together, which have come out since these Wars ‡. This is sufficient to satisfy the World, that he was no Friend to those Ambitious Legends who had established

* *Sandersons Nine Cases*, &c. p. 94

† *Ibid.* p. 107

‡ *Stubbes Malice Rebuked*, p. 20

blished their own *Grandeur* upon the *Ruines* of the *English Monarchy*.

ON the 30th of *April* 1660, Mr *Baxter* preached before the *Healing Parliament*, in which he exhorted them to *Give unto CÆSAR the Things that were CÆSAR'S* *; and the very next Day the *King* was Voted Home. May 8th, the *King* was *Proclaimed* in *London*. May 10th, Mr *Baxter* preached the *Thanksgiving Sermon* before the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen †. When His Majesty was peaceably restored to the *Throne* of His *Ancestors*, Mr *Baxter* was Sworn *One of His Chaplains in Ordinary* ‡; and a *Bishoprick* was offered him. Had Mr *Baxter* been indeed an *Enemy* to the *Restoration*, and One that endeavoured to prevent it, Can any Man in his *Wis* believe that King *CHARLES* would have taken him into his *Family*, and made him his *Domestick Chaplain*? A Man must first abandon his *Reason*, and shake *Hands* with *Humanity* it self, before such a *senseless* *Imagination* can find any *Harbour* in his *Bosom*.

'TIS objected further, That after *Oliver's Death*, the *Presbyterian Divines* sent *Addresses* to *Richard Cromwel* [p. 172], and Mr *Baxter* *Dedicated a Book* to him as *Lord-Protector*. But will this prove that they were against the *Restoration* Two Years afterwards, when a *potent Faction* and an *imperious Army* had pulled him down and laid him in the *Dust*? If so, 'twill prove the same against *General Monk* and his *Officers*, who paid this *Young Protector* the same *Complements* that the rest of the *Nation* did ||. The truth on't is, though I cannot find that ever he was *Addressed* by *Presbyterian Divines* in a distinct *Body*, yet his *Authority* was *Recognized* by the *Armies* at *Land* and the *Navies* at *Sea*; by the *Ambassadors* of *Foreign States* and *Potentates*, and by almost all the *Counties* great *Towns* and *Cities* in the *Kingdom*; whilst the *King's* Affairs seemed to be absolutely *desperate*. Why then must *People* be so *severely* *Censured* for submitting to a *Government* which they had no power to shake off? Sure I am, our *High-Flyers* may lay their *Hands* upon their *mouths*, (were not *Modesty* a *Stranger* in their *Gates*) when so many of the *Tribe* Swore *Alligiance* to King *WILLIAM*, as to a *King De Facto*, and not *De Jure*; that is, in plain *English*, an *Usurper*, and not a *Lawful Prince*. He is a mighty *Stranger* in
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* *Baxters Works*, v. 4. p. 806 † *Ib.* p. 807 ‡ *Baxters Life*, p. 231 || *Whitlocks Memorials*, p. 676

our *Israel*, and to the Affairs thereof, who imagines that they were all *Dissenters* who paid their Complements to the then *Protector*. I have by me an *Elegy*, written upon *Oliver Cromwel* by One who has since worn a *Mitre* in the *Church*; not did his Lordship ever lye under the Scandal of a *Whig*, or a *Low-Church-man*.

I will not deny but *Pamphlets* might be scattered up and down against the *Restoration* [p. 173]; but this was not done by the *Presbyterians*, but by the *Faction* of the Young *Sir Henry Vane*, who are represented by the *Ld. Clarendon* as great Enemies to *Presbytery*, as to the *King* or the *Church* *. Nor can my *Antagonist* prove, that any of the *Heads* of the *Presbyterian* Party did declare it *unlawful* to bring back the *King*; for a general Accusation without a *particular* Proof, signifies nothing.

IN my *Defence*, I took Notice of Mr *Love*, who was so far from being an *Enemy* to *Monarchy*, that he plotted to Restore King *CHARLES* the Second, and lost his Life in the prosecution of that Design. He was, without Dispute, a *Presbyterian*; and therefore my *Antagonist* takes a great deal of pains to *blacken* and *defame* him. He lived in an *Angry Time*, and I can't think my self Responsible for every *passionate Expression* that might be uttered by him. He was, I confe's, a Warm Man, and I think *too violent* in his *Invectives* against *Episcopacy*, particularly in his *Ux-Bridge* Sermon. But I am verily perswaded, that the *Barbarity* objected to him [p. 174], in *insulting A-bp. Laud* in his *last minutes*, is an absolute Forgery; and my Reason is, Because the First Publisher of the Story neither sets his own Name to his *Libel*, nor produces any one Authority or Evidence to attest this Matter of Fact. And Dr. *Heylin*, who wrote the *Life and Death* of that Archbishop, makes no mention of it; whilst he has left upon Record the *Disturbance* given him upon the Scaffold, by the Impertinence of an *Irish Gentleman* †. 'Tis very well known, that *Heylin* takes frequent Occasion to *Revile* the *Presbyterians* when none is given him; and had Mr *Love* lain himself so justly Obnoxious to his Censure, by such an *Inhumanity* as is pretended, we may very well conclude, that he would certainly have incerted this Circumstance into his History, had there been the least Foundation for it. However it be, true or false,

* *Clarendons Hist. v. 2. p. 292*
Laud, p. 836.

† *Heylins Life of A-bp.*

false, the Question is not whether Mr Love was a Friend to Episcopacy, but to Monarchy.

CONCERNING which Mr Agate tells us [p. 176] that this Martyr Love, in his Petitions to the Parliament, his Dying Speeches, &c. declares, That he looked upon the Imputation of his endeavouring to Restore the King, to be a Scandal upon him, and any Presbyterian. That he called God Almighty to Witness, that he never intended any Thing in favour of the King; and that he promised to devote the remainder of his Days to the Service of the Rump, against all Opposers: With a great deal more to the same purpose; which, he says, throws the LYE in my Teeth: And so indeed it does, but 'tis a Lye of his OWN Invention, and as contrary to Truth as Light is to Darkness. 'Twas a great while before I could meet with the Pamphlet in which this is pretended to be found; at last, a Gentleman was so kind as to oblige me with the Loan of it. Upon which, I desired a couple of Friends to read it carefully over, to see if they could find any such Expressions in it as those above-named; This accordingly they did, and have subscribed as follows:

WHEREAS Mr. Agate, in his Plain Truth, Pt. 2d, p. 176, affirms, That Mr. Love declared himself a bitter Enemy to the King; and that he had never any Design to promote the Restoration. That he looked upon the Imputation of his endeavouring to restore the King, to be a SCANDAL UPON HIM, and upon any Presbyterian. And that He called God Almighty to witness, that he never INTENDED any thing in favour of the King. We, whose Names are hereunto subscribed, do Certify, That we have carefully perused Mr. Love's Petitions to the Parliament, his Narrative, his Speech and Prayer on the Scaffold, (in which the above-named Declarations are pretended to be found) and that there is no such Thing asserted by him, but the quite contrary plainly Intimated.

Jos. Hallett.
Tho. Bishop.

BUT, to Vindicate Mr Love from the Aspersions cast upon him, 'tis requisite I should inform the Reader what was his CASE, and what is really contained in those Memoirs to which Mr. Agate has referred us. When the Scottish Nation understood that the King was Murdered, notwithstanding their Renom-

France to the contrary, they sent *Commissioners* to wait upon His Son, King *CHARLES* the Second, first at *Jersy*, and afterwards in *Holland*; desiring him to *Subscribe* their *Covenant*, and come into *Scotland*; promising to *Recognize* him for their *Sovereign*, and to *Assist* him in the *Recovery* of his *Dominions*. These *Terms* he, with some *Reluctance*, consented to, and in the Year 1650 Landed in that *Kingdom*. This startled the *Republican Faction* in *England*, who made it *Treason* for any to *Correspond* with such as were in Arms in *Scotland*, and sent down *Cromwel* with his *Victorious Troops*, who *Conquer'd* the whole Nation. In the mean time Mr. *Love* and some others, were caught *Corresponding* with some who were in Arms with His Majesty, for which he was *Sentenced to Dye* by an *High Court of Justice*, and accordingly was *Executed*, August 22. 1651.

WHILEST he lay under Sentence of *Condemnation*, he was *perswaded* to hope, that an *Humble Petition* to the *Powers* then in being, might save his *Head*; upon which he presented Three or Four *Petitions* for his *Life*, directed to the *Supream Authority*, the *Parliament* of the *Commonwealth* of *England*. This Mr. *Agate* calls his *owning the Tyrannical Rump*. But Mr. *Love* in his *Dying Speech*, affirms, that he gave 'em this Title as *Hushai* gave the Title of King to *Abfolom**, when he had actually *Usurped* both the *Name* and *Power*, though he had no *Right* to either. In his 2d *Petition* he declares, *That whereas there is a Surmise of a Plot CONTINUED against the Peace of this Common-Wealth*, he protests his *Ignorance* of any such *Design*, or any *Correspondence* NOW held with the *Scotish Nation*. In which words he doth not say, *There never was a Plot*, or that he *was never* concerned in it; but, when the *Conspiracy* was *detected*, and the *Persons* concerned were some of them *fled*, others *imprisoned*, and others chose rather to be *Confessors* than *Martyrs*, Mr *Love* protests, *That he knew of no Pl t CONTINUED*. And what could be said less by one in his Circumstances? In another *Petition*, he promises the *Usurping Powers*, *That if they would spare his Life, he would never plot or contrive any Thing prejudicial to the present Government*. Which is no more than if I should promise a *Gang of Robbers*, when the *Dagger* was at my Heart, *That if they would let me go, I would not pursue them*. He further promises, *In his place, to Oppose any Designs which may*

may tend to the Ruine of the Common-Wealth. That is, the *Body of the People* of this Nation, and not the *Government* of the *Common-Wealth*; as he himself *expounds* his words in a Paper penned by him a few Days before his Death, entituled, *A Clear and Necessary Vindication, &c.* So much for Mr. Love's Petitions.

IN his *Narrative*, presented also to the Parliament, he owns, *That, soon after the late King's Death, Application had been made to the King of the Scots* (the only Title he durst then give CHARLES II) *by Mr Drake, and other Presbyterians, tho' he was not presently acquainted with it.* He owns, *That Major Alford was sent over to Calice, to discourse Capt. Titus, who had been with the King in Jersey.* That, upon Alford's return, *there was a meeting at Mr Love's House, where Alford gave the Company an Account of his Conference with Titus, and his receiving a Copy of the King's Letter from him, in which His Majesty took in good part the Affections and Loyalty of those who had made their Applications to him.* Mr Love confesses, *That he was present at several private Fasts, in which he prayed to GOD, That there might be a Firm Agreement between the King and his Subjects of Scotland.* He acknowledges, *That he sent both a Letter and Money to Major-General Massey, who was then actually with the King in Scotland, and that Dr Drake read to him the Transcript of a Letter which came from the King.* He owns further, *That at another meeting at his House, several Letters were read from Scottish Ministers and Noble-men, giving them Account of the King's Affairs in that Country, and that he sent both Money and a Letter to Col. Bampffield, a Royalist.* All this Mr Love confesses in his *Narrative* presented to the Parliament, in which we may well suppose that he would not make the *worst* of his own Cause, when his Neck lay at Stake; and I appeal to all the World, whether such a Man could say, *He intended nothing in favour of the King.*

WHEN he came upon the *Scaffold*, he behaved himself with a great deal of Magnanimity, and declared to all the World his Principles in these following particulars.

' 1st, (*says he*) I Die with my Judgment against *Malignity*: But I do not count our Brethren in Scotland a malignant Party, nor their Defending their Nation, and Title to their King, to be a malignant Interest, but an HONEST and JUSTIFIABLE CAUSE. And in a Paper written just before his Death,

Death, he tells the World, That by *Malignants* he means *In-cendiaries*, who divide the *King* from his *People*, or one of the *Kingdoms* from another *.

2dly, (*says Mr Love*) though I am against *Malignity*, yet I am not against, but for, a *Regulated Monarchy*. A mixt *Monarchy*, as ours was, I Judge to be one of the *best Govern-ments* in the *World*: I did oppose the late *King's Forces*, but was never against the *Office*. I do as much hate *Court Pa-rasites*, who would screw up *Monarchy* into *Tyranny*, as those who pull it down to bring in *Anarchy*.

3dly, I was NEVER for putting the *King* to *Death*, who's Person I did promise, in my *Covenant*, to preserve. It is true, I did in my Place and Calling oppose his *Forces*, but I did never Endeavour to *destroy* his Person.

4thly, I Die with my Judgment not satisfied to take the *En-gagement*. I would not be looked upon as a Man owning this present *Government*, I DIE WITH MY JUDGMENT a-against it.

THESE are Mr *Love's* own Words; and now for Mr *A-gate* to tell the World, That this very Man did, in his *Dying Speeches*, declare himself a bitter *Enemy* to the *King*, and that he called *GOD* to *Witness*, that he never intended any Thing in his *Favour*, 'tis such an EGREGIOUS IMPOS-TURE, that it surprises every Generous Lover of Truth with Indignation and Amusement. I hope, for the future, he will cease his *Clamour* against the *Dissenters*, as if they were in Confederacy with all the *Libertines* and *Deists* of the *King-dom*; for when one who calls himself a *Minister*, shall make *Lies* his *Refuge*, and obtrude upon Mankind such an *abomi-nable Falshood* under the specious Disguise of *Plain Truth*; this is the way to harden the *Atheists* of the *Age* in their Con-tempt of *Sacred Things*, and to tempt an Unbelieving World to Fancy that all *Religion* is but a *Cheat*.

MY Opponent adds [p. 178], That *Cromwel* had actually signed *Love's Pardon*, tho' it miscarried in the *Messengers Hands*. The Truth is, *Cromwel* was at that time in *Scotland* General of the *Parliaments Army*; nor had he yet turned out his *Masters*, and set up himself. He could no more pardon Mr *Love* then, than the Duke of *Marlborough* can pardon my Lord *Griffin* now. I took Notice of this *Blunder*, to let the World

* *Love's Vindication*, p. 15

World see, how unfit this Gentleman is to set up for a Writer of Histories. And so much for LOVE.

TO stop the mouths of the Insulting *Faction*, I minded my Opponent of King CHARLES's Grand-mother, who (tho' a Sovereign Monarch) had her Head chopt off at the Sollicitation of a Church of England Parliament, and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, the first Man named amongst her Judges. If the Reader be willing to know the *Quality* of this Lady, she was Sovereign Queen of Scotland, Queen Dowager of France, and next Heir to the Crown of England. Nay, the Roman Catholicks will tell our Church-men, That they Beheaded their own Queen *De Jure*, though not *De Facto*; and that she had a better Title to the English Crown than the Person that wore it. As to Matter of Fact, 'tis certain, that Q. Elizabeth was (by an Act of Parliament made in the 28th Year of her Father King Henry VIII.) declared *Illegitimate*, and the marriage between that King and her Mother was adjudged to be utterly void by A-bp. *Cranmer*, Judicially sitting for the same, as the said Statute expresses it. Most certain it is, the two Sister Queens could not be both Lawfully begotten, their two Mothers being living when the younger of them was born. 'Tis true, by an Act of Parliament made the 35 Hen. 8. the Crown was settled upon the Princess Elizabeth, and her Issue, in case her Brother Edward and Sister Mary should Die without Issue. And this, with the Desires of the whole Nation, I doubt not, gave her a good Title. But if she were indeed *Illegitimate*, and the Doctrine preached up 20 or 30 Years ago be true, That, according to the *Divine Institution*, the next in the Right Line, must always succeed to the English Crown, this poor Condemned Queen of Scots should have been advanced to a Throne instead of a Scaffold. But this is a Controversy in which I shall not concern my self, the Catholicks and High-Flyers may determine it between them.

BUT as for the Scottish Queen, Mr Agate tells the World, [p. 188] That this very Lady *flashes Shame enough in the Face of me and my Party, to make us hide away our Heads for ever*; For the Brethren in Scotland rebelled against her, and forced her to resign her Crown. I have heard befor now, That one man may steal a Horse, better than another look over the Hedge. The Church of England Men, belike, can cut off a Queens Head with a better Countenance, than other People can deprive her of her Crown. But to make a few Remarks on this History.

1st. Mr *Agate* tells the World in his *Reply*, p. 56. That *Episcopacy* had been abolished in Scotland, but *Eight Years* before King *Charles the First* was born. That is, in the Year 1582. Whereas this *Lady* was forced to resign her Crown in 1667*, more than 20 Years before: So that if his own Calculation be true, she was deposed by her *Episcopal* Subjects. But Mr *Agate* can contradict himself as well as the Truth, in order to revile the *Presbyterians*.

2d. WHATEVER were the Principles of those that De-thron'd Her, they were justified in that very thing by the Church of England Parliament; who thus Address themselves in a *Petition* to Q. Elizabeth. 'We your Majestys most Humble and Faithful Subjects in Parliament Assembled, &c.---A Queen of late time, and yet, thro' her own Acts now JUSTLY No Queen; a nigh Kinswoman of your Majesties, Lady Mary Stewart, late Queen of Scots, &c. * So that if the Scots did ill in depriving Her of Her Dignity, the English involved themselves in the very same Guilt, by publickly approving what they had done. By which Instance, we may see; That the Church of England has not always been such an Enemy to the Deposing Doctrine as is pretended, before they made the Experiment upon K. JAMES.

3d. WITH what Conscience can this Gentleman object to me, and my Party, the Hard Usage of this Lady in Scotland; when She met with a much worse in England; Where, instead of a Sanctuary, She met with a Goal; and, after a long Imprisonment, lost Her Head upon a Scaffold. But 'tis said, (quoth Mr. *Agate*) That she was carrying on a Design with the Papists against Queen Elizabeth. True, but She had been Imprisoned Fifteen or Sixteen Years before any such Conspiracy was formed. And no great Wonder, if Impatience, under Confinement, did transport Her to unwarrantable Courses. Again; We are told, She was Condemn'd by Lawful Authority. [p. 189.] How! Is this the Language of a High Flyer? Have not almost all the Pulpits in England sounded with this Doctrine, That KINGS and QUEENS are Accountable to none but GOD Almighty for any of their Actions? And does he now talk of a Lawful Authority to Irr and Condemn them? Sure, Father *Lesly* must Correct his awkward Pupil for such an Heterodoxy.

WELL,

* Hist. of Eng^l. V. 2. p. 405

† Ibid. p. 667

WELL, tho' the *Archbishop* was named in the *Commission amongst Her Judges*, [Ibid] 'tis plain he disliked the *Business*. How far this is from being true, let Mr. *Cambden* be heard: 'When some of the Commissioners had been at *Fotheringay Castle*, and Summoned the *Queen of Scots* before 'em, they adjourn'd the Court till the 25th of *October*, to the *Star Chamber* at *Westminster*. On the said 25th of *October*, ALL THE COMMISSIONERS Met, except the *Earls* of *Shrewsbury* and *Warwick*, who were both sick at that time, and after the *Witnesses* were heard, Sentence was pronounc'd against the *Queen of Scots*, and Confirm'd by the *Seals* and *Subscriptions* of the *Commissioners* †. So far is that which Mr. *Agate* has advanc'd from being true, that the *Archbishop* acted not in the *Business*, that he Concurred with others in *subscribing Her Condemnation*.

'TIS equally false what my *Antagonist* advances in the same Page, That they were the noted *Favourers* of the *Dissenters* that prevail'd with *Queen Elizabeth* to Sign the *Warrant for Her Execution*. That this is the *Conceit* of a *Visionary Scribler*, appears by the *Journals* of *Parliaments* during the Reign of that *Queen*, printed by Sir *Symond Dews*; out of which I have extracted this following Relation. A *Parliament* being Convened about the *Queen of Scots* *Business*, on the 7th of *November* 1586, the *Commons* came up, and desired a *Conference* with some of the *Lords*, who chose out of their own Body a *Committee* of 21 Persons, amongst whom were the two *Archbishops*, the *Bishops* of *London*, *Durham*, *Winchester* and *Worcester*: this *Committee* drew up a *Petition*, in which they desire Her Majesty, That *Directions* be given for further Proceeding against the *Scottish Queen*, according to the true Meaning of the Statute: Because (say they) upon advised and great Consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible Means to provide for Your Majesties Safety, but by the just and speedy *Execution* of the said *Queen*. This *Petition* being agreed to by both *Houses*, was presented to *Queen Elizabeth*, the 12th of *October*. The Lord-Chancellor on the 15th acquainted the House with Her Majesties Answer, in which she required the *Lords* to advise amongst them, if some other Course might be taken without proceeding to Extremity of *Execution*. This Message was debated *October* 22d; and the *Lords* being particularly asked every one his several Voice,

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† *Hist: of England*, V. 2. p. 525

answered with one Consent, They could find no other Way. The *Commons* being unanimous in the same Opinion, both *Houses* agreed upon this *Answer* to be returned Her *Majesty*, That having often Conferred and Debated the *Question*, according to Her *Highnesses* Commandment, they could find no other Way than what was set down in the *Petition* *. This is enough to Convince the Reader, that they were *Church-men*, and not *Dissenters*, who acted this *Tragedy* against a *Crowned Head*; and that my *Antagonist* deserves but little Credit, when to serve his own purpose, he durst Confront the most *Authentick Records* of the *Kingdom*. And so much for the *Scottish Queen*.

I shall crave the Readers Patience to mind Mr. *Agate* of One Story more. Whilst King *JAMES* was on His *Throne*, he published to all the World, That his *Queen* had born him a Son. A Day of *Publick Thanksgiving* was appointed for the *Birth* of this *Young Prince*, being *June 17th 1688*, in *London*, and 10 Miles round; and *July 1*. in other parts of the Nation. A *Form of Prayer*, as usual, was drawn up for that Occasion, and sent to all the *Parishes* in *England*. The first *Collect* begins thus: O Almighty and Everlasting Lord God of Heaven and Earth--- We devoutly offer our most Hearty Thanks to thy Divine Majesty, that thou hast given our Dread Sovereign his Hearts Desire, and hast not denied us the Request of our Lips, in blessing Him and our Gracious Queen with a SON, and all His Subjects with a PRINCE--- With several like Expressions. I never heard of any *Clergyman* that refused to read this *Form*, or that was prosecuted for such an Omission. A little after this, King *JAMES* made a Trip to *France*, where, upon his Death, the Young Spark caused himself to be Proclaimed King of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*: Upon which he was, by *Act of Parliament*, Attainted of *High Treason*, and adjudged to suffer Death as a *Traytor Convict*. So that, upon Ballancing Accounts between me and my *Antagonist*, the Case thus stands: K. *CHARLES* was put to Death by an Insolent Victorious Army; the *Presbyterians* did protest against it; we do, before *Angels and Men*, disclaim our *Approbation* of it. On the other Hand, the *Church-men* did contribute to the Cutting-off his *Grandmothers* Head, an Absolute and Independent *Queen*: And have made a *Law*, now in Force, to Hang and Quarter a certain

* *D'ews Journals, &c. p. 375, &c.*

tain *Gentleman*, which they, in their publick *Prayers*, told God Almighty was his GRAND-SON.

LET not *Envy* hence suggest, as if I had a *Correspondence* with the Court of St *Germans*; for whose ever Son the *Pretender* be, it doth not in the least shock my *Allegiance* to Qu. ANNE. When the *Throne* was vacant, I doubt not but the Nation might as well pass him by, as it has since done by more than 30 *Popish Princes*, who are more nearly related to the *Crown* than the Family of *Hannover*. When I *abjured* the Prince of *Wales*, I neither *abjured* my *Principles* nor my *Prayers*: And nothing is desired of those that did, but that they would have so much *Modesty* as not to *Rant* and *Rave* against their *Innocent Neighbours*. And that the *Rehearser* and his *Pupil*, who have bellowed about the Nation this *Impudent Falshood*, That the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* are *Implacable Enemies* to the *Name* and *Family* of the *STUARTS*, would reflect upon the Case of that *Unfortunate Lady Mary Stuart*, from whom Her present *Majesty* is in a direct Line descended.

I hinted in my last at the Fate of K. JAMES, who was Deposed by such *Church-men* as had Sworn 'twas not *Lawful*, upon any *Pretence* whatsoever, to take up Arms against him, or those that were *Commissioned* by him. But, says my *Antagonist* [p. 190], *Is there no Difference between the Murder of King Charles and the Abdication of King James?* The Question should rather be, Whether there was any *Difference* between the *Conduct* of the *Presbyterians* towards the former, and the *Church-men* to the latter? And upon Enquiry, there will be little or none found. The *Episcopal Party* did take up Arms, and fight against K. JAMES; the *Presbyterians* did no more against his *Father*, whose *Murder* was contrived and carried on by Men of another *Kidney*. As for the making *Regicides* of the *Lords* and *Commons*, 'tis an *Inference* of Mr. *Agate's* drawing, not of mine, for which he alone must be *Responsible*,

HOWEVER, the *Revolution* was not founded on the *Deposing Doctrine*, but on the *Abdication* [p. 191.]. 'Tis none of my *Business* to quarrel about *Words*; as to *Matter of Fact*, the *Gentlemen* of the *Church of England* did Invite over the Prince of *Orange*, and Joyn his *Army*. They entered into an *Association* here at EXETER, in which they engaged to GOD and one another, 'That if any Attempts were made upon his Highness, they would pursue all that were found in Arms a-

'gainst them, to their Ruine and Destruction *. Nor was the King himself exempted from this Menace. This Engagement was subscribed by the Nobility; and divers Bishops †. After this, the King had a message brought him when in Bed by 3 Lords, to leave his Palace the next morning: And when his Fears and Fate had hurried him into France, his Mal-Administration was voted a Breach of the Original Contract, and the vacant Throne filled by another Prince. And if this were not a DEPOSING of him, I confess I understand not the meaning of the Word, and would gladly be informed by my Antagonist.

AFTER all, Mr Agate will not justify every Step that was taken at the Revolution; he seems inclinable to suppose, that the Church-men did Rebel, and Dethrone their King. And I am gravely asked [p. 191.], Whether I have never heard, whose Office 'tis first to Tempt Men to Sin, and then Upbraid 'em with it. Truly, I have heard that this is the Devil's Office, but I never knew the Proverb so applied before. I thought the late Revolution had been an Eminent Instance of Divine Providence, in Favour of the Church of England in Particular, and the Protestant Religion in General: But Mr. Agate will needs have it, That 'twas the Devil who Tempted the Church men to Sin, and resist their Prince. For which Discovery I hope his Brethren will Con him their Thanks; and Her Majesty is doubtless obliged to him, for fixing her Throne on such a Foundation.

IN my last I urged, That Rebellion ought not to be imputed to the present Generation of Dissenters, whose LOYALTY has been Untainted for 20 Years; whilst many Declared Church-men have been Hanged for TREASON, and a Design to Murder the King: Concluding, that the Presbyterians are no more accountable for the Actions of Cromwel and Bradshaw, than the Church is for the Conspiracy of Perkins and Friend. This my Antagonist will needs have to be a gross and wilful Mistake? Had these Men Armies at their Heels? Did the Clergy encourage this Conspiracy [p. 192]? Doth this Gentleman live in England? Or doth the Sun shine at Noon Day? When these True-Blue Church-men sent over Charnock to France, they engaged to joyn the French Army with 3 or 4000 Horse ‡; as great a Body of Cavalry as Cromwel

* Hist. of Engl. V. 3. p. 496 † Life of K. Will. V. 1. p. 395. Append. p. 9 ‡ Life of K. Will. V. 3. p. 159

well ever commanded at one time. When they came to the Place of Execution, there appeared three Clergy-men, Mr Collier, Cook and Snat, to sanctify the Villany, and consecrate Murder and Rebellion, by giving the Absolution of the Church to these Traytors, who never manifested the least Remorse for what they had done *.

NOT long before this, the Bishop of Ely (Dr Turner) was engaged in Preston's Plot, and a Proclamation was issued out to Apprehend him, with other Traytors †. So that if Mr Agate will stand to his own word, he must acknowledge, that Churchmen may be Rebels and Regicides as well as other people.

IN the following pages, my Antagonist vomits forth his Gall and Poyson, without the least Regard to Conscience, Truth or Honour. He tells us [p. 196], That the English Presbyterians disputed the Queen's Succession to the Throne: Than which the FATHER of LYES himself is not able to Invent a more malicious and groundless Calumny. In the same page he affirms, that the Review and Observer are the Dissenters Representatives; and that, according to them, the Dissenters Loyalty is founded on the Supposition, that Her Majesty favours them in Opposition to the Church. Whereas these Gentlemen write their own Sense; nor can he produce any such SUPPOSITION as he charges on them.

THESE Authors are accused further, of writing profligate Libels against Monarchy. For my part, I have read but few comparatively of these papers; but never saw one Syllable against the English Monarchy, and may defy Mr. Agate to prove his Charge. 'Tis true, they Vindicate the Revolution, and the Resistance which our Nobility, Bishops and Gentry made to K. James; and argue, that in such a desperate Case, an Extraordinary Remedy may be Justified. On the other Hand, there is a Party in the Nation, who publickly preached, and solemnly swore, That 'twas not Lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against the King, or those Commissioned by him. Notwithstanding which, they did take up Arms when pinched by the Prerogative; so that the only Dispute between the Observer and his Opponent seems to be this, Who is the HONESTEST Man, he that Acts according to his Principles, or he that Swears One Thing and does the quite Contrary? And methinks the Resolution of this Question should not be difficult.

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* Hist. of Eng. V. 3. p. 718, &c. † Ibid. p. 575

I am next assaulted with a Set of *Quæries* [p. 198], *Who called the Parliament a pack of Mad Dogs, &c.*? To which I can make no Reply, but that I am an *utter Stranger* to this sort of Language. But if the *Question* be, Whether our Modern *Libellers* and *Traytors* belong to his *Party* or mine? I am willing to bring the matter to an Issue, and to be try'd by the *Pillory* and the *Gallows*. 'Tis confessed, there was one *Whig* who sung an *Hymn* to the *Pillory*, though not for *affronting the QUEEN*; and I can recollect no more. But I find Three *TORY Scriblers* Squinting through an Inch Board in One Year, for *Libelling the Government* *. And I have read of a *Parson of Sutton* condemned to the same Penance for *Abusing the Duke of Marlborough*, though he had the *Benefit of the Clergy*, and his *Gown* saved his *Ears*. As for the *Gallows*, the *Papists* and *High Flyers* have had the sole uninterrupted Possession of it for these last Twenty Years; and let the World Judge, whether *They* have not the Fairest *TITLE* to it.

THE World is next informed, [p. 199.] That the *avow'd Principles of Me and my Followers are Antimonarchical*; an *Accusation* as contrary to Truth as Light is to Darkness. And I do most solemnly protest, that I know no *Dissenter* who denies a mixt *Monarchy*, as ours is, to be the *BEST Constituted Government* in the whole World. But this is a small matter to what is added in the same Paragraph, [Ibid] *That no one Reign can be named, in which we have not promoted Rebellion, Sacrilege, &c. and carryed on some Murdering Designs*. Have we done so in the Reigns of King *WILLIAM* and Queen *ANNE*? Not one Reign is to be excepted, according to this *Author*. Our *English Proverb* says, *that Travellers have a privilege of Lying, because none can Confute 'em*: But should a Fellow talk of *Prodigies* and *Wonders* in his own Neighbourhood, he would be kick'd out of all Civil Company. When Mr. *Agate* tells of Things done 50 or 100 Years since, the *Tale*, however false in it self, may yet go down with the *credulous Mob*, for whom his Pieces are chiefly calculated: But that a Man should *publish a Calumny* which every body knows to be *False*, and which is *confronted* by the *Experience* of the whole *Kingdom*, 'tis enough to astonish *Earth* and *Heaven*! I had almost said, enough to put *LU C I F E R* out of Countenance, and make a *FURY* blush!

MY

* *Annals of Q. Anne, V. 5. p. 486, &c.*

MY *Antagonist* having spent his random Shot, pretends to come to a close Engagement, and to be more particular; and to begin with Queen *ELIZABETH*, who was no sooner on the Throne, but these Saints began to roar against Her Prerogative [p. 200.] If this be true of the Old Puritans, why are they imitated by such as pretend the greatest Enmity unto 'em? For the QUEEN, that now Reigns, has made publick Complaint, That divers of the present Clergy have made Invasions upon Her Royal Supremacy *. I hope Mr. *Agate* will not hence infer, that they are all Rebels.

BEFORE I proceed further, 'tis necessary I should tell the World, whence Mr. *Agate* has borrowed those Tales which fill up several of his Pages; 'tis from a Book call'd *The History of Faction*, printed by one of King *JAMES*'s Officers, in the Year 1705, who pretends to give an Account of the Presbyterians in all Reigns. He tells us, That divers of that Sect were hang'd for setting the City of London on Fire; than which, nothing can be more notoriously False. He will have it, That these Men Impeach'd the Lord Chancellour *Hyde* †; when, in Truth, the Impeachment was carried up to the Lords against Him by the late Sir *Ed. Seymour* ‖, who was never before reckoned a Presbyterian. He tells us too, That in the Reign of Queen *ELIZABETH*, the Puritans had *Leicester*, *Walsingham*, and others, for their Patrons; and amongst the Bishops, *Hooper* in particular ‡; whilst this good Bishop was burnt to Ashes many Years before. Now, is not this a pretty Fellow to write Histories? However, he Rails Heartily, Lies Impudently, and gives the Dissenters no Quarter: Which recommends him to my *Antagonist*. As for Chronology, and strict Truth, these are Trifles beneath his Notice and Observation. Out of this Worshipful Romance, he furnishes us with abundance of Stories for Five or Six successive Reigns, and filches many of his most beautiful Expressions. By him we are told, That those wicked Puritans call'd Queen *ELIZABETH* the Empress of Hell, and Supreme Offender. If we demand, Who they were that gave this Language? Or what Authority can be produced for it? This is an impertinent Curiosity in which we must not be gratified.

Mr. *Agate* tell us further [p. 200.] They Conspired several times to take away the Queens Life. Upon the sight of this

this

* *Annals of Q. Anne*, V. 5. p. 484. *Hist. Fact.* p. 52

† *Hist. of Engl.* V. 3. p. 267 ‡ *Hist. Fact.* p. 13

this Passage, I desired him to give me the Name of one *Puritan*, that ever was Convicted of any *such* Conspiracy : This is what he could not do. However, his *Jacobite Friend* Vomits out the Lye, and he licks it up.

'TIS true, there was a Fellow that *stab'd* the *Picture* of that *Princess* with his *Dagger*, and this was *Hacket*, who, in a frantick Humour, proclaim'd himself the *Monarch* of the whole World, and even *Jehovah* Himself; and was *Hang'd* for his *Blasphemies*. What *ignorant Malice* may now suggest concerning this Wretch, I will not determine; but a *Learned Doctor* of the Church, who wrote the *Ecclesiastical History* of that Age, assures the World, 'That the *Presbyterians* did as ' Cordially *detest* the *Blasphemies* of *Hacket* as any of the *Episcopal Party* *.

'TIS Confessed, there were some *Libels* published at that time against the *Bishops*, written with too much *Scurrility* and *Bitterness*; and the *Authors* were severely punished. Dr. *Fuller* tells us, That the discreeter sort of *Puritans* resolved upon a Debate, that these Books were unfit to be *read* or *published*. ' This I speak (*says the Doctor*) on certain knowledge from the Mouths of such whom I must believe †. But I do challenge Mr. *Agate* to name one *Presbyterian*, that was *Convicted* either of *joyning* with the *Jesuites*, or *contriving* the *Death* of Queen *ELIZABETH*; which if he cannot do, he must drop his *Romantick Tales* concerning that *Reign*.

NEXT to Queen *ELIZABETH* succeeded King *JAMES*, who, says Mr. *Agate* was *persecuted* by these *Loyalists* even *Four Months* before he was born. 'Tis true, when his *Mother* was with Child of Him, Her *Secretary* was *murdered* in Her presence; which, doubtless, was a great *Barbarity*, and a Wonder that it had not caused Her to *miscarry*. But who were the *Authors* of this *Tragedy*? Why, 'Twas Countenanced by her *Jealous Husband* the Lord *Darnley*, who had his Education in *England*, and profess'd the *Protestant Religion*, at least whilst here †. But the *Prime Contriver* of the *Mischief* was the Earl of *Mortoun* ||, who always held a strict Correspondence with the Court of *England*, during the *Minority* of King *JAMES*. He was sometime *Regent* of *Scotland*: And the *Historian* tells us, ' That during ' his Power he maintained his *Bishops*, and pressed his own
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* *Fullers Ch. Hist.* L. 9. p. 206 † *Ibid.* p. 193 || *Melville's Memoirs*, p. 56 ‡ *Hist. of Engl.* V. 2. p. 403

‘ Injunctions and Conformity with *England*; that he was
 ‘ Stout, Courageous, and ever for the Cause of *Religion*: But
 ‘ that he was set for the Estate of *Bishops* *. A Rich *Parson-*
age was offered to Mr *Andrew Melwin*, a Leading *Presbyte-*
rian, provided he would not insist in his Course against *Bi-*
shops †. Some time after, this Earl was Condemned to Dye
 for Concealing the *King’s* Murder; and it was laid to his
 Charge by the *Ministers* that visited him, ‘ That he had been
 ‘ an Authorizer of *Bishops*, and other Corruptions ‡. So that
 the *Grand Promoter* of the *Scottish* Tumults, and the *Depo-*
sing of *Q. Mary*, was in truth a Man of *Episcopal* *Princi-*
ples.

WE now come to the Reign of K. CHARLES; and we are
 told [p. 202], *That the Outrages of the Party surpass Imagi-*
nation. That there were, during the Heat of a *Civil War*,
Violences committed by both Parties that cannot be Justified,
 will be denied I believe by none: But if the Question be, Whe-
 ther the Armies of the *King* or *Parliament* were more *Out-*
rageous and *Insolent*? Let the *Ld. Clarendon* be Umpire, who
 cannot be accused of *Partiality* in Favour of the *Round heads*.
 He owns, ‘ That *Sobriety* and *Industry* were Virtues not so
 ‘ well practised in the *King’s* Quarters as in the *Parliaments* ||.
 ‘ That the *King’s* Army at *Cirencester* were equally injurious
 ‘ to Friend and Foe *]. That *Care* was not taken by them
 ‘ to observe those *Articles*, which had been made upon
 ‘ the Surrender of *Towns* †]. That the *King’s* Commanders
 ‘ grew insensibly into all *Licence*, *Disorder* and *Impiety* ‡].
 ‘ That his *Horse* committed Horrid *Outrages* and *Barbari-*
ties ||]. That the *Counties* in which His Majesty hoped to
 ‘ raise New Forces, had been vexed, and worn out with the
 ‘ Oppression of his own Troops, and the *Licence* of his Go-
 ‘ vernours [*]. That Sir *Richard Greenoil* exercised strange
 ‘ Acts of *Tyranny* over *Devon* and *Cornwal* [†. That *Go-*
 ‘ ring’s *Horse* committed intolerable *Insolencies* and *Disor-*
 ‘ ders [‡. And when *Leicester* was taken by *Storin*, even
 ‘ *CHURCHES* and *HOSPITALS* became a prey to the greedy
 ‘ *Soldiers* [||. And is not this a pretty Description of a *Church-*
K
militar?

* Calverwood’s *Hist: of Scotland*, p. 80 † Ibid. p. 74.

† Ibid. p. 117 || Clarendon’s *Hist: V. 2. p. 112* *] Ibid.

p. 27 ‡] Ibid. p. 258 †] Ibid. p. 295 ||] Ibid. p.

488 [* Ibid. p. 509 †] Ibid. p. 515 [‡ Ibid. p.

518 [|| Ibid. p. 504

militant Army, by one of its *own* Friends? On the other Hand, my Lord owns, 'That the *Parliamentarians* grew into great ' *Discipline, Diligence and Sobriety* *. That the Earl of ' *Essex*, by his *Civility* and the very good *Discipline* in his ' Army, wrought very much upon the People †. And that ' *Fairfax's* Army attained the Reputation of being in *Excellent Discipline*; and that Officers and Soldiers were Men of ' EXTRAORDINARY TEMPER and SOBRIETY ‡. I leave the Reader to compare these Things, and then judge, Whether Mr *Agate* has any Reason for these *Tragical Outcries* which he has made.

AS for the Reign of K. CHARLES the Second, if some were wheedled into a Plot, they were not all *Dissenters*. And if Dr *Owen* were for Killing the King, as is pretended by the *Wolf-stripper* and his *Pupil*, whence came it to pass that he was never prosecuted on that Account.

I hope it will not be objected to us, That the *Dissenters* resisted K. JAMES, when our *Brethren* did the same. But they presented him with *Flattering Addresses*--- When that Prince exchanged their *Chains and Fetters* for *Liberty and Freedom*, I think they could do no less than give him *Thanks*. That there were some *Addresses* too *Fulsom* and *Extravagant*, I will own; though I never signed any, nor could I write *Man* at that time. But was he not first *Flattered* by the Church of *England*? 'Twas upon his Account, whilst Duke of *Tork*, that the *University of Cambridge* told K. CHARLES, That no *Religion, Law, Fault or Forfeiture*, could alter the *Hereditary Right of Succession* to the *English Crown* ||. Since which, this *Succession* hath been altered, and some of these Gentlemen have doubtless submitted and sworn to it. The *University of Oxon* promised K. JAMES their *Obedience*, without any *RESTRICTION* or *LIMITATION* *]. The *Clergy of Christ-Church* stile him *James the Just* †]; the *Bishop of Ely*, and his *Clergy*, tell him, *He is the Best of Princes* ‡]. The *Clergy of Sarum* promised to serve him with their *Lives and Fortunes* ||]. And the *Clergy of Bristol* put this *transcendent Complement* upon him, That he was a Prince

* Clarendons *Hist.* V. 2. p. 295 † Ibid. p. 382 ‡ Ib. V. 3. p. 51 || *Hist: of passive Obed.* p. 109 *] Lond. Gazette, N. 2012 †] Ib. N. 2016 ‡] Ibid. N. 219 ||] Ib. N. 2026 [* Ibid. N. 2013

Prince against whom there was no rising up, and only less than GOD himself [*]. And so much for K. James.

IN discoursing of King *William's* Government, Mr *Agate* entertains his Reader [p. 205] with a long Harangue, for which he produces no proof, and which for the most part is a Fiction of his own Brain. Let him make good his Charge, *That the Party have Robbed the Nation of Millions*. I never heard of any *Dissenter* that Cheated the Crown by false Endorsing *Exchequer-Bills*. That *Noble Peer* who now manages the *Purse* with so much Applause, was one of the Commissioners of the *Treasury* in the Reign of King *William*; and I can't think that he would connive at a Fraud then, any more than now.

BUT we are told [p. 206], *Queen Anne had not been two days upon the Throne, before the Dissenters began to call Her Papist*. But this is a most Abominable Calumny; to affirm Her Majesty to be a *Papist*, is, in effect, to declare her Un capable of wearing the *English Crown*, all such being Excluded by *Act of Parliament*: Now if Mr *Agate* knows any such Wretches, he is but little better than a *Traytor* to conceal 'em; if not, he discovers a small Regard to *Conscience, Truth, or Honour*, when he so Confidently affirms that of which he has no Knowledge. As for the *Tale* of the *Observer's* making the *Queen Co-ordinate* with her Subjects, and a *Shopkeeper's* opening his Windows on purpose to Affront her; he must produce the Words, and name his Man, before he will be believed by such as know him. As for those *Scotch-men* he talks of, [p. 195] we desire a better proof of the matter than *Lesly's* Word. Or if a few Frantick *Cameronians* should play such a prank, they are such as refuse Submission to the *Ecclesiastical* Government of that Kingdom; and therefore, the *Kirk* of *Scotland* is no more Responsible for their Freaks, than the *Church* of *England* for the *Frenzies* of our present *QUAKERS*.

SHALL I pursue the method of my *Antagonist*? I can give the Names of some, who, in every Reign, have professed themselves Members of the *Established Church*, and yet Died the Death, or Lived the Life, of *Traytors*. In the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, the *Earl of Essex*, with divers of his Partisans, were Executed for an *Insurrection*. In the Reign of K. *James* the First, Sir *Walter Raleigh* lost his Head for a mysterious plot.

K 2

[* London Gazette, N. 2013]

Plot. As for the *War* against King *Charles*, I have proved from my Lord *Clarendon*, that many of those who drove on *most furiously* against Him, were Men of *Episcopal Principles*: And so were the D. of *Monmouth*, the Lords *Howard* and *Gray*, and others, that are said to *Plot* against his Son of the same Name. As for King *James* the 2^d, every body knows, that there was a *general* Delection from Him amongst all sorts of People. And King *William* was *plotted* against by the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lord *Preston*, *Perkins*, *Fenwick*, and abundance of others. And Mr *Grigg* may bring up the Rear in the Reign of Queen *Anne*. But there are many of the Governments, in which One Instance cannot be given, of any *Presbyterian* Convicted of *Rebellion* against the Crown: God forbid that I should be so *uncharitable* as Mr *Agate*, and bellow up and down the Country, that the *Church-men* are all *Rebels* and *Traytors*. To draw a *general* Conclusion from a few *particulars*, 'tis a *piece* of his ill-natured *Logick*, and with him I shall leave it.

TO bring this Business of *Loyalty* to an Issue, we Appeal to the Honourable Houses of *Parliament*, who have not only *Indulg'd* Us our *LIBERTY*, but, since the *UNION* of the *Two Kingdoms*, have *admitted* the *North-Britains* to a part of the *Legislature*; which they would not have done, had *Presbyterians* been all *Rebels*. We appeal to Her MAJESTY, who *graciously* receives *Addresses* from Her *Dissenting Subjects*, and who has *admitted* some (who in their own Country, are *Members* of a *Presbyterian Church*) to be *Members* of Her most Honourable *Privy Council*; And Lastly, We Appeal to our OWN *Practice*, and the *Experience* of the whole Kingdom: Let a Survey be taken of all Convicted *Traytors* for these last Twenty Years, and they will every one of them, from *Ashton* to *Grigg*, be found to be *Catholicks*, or *High-Church-men*; Whilest, in all this Space, there has not been so much as one *Dissenter* Arraigned of *High Treason*: Which is a *Demonstration* of our OWN *Loyalty*, and the *petulant Malice* of our *Accusers*. When a *Pragmatical Philosopher* would dispute in *Mood* and *Figure*, That there was no such Thing in *Nature* as *Motion*. His *Respondent*, instead of giving a *formal Answer* to his *Sophistical Cavils*, rose up, and walked about the Room, concluding him to be a *Mad-man*, not fit to be *disputed* with, who will argue against *Experience*. So may I say, if Mr *Agate* and his *Tribe* will go *Raving* up and down the Country, *That we are all Traytors and Rebels*,

bels, I shall only refer them to the *experience* of the *Nations* for Twenty Years successively ; and if this will not *stop* their *Mouths*, I shall look upon them as *sitter* for BEDLAM than a *sober* Confutation.

ANOTHER Thing Mr Agate objects to the *Dissenters*, is their *Omission* and *Contempt* of the *Sacrament*. In his former *Pamphlet* he mentioned about half a Score Parishes in this County, in which 'tis pretended the *Sacrament* was *omitted* for many Years together in *Cromwel's* Time. This being so long since, there are few Living, who can be competent Witnesses of what was then done ; Nor are the Parish *Records* in the Hands of my Acquaintance ; so that I could not employ a Friend to peruse the *Church-wardens Accounts* in any Place except *Oakhampton*, where Mr Agate's *Relation* was found absolutely *False* in matter of Fact. And I have reason to believe the same of some other Places. tho' I cannot be certain. Mr. *Hussey* the Minister of *Oakhampton*, owns himself the *Occasion* of that *Error* [p. 210] : And I must let the World know, That, in his *Certificate*, he pretends to more *Ingenuity* than he has a *Title* too ; for he never did *discover* this Mistake to Mr *Atkin*, and it is likely never would, had not Mr *Atkin*, who knew it was *detected* by other Hands, *discovered* it to him, by advising him to consult the Parish Accounts ; then indeed he could own, *He heard his Father* (when a Boy) *complain*, That the *Sacrament* was *neglected* in many places ; and he THOUGHT *Oakhampton* included : And so told the *Story* to Mr *Walker*. Now, either Mr *Hussey* intended this *Story* should be *published*, or else only *mentioned* it as an *accidental* Rumour ; if the *former*, he is no *Honest*er than he should be, to publish an *absolute* *Falshood* to the World, when he might have been satisfied every Day, whether the thing were true or no ; if the *latter*, we may guess what an *History* we are to be blessed withall, when every *uncertain* *Hearsay* shall be presented to the World, as an *Authentick* and *well Attested* *Truth*. As for the *Postscript* claimed by Mr *Hussey*, his own *Letter* relating to this matter is still to be seen, in which I am not *Named*, nor the least desire intimated, that I should insert any thing by way of *Excuse* for Mr Agate ; nor, indeed, was there any *Room* left in my Book for it.

WELL, to make amends for this *Error*, We are threatned with an *History* of INCREDIBLE *Barbarities*. This, I confess, is *fair* and *above-board* in Mr Agate, to let us know, That the *Tales* Collected deserve but little CREDIT ; which we, indeed have too much reason to conclude, by the *speci-*
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men already given us. I hope, when this Gentleman gives us a *List of Ministers turn'd out by the Long Parliament*, he will also assign the Cause of their Ejection, whether 'twas their Loyalty or their Immorality; which may prevent the Re-printing *White's Conturies*. It may also justly be expected, That he let us know, whether such as came into their Places did not Conform in 62; for many Conformists and great Dignitaries came into Benefices then, by Virtue of Sequestrations: And as the King's Party dispossest a great many Gentlemen and Ministers of their Estates and Benefices, where they were Masters (His Majesty granting to Sir Rich. Greenvil, the Sequestration of all the Estate of the Earl of Bedford, and Sir Francis Drake in Devon, and of the Lord Roberts in Cornwall *); So if this Author will act an Impartial Part, he ought to take notice of it, and then let him publish his INCREDIBLE History as soon as he pleases. In the mean time, he may do well to consider, whether it be impossible to make *Reprisals*. Suppose one should Collect all the Immoralities that some of the Clergy have been guilty of these Twenty or Thirty Years, this would make a pretty sweet Catalogue, and gratifie the Desires of the Age; for which Reason I shall not be concern'd, but cannot promise for all the World.

BUT to return to this Outcry about the Sacrament: To this Accusation I replied in my last, That the Assembly of Divines, who were the Heads of the Presbyterian Party, did in Express Terms declare, That the Lord's Supper is frequently to be celebrated; and that the Sense of any Body ought to be collect'd from their publick Declarations, not from the Actions of a few particular Men. What is offered by my Antagonist, with any Colour of Reason in Answer to this, is, That the Lord's Supper was generally disused all over the Three Kingdoms. And the Testimonies (he says) of the Bishops, Patrick and Tillotson, are direct to this purpose. [p. 215.] But I must crave leave to tell the World, that this is most abominably false in matter of Fact; and the Words of these two Bishops are most maliciously perverted. The former indeed affirms, as quoted by Mr Agate *, That the Sacrament was laid aside in many Parishes for near Twenty Years: the latter declares, That in very many places this Institution was almost quite forgotten †. Now if this Sacrament was neglected but in

* Clarend. Hist. V. 2 p. 520. * Reply, p. 47. † Tillotson's Works, fol. p. 280. 4th Ed.

in *one* parish of *twenty*, 'twas neglected in too many places: But it cannot be thence inferred, that the *Disuse* was universal. 'Tis no other than an *Imposture* in Mr *Agate*, to quote those *Authors* affirming, that the Neglect was *general* *throughout the Kingdom*, when they say no such thing.

WE are further told of a Nameless Author, who charges some *Grandees* in *Synod*, with *conniving at the profanation of the Sacrament* [p. 219]. If by *Synod* he means the *Assembly of Divines*, tis a scandalous Falshood; for they declared their *sentiments* to all the World, *That it ought to be frequently celebrated*: And sure the *Whimsies* of a sorry Scribler ought not to be opposed to the *publick Acts* and *authentick Records* of an *Assembly* convened by Lords and Commons.

Mr *Agate* cannot expect that *Durels* Authority should signify much, when he has forfeited his Credit by first publishing that shameful Falshood to the World, *That the Sacrament was not once administred for Twelve Years together in the whole University of Oxford*.

But to bring this matter to a Conclusion. That the Sacrament was omitted in too many parishes, I will own; but this was the Fault of *particular men*, nor was the *Disuse* so general as is pretended. There are in this County near 400 parishes, and yet Mr *Agate* has not been able to produce above 8 or 9 that can be charged with this Omission, though Writs of Enquiry have been sent by his dear Friend into every Corner; and could he have given us a larger List, no doubt we should have seen it.

I add, that the *Presbyterians* were far from having the *management* of Affairs in their Hands, during *Cromwells* Greatness; he suppressed them every where, and the Churches and Pulpits were open to all people*. 'His Army Chaplains' inveighed bitterly against the *Presbyterian* Government, and 'his Officers and Soldiers went up into the pulpits†. These were *Irregularities* the *Presbyterians* could not help, and for which they ought not to be Responsible. Yet my *Antagonist* has so little Regard to Honour, as to impute to them all the Extravagancies of *Cromwells* Army. He makes a Noise I know that they were *Dissenters*; but so might a *Papist* object to him, that they were *Protestants*, and *Separatists* from the Church of Rome, and therefore he must be accountable for all their *Frenzies*. Mr *Hickman* owns, the Sacrament was too much

* Clarendons Hist. V. 3. p. 292 † Ibid. p. 32

much Neglected by some of these *Sectarian Chaplains*; but affirms, that it was *constantly* Administred by the Generality of the *Presbyterians*.

TO Conclude; if the Sacrament was *generally omitted*, as tis pretended, this Reflects as much Dishonour on the Church, as on the Meeting. There are in England about Ten Thousand Parish Ministers, of which Eight Thousand Conformed in 1662: if this Neglect was *general*, there were more Conformists than Nonconformists guilty of it. So that this Accusation of his, is no other than a Libel upon the English Nation, and a Scandal upon his own Coat and Function.

IT must be owned, that Mr Agate is a great Encourager of Full Communion, witness the proclamation that he made in a Country Pulpit sometime since, (as I am informed by a Gentleman of Unsuspected Credit) Come Drunkard! Come Swearer! Come Thiet! Come Adulterer! Come to the Lords Table! Though you were Drunk Saturday Night, yet come to the Sacrament on Sunday morning! &c. Now, is not this a mighty Honour to the Institution? Does it not argue a profound Veneration towards this awful Solemnity? Did not this Harangue most sweetly Harmonize with the Liturgy of the Church of England, which thus expresses it self; 'If any of you be an Adulterer, or be in Malice, or Envy, or in any other grievous Sin, Repent of your Sins, or else come not to that Holy Table, lest after the taking of that Holy Sacrament, the Devil enter into you as he did into Judas?'

HOWEVER, this Gentleman can be rigid enough at other times: Thus he lately forbid one of his own Parish, though of a most unblamable Conversation, to come to the Sacrament, because he went sometimes to another Parish Church, though never to a Conventicle; telling him, That 'twas (1) Breach of Church Communion, (2) Schism, and (3) Sin. In which Argument, whether his Logick or Charity were more remarkable I leave the World to judge. Doubtless he has a great Opinion in his own Abilities, when the preferring anothers Sermons before his, is worse than Drunkenness or Whoredome.

ANOTHER Instance which Mr Agate gives of the Dis-senters Irreligion, is, their pretended Neglect and Abuse of the Lords-prayer. To this I answered, that it was constantly used by my self, and most of my Acquaintance. I owned, that some have thought, that our SAVIOUR intended it for a Firm, to last no longer than his Resurrection: I produced the Reasons which seemed to support this Opinion, to which

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had my *Antagonist* acted like a *Master of Arts* he would have given a *Reply* : But 'tis an easier thing to tell *Tales*, than 'tis to answer *Arguments*.

I urged further, That the *Assembly of Divines* recommended *this Form* ; which is as much as *they* could do, who had *No Power* to *enjoin* that, or any other thing. That 'tis inserted in their *Catechism*, that *Mr Long's Tale* of the *Dissenters* *abhorring* to teach it their *Children*, could not be *true* of the *Presbyterians*, whose *Children* did repeat it in the *publick Churches*, of which there are *Hundreds of Witnesses* still living in the *City* ; and *Mr Agate* durst not deny, nor will he vouchsafe to make a *Reply* thereto, but goes on telling *New Stories*. He tells us, That *Mr Pearse* declared the *Sixth Petition* to be *Nonsense* ; but for this he must produce his *Witness* before he can expect to be believed by such as know him. But he has an *Account* from *two Clergymen*, That *one Owen*, a *Nonconformist Teacher* at *Oundle*, *preaching a Child's Funeral-Sermon*, *expressed himself thus* : 'Tis usual for *Parents* to teach their *Children* the *Lords-prayer* ; but they might as well teach them to say, *GOD DAM-ME* [p. 221]. I take this to be one of those *Lyes* which *exceed* belief, and are too fulsome to be swallowed. Upon Enquiry, I find, that there is one *Mr Jonathan Owen* now living in *London*, who was a *Minister* about 25 Years since in *Oundle* ; and that no other of the Name of *Owen* has been there in the memory of Man. Upon my writing to that *Town*, I have from thence received this following *Certificate*.

WHEREAS one *Mr. Agate* of *Exon* hath published in *Print*, in his *Plain Truth*, Pt. 2. p. 221. That *Mr. Owen*, *preaching at Oundle*, uttered these words, 'Tis usual for *Parents* to teach their *Children* the *Lords-prayer* ; but they might as well teach them to say, *GOD DAMME* : *We, whose Names are under-written, do testify*, That we were his constant *Hearers* during the *Time* of his *Ministry* there ; and that he never uttered these words in our hearing, nor any thing of the least *Tendency* towards them : And being frequently *Conversant* with him, have all the *Reason* in the *World* to believe, that he abhors and detests such *Blasphemous Expressions*. *Witness our Hands*,

John James,	James Nichols,
Tho. Chambers,	John Nichols,
Jer. Aston,	John Cuer,
Eliz. Chambers,	Dor. Cuer.

I have also by me a *Letter* from Mr Owen, in which he protests, *That the Story is Scandalous and False*; And *that he always ABHORRED such Thoughts*. And he told Mr Aaron Tozer, within a very few Weeks, *That if he should Hear such an Expression, it would make his Flesh TREMBLE*.

I asked Mr Agate, Whether the Clergymen, from whom this *Intelligence* is said to be derived, did themselves HEAR these *desperate Words*? This he could not pretend they did. So that either he must produce his *Evidence* of this matter, or otherwise he stands obliged, as a *Christian*, to beg Mr Owen's Pardon for so *Base a Calumny and Slander*.

'TIS pretended further, That a *Scotish Preacher* should affirm, That if ever *Jesus Christ was DRUNK in his Life, it was when he made the Lords-prayer*. But here is no Man named that uttered this *Blasphemy*; no Witnesses produced that heard it; no ONE Circumstance that makes it probable: And Mr Agate might as well have quoted the *History of Tom Thumb*, as the *Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence*.

ANOTHER Instance given of *Dissenters Irreligion*, is, That in the *Long-Parliament* the Creed and Ten Commandments had been put to the Question, *Whether they should be used at Church? and Rejected*. In this Quotation Mr Agate pursues his *Old Game*, and foists in what makes for his own purpose; for my *Ld. Clarendon* says nothing of their being *used at Church*, but their being *inserted in the Directory*: Which indeed is not their proper place, nor have we Reason to seek them there any more than in the *Canons* of the Church.

Mr. Agate hath learned so much of Father *Lesly*, that he cannot conclude his Book without having a *Fling* at the *Scots*; and we have the Story up again of *Burning an Idolatrous Image*, and a few *Popish Trinkets*. Nothing will satisfy this Gentleman, but that *Christ was Executed in Effigy*. I printed in my last an *Inventar* of those things that were destroyed, in which there is no mention made of any *Host* or *Bible*. The *Flying-Post* affirms, *There was no Bible burnt*. Sure I am, we have no Reason to believe the *Rehearsal* in Opposition to the *Records* of the *Kingdom*. But to suppose for once that every Particular is true, let us see what can be made of it. According to Mr Agate, [p. 247] *The Hangman was dressed up in the Robes of God's Priests*. But suppose *God's Priests* had been caught in *England*? Why then they had been Hanged and Quartered, it being made *High Treason*, by the 27th of *Queen Elizabeth*, for any *English Man* to be Ordained *Priest* by the
Juris-

Jurisdiction of the *See of Rome* : And doubtless these Sparks had much rather that the *Hangman* at *Edenburgh* should ruffle their *Copes* and *Surplices*, than that *Jack Ketch* at *London* should mangle their Dear Carcasses, and hang them up for Crows Meat.

AGAIN ; they burnt an *Image* which had an *Indulgence* granted to it, for all such as did *bow their Knee* before it once a Day. And by a *Statute* made in the 3d and 4th of *Edward* the 6th, All Persons are *punished* who do not *DEFACE* and *DESTROY* all *Images of Stone, Timber, &c.* which they have in their Custody, whether taken out of *Churches*, or still remaining in them. And is not *defacing* and *destroying* as much as *thrusting an Halbert into its side*, about which Mr. *Agate* makes such a *senseless Rant* ? Besides, if *Argument* had been his Talent, he should have made some *Reply* to the Instance of *Hezekiah*, who broke in pieces the *Brazen Serpent*, though made by *GOD's Command*, and was a *Type of Christ*, when abused by the People to *Idolatry*.

AGAIN ; 'Tis pretended they *destroyed the Consecrated Host*. The *Liturgy* of our *Church* declares, That to *Adore the Sacramental Bread* is an *Idolatry*, to be *abhorred of all Christians* : Now, *Idolatry* is the *Worshiping of an Idol*, and such by necessary Consequence is the *Consecrated Host* among the *Papists*. So that all the *Scots* did, was but the *destroying an Idol*, the *Liturgy* it self being Judge.

'TIS further urged, That the *Scots* burnt the *Bible*, and this, he says, is an *Original*, and the *SUPREMACY of Wickedness* [p. 247.] To see how a Mans Fury will transport him ! This is so far from being an *Original*, that they took a *Copy* from the *Royal Martyr* Himself, who made an Order in *Council*, May, 17th 1640, That several *Popish Books*, and amongst other, *Jesus Psalters* and *Rhemes Testaments*, should be burnt by the Hands of the *Common Hangman* *. Now the *Rhemes Testament* is the *New-Testament* translated into *English*, by such *British Fugitives* as settled at *Rhemes* in *France* ; and if this be not the *Bible*, 'tis yet the most *Excellent* and *Noble part* of it : And if the burning this be the *Supremacy of Wickedness*, we must not go so far as *Scotland* to find it. So that, upon comparing Circumstances, the Case thus stands : The *Kirk of Scotland* burns the *Robes of God's Priests*, and the *Church of England* burns their very *Bowels*. The *Ma-*
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* Rushworth's Coll. pt. 2. V. 2. p. 1180.

gistrates of Edeburgh committed an Image to the Flames; and Mr Agate, as well as all others, is obliged by Law to deface and destroy all of a like Nature. If the Scots burn the Host, They destroyed what the COMMON-PRAYER calls an Idol: And if they burnt a Popish Bible, they had K. Charles the Martyr for a Presedent. Let Father Lesly and his Pupil compare these Things and then make the most of their Tale.

Mr Agate to shew his Gratitude to the Bishop of Sarum for obliging him with a Letter, very civilly gives his Lordship the Lye. The Bishop affirms, That the *Episcopalians in Scotland* are not forbid to Worship God in their own way. In contradiction to which, Mr Agate affirms, [p. 250.] *That their preaching is against an Act of Parliament, and they are liable to be banished for their pains. Hence people have wondered how my good Lord of Sarum came to say so.* But People have much greater Reason to wonder at his Ingratitude and Confidence. The Reader has his choice, whether he will believe the Bishop or the Curate. I do Challenge my *Antagonist* to produce any Act of Parliament in *Scotland* inflicting Banishment on the *Episcopal Ministers*, provided they will Recognize the Government.

Mr. Agate is loth to hear of his Insulting his late *Diocesan*, but the Matter of Fact is undeniable. His Lordship during the former *Elections*, had recommended an Honourable Gentleman for *Cornwal*, who, though far from a *Dissenter*, was yet no *Tacker*: This enrag'd the *Bigots*; his former Merits were all forgotten, *Libels* were printed and scattered up and down against him, and Mr Agate rallies him in the *Pulpit*, as one who had formerly suffered to *Bonds and Imprisonment* for the Church, and did in his Old Age decline its Interest. The Sermon might, for ought I know, be preach'd an year before, to the *Aldermen of Exon*; but those bold strokes were the very Conclusion of his *Harangue*: And 'tis an easie matter to add a new Piece to an old Sermon.

SINCE the printing of the the first Sheets, Mr Agate has returned an Answer to my Letter sent about three Months since: He has given me some satisfaction, in Relation to what he had misquoted from *Pryn*, and *Ludlow*. As for the *Collections*, out of the long *Parliament Sermons*, he has given it me under his own Hand, That they are FAR from being exact; And that some Sentences belonging to other *Divines*, may have slipt into those Accounts which he has given of *Marshall and Ca'e*. He refer'd me to *L'strange's Dissenters sayings*; where

where I find some *Hard sayings* of Mr *Cafe* against *Prelacy*: But Mr *Agate* could not produce *one Expression*, in which the *King's Murther* is recommended by any of those Persons on whom he *Charges* it.

I shall, as formerly, conclude with a Set of AGATISMS, some of which are here presented to the *Reader*.

1. [p. 150.] He brings in Mr *Baxter*, affirming, *That the Grotian Religion, being carried on, caused all our Wars*. Whereas *Baxter* declares, Such an Assertion would be *displeasing* to himself, as well as others.

2. [p. 152.] He quotes *Heylin*, affirming, *That the Rebellion began purely on the Account of Religion*. Whereas that Author assigns another Cause.

3. [p. 158.] He brings Mr *Marshal* making a *Bloody Outcry* against the *Prelates*: When, in his whole Sermon, he has not *one word* to say of them.

4. [p. 161.] He makes Mr *Baxter* glory in *blowing up the Coals*: When, in the very Page that is cited, Mr. *Baxter* repents that he *ever did so much*.

5. [p. 163.] He quotes my Ld. *Clarendon*, affirming, *That all the Leading Men in the Parliament appeared to be Puritanical*. When, in Truth, that Noble Author says no such Thing.

6. [p. 167.] He affirms, *That Cafe, Love, Marshal, and others, did, in their Pulpits and in Print, encourage the KING's Murder as a Lawful Action*. This is so far from being true, that several of these Men did *preach* and *print* against it: Nor does he know where to find that *Harangue* which he has made for them.

7. [p. 171.] He affirms, *The Presbyterians, in their Vindication, when pleading for the King, accuse Him for endeavouring to subvert the Protestant Religion, &c.* When, in truth, there is no such Expression used by them.

8. [p. 176.] He affirms, *That Mr Love, in his Dying Speech, Petitions, &c. called God Almighty to witness, he*
never

never intended any Thing in Favour of the King. This is a most Egregious Falshood, nor has Mr Love one such Expression.

9. [p. 178.] *Mr Love upon the Scaffold, professed himself an Implacable Enemy to the Royal Cause: When, the Truth is, he Died disowning the Rump-Parliament, and publicly declared for Monarchy.*

10. [p. 185.] *He charges me with approving those Principles which brought the Martyr to the Block: Than which nothing can be more false.*

11. [p. 186.] *He affirms, That I belong to a set of Men, that yearly celebrate the Memories of the Regicides: For which Calumny he has not the least Pretence.*

12. [p. 187.] *He affirms, That I maintain their murdering Principles. He might as well have said, that I am turned Turk, and have subscribed the Alchoran.*

13. [p. 194.] *He chops and transposes my Words to bring them into Ridiculous Rhime, and then supposes that I designed it for a Ballad. Whereas 'tis a Forgery of his own, and disingenuous Abuse of me.*

14. [p. 196.] *He affirms, That the English Presbyterians Disputed the Queen's Succession to the Throne: Which every Body knows to be most Abominably False.*

15. [p. 199.] *He affirms, That not one Reign can be named in which I and my Followers have not promoted Rebellion, and carried on some murdering Designs: When all the Kingdom knows, there has not been ONE Dissenter Convicted of Rebellion for Twenty Years last past.*

16. [p. 200.] *He asserts, That the Puritans conspired several times to take away the Life of Queen Elizabeth: And yet when desired, cannot name one Puritan Convicted of any such Conspiracy.*

17. [p. 206.] *Queen ANNE had not been two Days on the Throne, before the Dissenters began to call her Papist: A Calumny which he can never prove.*

18. [p.

18. [p. 214.] *The Sacrament in Cromwel's Time was generally disused all over the Three Kingdoms ; and the Testimonies of the Bishops Tillotson and Patrick are said to be direct to this purpose. Whereas all that they say is, 'Twas omitted in many places.*

19. [p. 241.] *All the Dissenters had, one way or other, their Hands in the King's Murder : Whereas the greater part did what they could to hinder it.*

20. [p. 221.] *Mr Owen told the People, they might as well teach their Children to say God Dam-me, as to say the Lords-prayer. Mr Owen positively denies it ; and many of his Constant Hearers certify, They believe in their Consciences he never did affirm it. To which I might subjoyn the Calumny repeated against a Widow in his Parish [p. 252]. 'Tis absolutely False what Mr Agate advanced in his first Pamphlet, That Her Husband desired the Assistance of any Clergyman. 'Tis equally False, that she would have refused to send for Mr Agate, had Her Husband desired it ; who expressly objected against him as a Turbulent Man.*

I shall make no Remarks upon all these, only conclude with the Words of Dr Fuller upon another Occasion : He that Invented all these Tales must have a very HARD HEAD, and he that believes 'em a very SOFT ONE.

The End of the Second Part.

POST-SCRIPT.

I Intended to have *subjoyn'd* an *Answer* to Mr *Agate's* EXPOSTULATORY LETTER, but this Pamphlet being swollen beyond my Expectation, I hope to publish it shortly in a Sheet by it self; to which Mr *Trojs* will add a Page or two, to vindicate himself from those *Aspersions* that have been cast upon him, particularly that *groundless Calumny* of his knowing a leading Man of the Party that keeps a Feast every Year on the 30th of January. I have now taken no Notice of what Mr *Agate* says of *Episcopacy*, reserving all I have to say on that Head, till I come to consider his *Third Part*.

HAVING frequent Occasion to Cite my Lord *Clarendon's* History, I think fit to advertise the Reader, That I have all along made use of the *Folio Edition* of that Author, as also the *Second Edition* of King *CHARLES's* Works, not that on Royal Paper.

THERE is One Thing I over-looked, which should have been taken Notice of, and that is the printing *TE* for *WE*, *Acts* 6. 3. in several Bibles; which Mr *Agate* pretends was a wilful and designed Corruption of the *Dissenters*. To this I Answer:

I. THE Bishop of *Cork*, in a Treatise called *Scripture Authentick*, p. 19. tells us, That this Corruption may be found in an *Edinburgh* Edition of 1636, at that time the *Bishops* governed all in *Scotland*: So that this Error first crept in under the Wings of *Episcopacy*.

II. IF this *Mistranslation* countenances any Error, 'tis that the People have Power to Ordain their own *Ministers*: But this is a Fancy which the *Presbyterians* always DID, and still DO, Utterly Dislike; and therefore they could not Intend such a Corruption, which, in all probability, was the Mistake of the Printer; which when found in one Edition, occasioned the like in some others.

Truth Try'd :
O R,
Mr. *AGATE*'s
PRETENDED
PLAIN-TRUTH
Proved an
UNTRUTH:
IN WHICH

MODERATE DISSENTERS are Vin-
dicated from the *Imputation* of SCHISM, as charg'd
upon them in his late *Pamphlets*; and the *VALIDI-*
TY of *Presbyterian* Ordination is prov'd, both from
Scripture and *Antiquity*.

PART III.

By JOHN WITHERS.

JOB II. 2, 3. *Should not the multitude of Words be
answered? And should a Man full of Talk be Justi-
fied? Should thy Lies make Men hold their Peace?
When thou Mockest shall no Man make thee asham'd?*

Familiare est omnibus etiam Hæreticis in publicis Con-
greilibus se jactare, in Concionibus Dominari, in Con-
ventibus gloriari, DISPUTATIONES cupide re-
quirere. *Jesuitismi, Pars I. p. 92.*

Dicebant (Manichæi) Veritas! Veritas! Et nunquam
erat in eis. *Aug. Confes. L. 3. C. 6.*

EXON:

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THE
P R E F A C E.

I Have in some former Pamphlets vindicated the Dissenters from the Charge of Jesuitism and Rebellion, so confidently advanced against 'em by Mr. Agate; in which I have proved many of his Tales to be absolutely false in Matter of Fact, and abundance of his Quotations to be meer Forgeries, not found in the Authors he has cited, either in direct Terms, or by any necessary Consequence; which I am ready to demonstrate to any Gentleman who desires satisfaction, and will believe his own Eyes. I have also proved from our most authentick Records, and particularly the Lord Clarendon's History, That the prime Managers, and first Authors of the late unhappy War against King Charles, were Men of Episcopal Principles; and produced the Dying Testimony of that Prince, in which he declared, That it was for the Militia the Parliament began the War upon him. And by consequence, the Motive which engaged them in that Undertaking, could not be a Design to destroy the Bishops and Common-prayer, as has been falsely and maliciously suggested.

AS for the Design of this present Treatise, the Reader may understand it by consulting the Title Page: There is therefore no Occasion that I should say any thing of it in this Preface, which is only intended to vindicate my self from some Aspersions cast upon me in Mr. Agate's late Libel against Mr. Tross.

THE first thing which I shall take Notice of, is his charging me with calling him Dog and Devil*; nay, with calling God's Priests downright Devils. Now had I really given

* More Plain Truth, p. 17. 29.

The Preface.

ven him those Characters, I can't see how this had been reviling God's Priests in the plural Number, unless he hath got a Pope in his Belly. But the Truth on't is, this Accusation is absolutely false in Matter of Fact; for these are my very words: The Moon loses nothing of its iplendor, though Dogs bark at it; and the Reputation of this Aged Gentleman [Mr. Tross] suffers not much more, though a Creature of a more Noble, (and therefore more Criminal) Nature may open his black Mouth against him†. Now with what Conscience, with what Forehead, can this Gentleman tell the World that I call him Dog, when in express Terms I affirm him to be a Creature of a more Noble Nature? As for the Title of Devil, I should have been at a loss on what he grounds his Charge, had I not received Directions from his own mouth: The Case in short is this, He has thought fit to publish to the World in print, That there is not one Reign in which I and my Followers have not promoted Rebellion, &c. And that the English Presbyterians disputed Her Majesty's Succession to the Throne. Upon which, in my Answer to his Expostulatory Letter, I did challenge and defy him to prove these things, Or OTHERWISE (said I) People will conclude that you are influenced by him whose Character it is to be a False Accuser of the Brethren. That is (says Mr. Agate; the Devil. So that he owns his Accusation to be false) for my Charge against him is founded only upon that Supposition, that he cannot prove what he has asserted, as is plain by the word otherwise, which I make use of. Sure 'tis a very hard Case, that this Gentleman must assume to himself a Liberty of publishing such malicious, bloody, and groundless Accusations against us, and I not have leave to tell the World, that they are false; or if I do, that this must be calling God's Priests downright Devils. Is the Priesthood become a Sanctuary for Calumnies and Slanders? Must these inglorious Vices find shelter there against the pursuit of Truth and Justice? But as the Case now stands, I may as well expect that the
Æthiopian

The Preface.

Æthiopian should change his Skin, and the Leopard his Spots, as that he, who has been accustomed to Slanders and false Quotations, should cite his Authors like an honest Man, or keep himself within the strict Bounds of Decency and Truth. I do once more call upon this Gentleman, for a Proof, or Recantation, of what he has asserted.

UPON this Occasion, I would remind Mr. Agate of one Story. A little after Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, there was a Book published by a seditious High-Flyer, one Dr. Drake, "who complained of a Licentious Party in the Nation, who had entertained Hopes of giving us a new model of Government of their own projection. He pretended that this Party made it their Business to traduce the Princess of Denmark with scandalous Aspersions, promoting these Things with as much Zeal as if a Bill of Exclusion had been on the Anvil, &c. Upon this the House of Peers summoned this Doctor before their Bar, where they proposed to him these following Questions: 1. Whether he could charge any Person or Persons in the Kingdom, with the Matters asserted by him. 2. Whether he heard any other Person say, That they could charge any Person whatsoever with the said Matter? To which the Doctor answered, he knew of no such Person. They 3dly demanded, Whether in those Pamphlets which he pretended were the Occasion of his Writing, there was any thing said about setting aside the present Queen? And the Doctor having confessed, That he did not remember there was, the House proceeded to censure the abovenamed Expressions as groundless, false, and scandalous, tending to create Jealousies in Her Majesty of her People, and to cause great Misunderstandings, Fears and Disputes amongst the Queens Subjects, and to disturb the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom †. After which, they ordered the Attorney General effectually to prosecute the said Doctor. I leave the Reader to judge, Whether Mr. Agate, in publicly

† Hist. of England, Vol. 3, p. 836.

The Preface.

lickly affirming, That the Queen's Succession was disputed by a great Number of her Subjects, when he can prove it against no Person whatsoever, is not as much an Incendiary as Dr. Drake, and whether he may not thank his own Obscurity that his saucy and seditious Sermons and Libels have not exposed him to the same Censure.

*ANOTHER Bill of Complaint exhibited against me in the same Pamphlet; is, That I vindicate the Blaphemous Rights, [p. 30.] and take my Principles and Defence of them from that accursed Book; That I fall in with the Deists of the Age, and lay the Priesthood in common, &c. It might have been expected from another Author, that my very words should have been laid before the Readers Eyes, who might thereby judge, whether there is such a world of Malignity and Venom in 'em as is pretended. But I consider, 'tis none of Mr. Agate's Talent to prove his Allegations; for which Reason, I am not much surprized at it. The Truth on't is, I have not offered any thing which has the least Tendency to lay the Priesthood in common, as he terms it, or to encourage any to invade the Sacerdotal Function without a regular Admission. 'Tis true, I look upon Prelacy as an Humane Institution; I have produced my Reasons for that Opinion, which Mr. Agate may disprove if he can. As for the Book called the Rights of the Church, I confess, when it first made a Noise in the World, I borrowed it of a Friend, and having read it over, returned it to him again. And I do with all Solemnity declare, that I never transcribed 3 Lines from it; that I have not had it in my Study for some Years, nor read a Page in it whilst composing the ensuing Treatise. 'Tis pretended indeed by Mr. Agate, That this Book is cry'd up by the Party, as the best Book that was ever written: And he has been told by a Person of Credit, That it has been dispersed about this County at the Party's cost *. If he means the Dissenting Party, 'tis a downright Calumny;*

* Plain Truth, p. 339.

The Preface.

ry; if any other Party, 'tis a grand Impertinence; and we desire a little better Evidence of the matter than an Idle Hearsay, or Whimsical Conjecture. On Septemb. 10. 1707. there was a Sermon preached in this City before the Dissenting Ministers of Devon and Cornwall, by Mr. John Enty; in which he represented the Rights of the Christian Church, as a very PROPHANE and SCANDALOUS Book in many Instances, p. 4. This Sermon was printed at the Desire of the said Ministers, and my self among the rest. Which is a Demonstration, that we dislike many of those Principles that are contained in it; and that no Regard is to be had to such as would pretend the contrary.

ANOTHER Article exhibited against me in More Plain Truth, is, That I call Christ's Spiritual Body Mystical Nonsense [p. 30.] 'Tis true, I thought I had just Reason to smile at his fantastical Distinction betwixt Christ's Natural Body in Heaven, and his Spiritual Body in the Sacrament. If he thinks this Notion defensible, let him inform us of the Difference, betwixt Christ's Natural and Spiritual Body; and how one and the same Body (call it Natural or Spiritual) may be in Ten Thousand distant Places at one and the same Time: if this be not Mystical Nonsense, Transubstantiation it self may pass for a sound and reasonable Doctrine.

Mr. Agate having insulted me in a publick Coffee House, as though my Syllogisms were contrary to the Rules of Logick, because made up of Negative Propositions; and quarrelling with them in the beginning of his Book, as one or two of his Brethren have done in the presence of some Gentlemen that I could name, I shall therefore cite 3 or 4 of the most Eminent Logicians, authorizing such Syllogisms as mine are: 'Tis true, we have in Sanderson (the only System perhaps my Adversary ever saw) this Maxim; Neq; negativis recte concludere si vis; but every School-Boy can tell him, that there is seldom a General Rule without an Exception; which he may find in
Bur-

The Preface.

Burgersdicius *his Logick*, printed at Cambridge 1637,
Si Negatio sit Pars Medii, bonus Syllogismus ex dua-
bus negantibus conficitur, p. 185. Ex. gr.

Quod non sentit non est Animal:

Planta non sentit:

Ergo Planta non est Animal.

*To the same purpose his Countryman Herebord delivers
his Opinion in the following Syllogism:*

Si Planta non est Animal, non sentit

Sed Planta non est Animal:

Ergo Planta non sentit. Heer. Log. p. 223.

*I may next send Mr. Agate to Oxford, to consult Dr.
Crackenthorp's Logick, 4to. p. 212. who affirms this to
be a regular Syllogism:*

Si non est Animal, non est Homo;

Sed non est Animal:

Ergo non est Homo.

*And whereas I am scoffingly demanded, what Mode my
Hypothetical Syllogism falls under, I will refer him to
the famous Philosopher Monsieur Derodon, who in his
Philosophical Works, printed at Geneva 1669, p. 669,
will inform him, how Hypothetical, as well as Catego-
rical Syllogisms, may be in Mode and Figure. Ex. gr.*

Si nullus Homo est Brutum, nullus

Homo est Asinus:

Sed nullus Homo est Brutum:

Ergo nullus Homo est Asinus.

*The Institutiones Logicae may be also consulted on this
Head, p. 153. printed at Oxon 1685.*

*I take it for granted, that who ever understands Logi-
cal Terms, understands also Latin; I shall therefore only
acquaint the English Reader, that these Syllogisms are
all made up of Negative Propositions just like mine, and
yet affirmed to be true and regular, by the greatest Ma-
sters in England, France and Holland. And when Mr.
Agate demands of us, What Logick we make use of in
our private Academies; I might reply upon him, With
what Confidence he can assume the Title of Master of Arts,
when he understands not a true Syllogism from a false.*

Truth Try'd :

O R,

An Answer to Mr. AGATE's Pretended *Plain Truth*.

IF we consult the Temper and Inclination of *Humane Nature*, we shall find, that the Generality of Mankind are apt to entertain too good an Opinion of *Themselves*, and to look upon their *intellectual* and *Moral Endowments* thro' a Magnifying-Glass, that represents them more Considerable than indeed they are. Men are usually as fond of their *Notions*, as of their *Children*, doting as much upon the issue of their Brain, as that of their Body; and liking the Cubs of their own Fancy, tho' never so mishapen and deformed. Did we proceed no further, a great deal might be offered to excuse, or at least extenuate, this Frailty and Indulgence: But the Mischief of it is, those ugly Vices of *Pride* and *Passion* are so predominant and rampant in this degenerate Estate, into which we are fallen; this subtle Poison, which proceeded first from the Contagious Breath of the *Old Serpent*, hath so insinuated it self into Mens Minds, that they are apt to look upon every *Dissent* from them, as an Undervaluing their Judgments, and an Affront to their superior Understandings: And as a Consequence of this, they quarrel, and grow angry with all such as do not see with their Eyes, or refuse to fall down and worship the *idol* they set up, although perhaps 'tis but a *Calf*. They are for cutting such Throats as cannot swallow their rugged *Maxims*, and tearing out such Stomachs as cannot concoct their indigested *Notions*.

IF we consult the *Records* of the CHURCH, and trace it through all its various *Periods* and *Revolutions*, we shall find, that there is scarce any thing which *passionate* and *angry* Men have made greater use of to serve their own Designs, than these two Words, HERESY and SCHISM. These are the Firebrands

which *Ecclesiastical Combatants* have been fiercely hurling at one another's Heads, and enkindled those Flames, by which the *Church* has been endangered, and *Christian Charity* almost consumed. Nor may we suppose, that this *Censorious Humour* prevails only in these Degenerate Ages of the World, in which our Lot is fallen.

THE *Apostles* had not been long dead, before the *Asian Churches* were Excommunicated for a pack of *Schismatics* by the peevish *Roman Bishop*, for this very weighty Reason, *Because they kept not their Easter on the same Day precisely with him.* And some time after, St. Cyprian, with his *African Colleagues*, met with the same uncharitable Treatment from one of his Successors. But it must be confessed, that the present *Roman Church* hath signalized it self above all others in Achievements of this Nature. *Here y and Schism* are words made use of as so many *Ecclesiastical Bugbears* to scare her deluded Children from the *Protestant Communion*. So that Mr. Agate walks not in an untrodden Path, when with such great Disdain and Scorn he tramples on his *Dissenting Brethren*; but has the Hotspurs of all Ages to bear him Company. Whoever consults the Nature, Scope and Tendency of this Gentleman's Performances, will find them stuffed with such furious *inveectives* against *DISSENTERS*, such an abundance of *Forgeries*, and *downtright Falshoods*, that his Design can never be to convince them of their *Errors*; but to render them *odious* and *detestable* in the Eyes of the weak and injudicious *Vulgar*.

TO this End he begins his *last Book*, by declaiming against the Consequences of *Schism*. Such People (he says) *cut themselves off from the Body of Christ, and forfeit all the Privileges of Christianity.* They are without the *Covenant*, and there is not one *Promise* in the *Gospel* to which they have any *Claim* [p. 271.] The meaning of which seems to be this, That the *Dissenters* are a pack of *Infidels* and *Pagans*, and deserve to be treated accordingly. That *Schism* is a Sin, is a Thing acknowledged on all Hands: But should every Sin exclude Men from all Hopes of *Gospel Pardon*, I wonder who can be *Saved*! 'For we have all erred and strayed from God's Ways like lost Sheep; as the *Church of England* very well confesses. But the Question is, Whether there is in *Schism* such a *peculiar Malignity*, above all other Vices, as that it cuts Men off from *Christ's Body*, and makes them cease to be *Christians*? This is a Notion to which I cannot easily subscribe; for were it true, it would invalidate the *Orders* of all our *English Clergy*, and leave them in as bad

a Condition as the poor *Dissenters* are pretended to be : Which I thus demonstrate upon Mr. *Agate's* own Principles.

THERE is this Day a *Notorious Schism* between the Church of *Rome*, and that of *England* ; and therefore, one of these two Churches, with its Bishops and Rulers, must be *schismatical*. My *Antagonist* cannot acquit the *Infallible Gentlemen* on the other side the Waters of this crime, without condemning himself, and cutting his own Throat : We will therefore lay this ugly Brat at her door, who has, without Dispute, the fairest Title to it. Notwithstanding all which, that *Apostolical Succession*, to which our Bishops do pretend, is derived through this very Church. Our *First Reformers* were Ordained by *papish*, and therefore by *schismatical Prelates* : But now, did their Schism cut them off from the *Body of Christ*, (as this *Gentleman* affirms) their *Administrations* must be all null and void. How can they who have put themselves OUT of the Church, act as Officers IN the Church ? Can they be *out* and *in* at the same time ? Did they cut themselves off from *Christ's Body*, how could they officiate as principal *Members* in it ? Can that *Head*, which is separated from the *Members*, convey to any of them those Spirits which are the Fountain of all Motion and Sensation ? Can they be Stewards in a Corporation who do not belong unto it, and have no Interest in any of those Priviledges which are mentioned in their Charter ? Every one sees that this is impracticable. So that if *Schism* cuts off from the Church, there is an End of the *Apostolical Succession*, with which we have been amused.

OUR *Clergy* do all derive from Bishops, who had cut themselves off from the Church, who therefore could communicate no manner of *Authority* or *Jurisdiction* unto others. These are Consequences which do justly and necessarily flow from Mr. *Agate's* Scheme, which his purblind Passion did not permit him to observe ; and therefore he pursues the *Dissenters* with such a furious Violence, that he breaks his own Neck in the chase.

NOR are the *Roman Catholics* (from whom this Notion hath been borrowed) in any better Case than others, according to their own Principles. *Onuphrius* (an Author of their own) reckons no less than Thirty *Schisms* in that Church, in all which there were opposite Bishops and Altars set up. One of these *Schisms* continued for 50 Years together, as others did for several, though not so many. In all which, the false *Popes* made *Bishops* and *Priests* as well as the true ; and 'tis highly probable that there is scarce a Clergy-man in *Europe*, who derives not his Succession from one or other of these *schismatical Popes*. But

how could he, as *Head* of the Church, communicate any Influence or Authority to the Members of that Body, from which he had cut himself off by reason of his Schism? All which makes it pretty probable, that the Asserters of this Notion do not believe it, though they make use of it as an Engine to screw up Mens Prejudices and Passions to an excessive Height against their Brethren.

'TIS further worthy our Observation, that none are more ready to lay this Monster at other Peoples doors than they who have themselves the justest Title to it. Who greater *Schismatics* than the *Ancient Donatists*? And yet none more ready to condemn all those for such, who did not approve their mad Freaks. Who more ready than the *Papists* to apply Mr. Agate's Doctrine to all that are not of their own Communion? And to pronounce them cut off from *Christ's Body*? Whilst they themselves are the greatest Tearers and Confounders of it in the whole World. Who more *cruel* and *uncharitable* in their Censures on *Dissenters*, than Mr. Lestly, Mr. Dodwel, and the rest of the Nonjurant Tribe? And yet these very Men have since maintained a Separation from the Church of *England*: And, which is the greatest Jest of all, have consigned us over to *Damnation* in a Lump, for breaking the *Unity* of that Church, whose Communion they have themselves forsaken, for Fear, as they have publicly declared, of hazarding their Salvation by a continuance in it. But to omit these things.

LET us consider, whether Mr. Agate's Notion of *Schism* be so exact and adequate as he would gain perswade us. 'Tis by him defined to be an *unnecessary Separation from an Establish'd Church* [p. 271.] But if this be an accurate Definition, how came there to be Schisms in the Church of *Corinth*, in which there was no Separation? For *they came together into one place*, 1 Cor. II. 18, 20. Again, if this Scheme is exact, there could be no Schism in the *Christian World*, for the first 300 Years, there being no such thing as a *Church Establish'd*. Once more; as the Church of *England* is now by Law established, so should the supream Powers revoke this Establishment, a Separation from it, according to this Notion, would be no *Schism*. According to this Definition, 'tis the *Law establishing* that makes the Sin, and the same power that makes, can also annihilate and destroy. So that our *Separation* will not appear *criminal*, because 'tis what the *Law allows*, that very *Law* to which the Church it self owes its *Establishment*. These are Consequences which do necessarily flow from the Definition which this Gentleman has given us.

IF Mr. *Agate* is desirous to know my Sense of the Matter, I take the very malignity and venom of *Schism* to consist in *Uncharitableness*. Hence, such as *causelessly* condemn and censure their *Fellow-Christians*; that are inspired with *Rage* and *Bitterness*; that are for *tearing* and *confounding* all those who do not concur with them in their *Humours* and *Opinions*; I take such, whether they go to *Church* or *Meeting*, to be the Real *Schismatics*, and the Persons against whom the Scriptures denounce so many Woes. ‘ Is there not an Hatred of the Brethren ‘ in all Schisms (*says St. Austin*)? Who can affirm the contrary, ‘ when both the Original of Schism, and the pertinacious Con- ‘ tinuance in it, is nothing else but an Hatred of the Brethren? * This is the Notion that Learned *Father* went upon, and by which he justified his tragical Complaints, and bitter Exclamations, against the *Donatists*. And I wish, that some of our mighty *Zealots* may not be found at last possessed of the same Spirit.

IF this Description of *Schism* be thought too general, then we may suppose it to consist in a *breach* of that sacred Union, which Christ has instituted and made necessary in his Church, and the whole Controversy will at last be resolved into this Question; Whether we are obliged, by a Divine Command, to be united to the *Episcopate*; or whether *Prelacy* has a *Jus Divinum* stamp’d upon it? And this is what will be more largely spoken to in the sequel of this Discourse. In the mean time, the Answer which I return to Mr. *Agate*’s Syllogism is this. that we do not separate from the Established Church in those Things in which we are obliged to be united with it.

THESE things premised, I come to the Defence of my Argument, which was thus propounded by me: “ If we are not separated from the Church, in any thing in which we are obliged to be united to it, then we are not guilty of a Damning Schism. But we are not separated from the Church in any thing, in which we are obliged to be united to it; therefore, &c. Or, if Mr. *Agate* be better pleased with his own methodizing of my Syllogism, he shall have his way: “ They that are united to the Church in all things they are obliged to be united to it, are not guilty of Schism. But the Dissenters (I plead for) are thus united, therefore, &c.

IN

* *Annon est in Schismate Odium fraternum? Quis hoc dixerit cum & Origo & Pertinacia Schismatis nulla sit alia nisi Odium fraternum. August. de Bap. cont. Dorat. L. I. c. II.*

IN discoursing of the various Points of *Union* incumbent on all Christians, I pursued the Method laid down by the late Mr. Arch-Deacon *Burroughs*, in his celebrated Piece of *Schism*. And if I can defend the various Parts of my Argument against the frivolous Exceptions of my Opponent, I have gained my Point, and made good the Post I undertook to defend. In pursuance of which Design, I shall not make a particular Reply to all those *scurrilous Reflections* with which his Book abounds; nor to all those *intemperate Sallies* and *Excursions* which may be found therein: That so I may be more large and ample in my Discourse on those points, in which the *Heart* and *Essence* of the Controversy doth consist.

1. I granted, that *Christians* are obliged to be united in the same *Faith*; and we are thus united to the Church of *England*: For though we subscribe but 36 of the 39 *Articles*, yet it cannot be pretended but that all the Essential and Fundamental *Articles* of the *Christian Faith* are comprehended in them: Nor durst Mr. *Agate* affirm that we are separated from the Churches Faith in any *necessary* point thereof. Whether we, like the *Meletians* and *Donatists*, are Schismatics upon any other account, is the thing to be considered under the following Heads.

2. I observed in the second place, that Christians are obliged to be united in *Love*. And 'twas frankly owned by me, that we ought to love the Members of the *Established Church*, not only as Men, but as Fellow-Christians, as Protestants and Heirs of the same *Hope*. If there were any that *said* or *thought* otherwise, I publickly disclaimed them. In answer to this, Mr. *Agate* harps upon an old jarring String, the *Civil War*, when the *Clergy were ruined, and their Wives and Children turn'd to Door* [p. 275] But is it a necessary Consequence, that I can't love a Churchman because the *Long-Parliament* bore too hard upon some Clergymen, who opposed them in their War against the *King*. I may as well argue, that because Arch bishop *Laud*, and his High-Church Faction, turned Clergymen with their Families out a Starving, who durst not encourage Dancing upon Sundays; therefore Mr. *Agate* must needs bear a mortal Hatred to all the Conscientious Observers of that sacred Day: Or to give a later Instance, because the Church of *England* deprived several of her own *Bishops* and *Clergy* of their Benefices, for their Noncompliance with the late *Revolution*, leaving them, their Wives and Children, to the wide World; therefore she can have no real Kindness for any of the Function. These Consequences are as
just

just and necessary, as the Inference which Mr. *Agate* makes, That the *Dissenters* can't possibly love the *Clergy*, because some of them met with the Fate that usually attends a *Vanquished Party*; and were *rigorously* dealt with by their Conquerors, at the conclusion of an *intestine, cruel War*.

'TIS further urged by this Gentleman, That the *Episcopal Church* has been called the *Whore of Babylon*, and her Priests *greedy Dogs* [p. 275.] and I know not what besides. But is this the Language of me, or any *Dissenter* this Day in *England*? Did I not publicly tell him, and all the World, that I would not be an Advocate for any who should use such rude uncharitable Expressions? And where is the Conscience or Honour of objecting to me, the things which I was never guilty of my self, and have openly disclaimed in others? But says this Gentleman, *Why do not the Dissenters join with us in breaking Bread, and in Prayers; without which, all Pretences to Christian Charity are false* [p. 277.]. If this be a true Notion, my *Antagonist* has no Charity for any but the Members of his Church; for there is no other Christian Society in the World with whom he can join in Communion, according to his own Principles. Nay, *one moiety* of the *Established Church*, I believe I may say *two parts in three* thereof, can by this Rule have no Charity for it, because they never yet *brake Bread* in it. This Doctrine makes Schismatics of multitudes of the most *furious Zealots*, and *fiercest Scorners* of the *Dissenters* in the whole Kingdom. Besides, the *Dissenters* have but small Encouragement to demonstrate their *charity*, by communicating with the Church, when for this very Action they shall be condemned for *Blasphemy, Hypocrisy*, for *ridiculing their very God*, and making a *Jest of all Religion*. In one word, though this Gentleman's Charity may be confined within the narrow limits of that particular Church, with which alone he can join in *Prayers and breaking of Bread*; yet we hope we can truly thank God, that ours is of a more large extensive Nature. After all, he professes himself to be in *Charity with all Men*, even with the *Presbyterians themselves* [p. 278.] and hopes *this may be done without joining in Communion with them*. And why may not I affirm the very same thing in relation to our *Episcopal Brethren's*.

3. THE third thing in which Christians are obliged to be united, is, *Divine Worship*; which may be considered, either as to its *Essence*, or to those *Rites and Circumstances* with which it is attended. As to the *Substance of Divine Worship*, I urged, That in this we agree with the *Church of England*, ad-
ring

ring the same *supreme Being*, in and through JESUS the *Mediator*; and participating of the same *Sacraments*. This is what Mr. *Agate* cannot deny. But instead of *Arguing*, he pursues his old Trade of *Scolding* at us, pretending, that we salute our *Maker* with *Blasphemy*, *Nonsense*, and *Kitchenstuff*, [p. 279.] Were this true in Matter of Fact, 'tis strange that no *one Instance* can be given of it, when our *Meeting-House-Doors* are always open, where many do sometimes repair out of meer Curiosity, and others on purpose to Cavil and find Fault. So that this looks more like the *Tattle* of some *idle Gossip*, than the *Affirmation* of a *Philosopher*, or *Divine*. As for the Objection *That we are not rightly Ordain'd*, I shall suspend my Answer to it at present, because I shall more largely speak to that Head in the sequel of this Discourse.

I observed in my *Defence*, That *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, One God and Father of all*, are mentioned by Saint Paul as the Grand Terms of *Christian Concord*, Eph. 4. 5, 6. not *One Ceremony*, or *Mode of Worship*. To this Mr. *Agate* replies, *That every Member of the Christian Church must also own the same Government, and submit to the same Discipline*, [p. 280.] But who told him so? There is no such Expression to be found in my Bible; and I wonder who gave him an Authority to make such Additions to *God's Word*! Besides, the *Church of England* acknowledges in her very *Liturgy*, *That she has not now the same GODLY DISCIPLINE that was in the Primitive Church*. Whence it must follow, (according to Mr. *Agate's Doctrine*) that she has made a *schismatical Departure* from the *Primitive Church*, and cannot be a *Member* of the same Body with it. But this *Gentleman* confesses in so many words, *That the Point of Schism does not consist in differing about Matters of Faith, and the Essentials of Worship* [p. 289.] And there is no Reason we should spend much Time in Disputes that are remote from the main Controversy.

AS we are united to the *Church of England* in the *Substance of Divine Worship*, so 'tis owned, that we are not united in those *Ceremonies* with which it is cloathed, those *Rites and Circumstances* with which it is attended. And the *Question* between us is, Whether we are *Obliged*, by any *Divine or Humane Law*, to worship God with the same *External Rites*, and *Variable Modes*, that the *Established Church* now does? As for the *Law of God*, it commands us, *To assemble our selves together* for the Participation of *Gospel Ordinances*; to acknowledge *God's Sovereignty* over us, and our *Dependence* upon him: But whether we must Pray *Standing or Kneeling*, with or without

without a Form; or how many *Congregations* there must be, within such or such a Precinct; is what we do not find determined in all the sacred Volumes. To this Mr. *Agate* replies, *That though the Act of Uniformity be not to be found in the Bible in express Terms, yet Obedience to Ecclesiastical and Civil Governours, in all Lawful Matters, is plainly written in it*, [page 281.] On the other Hand, we plead in our own Vindication, That we are not guilty of any *Disobedience* to the *Civil Magistrate*: And whether *Diocesan Bishops* are appointed by *Jesus Christ*, to be the *Governours* of his Church, this being the very Hinge on which the whole *Controversy* turns, will be more largely considered under another Head.

IN the mean time, we are to examine, whether these *Scriptures* which this *Gentleman* produces, do enforce *Conformity* to all those *External* Forms of Worship, which our *Brethren* are so delighted with. The first Text insisted on, [p. 283.] is that of *John* 17. 21, 22. in which our *Saviour* prays, *That his Followers may be ONE, as he and his Father are ONE*. Now 'tis certain that these Words must not be taken in their most strict and rigid Sense; the Father and the Son are declared to be essentially One. But 'tis absolutely impossible that all Christians should be in this Sense *ONE*; or that there should be the same Unity betwixt them, that there is betwixt the Persons in the sacred Trinity. And therefore Dr. *Whitby* thus Paraphrases our Saviour's Words, *That they may be ONE in us, i. e. by the Participation of that Spirit, which is in Me*. Thus they that are joined to the Lord, are said to be one Spirit, that is, they are animated and enlivened by the same *Holy Ghost*, which was without Measure poured out upon the Blessed *Jesus*. And I hope both *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* may participate of the same *Spirit*, tho' they do not say their Prayers in the same *Words*; and that their *Souls* may be adorned with the same *Graces*, tho' their *Foreheads* are not sign'd with the same *Cross*.

Again, St. *Paul* beseeches the *Corinthians*, that there be *no Divisions among them, but that they be perfectly joined together in the same Mind, and in the same Judgment*, 1 Cor. 1. 10. That is, in the same Belief, and in the same kind Affections one towards another, as the above-named Doctor Comments on these Words. And the *Divisions* for which this Church is blamed, are expounded by Contentions in the following Verse, by *Strife* and *Envy*, 1 Cor. 3. 3. Now, if there be any *Dissenters* who are Envious and Quarrellsome, Outrageous in their Temper, or Cruel in their Censures; if there be any who have

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their Minds Hag-ridden by these Infernal Furies : Let them be condemn'd for *Schismatics* with all my Heart ; I'll not be their Advocate. But then the Question will still remain, Whether these ugly Passions are not more predominant in Mr. *Agate* and his Tribe, than among my Friends ?

In the next Place, we are presented with these Texts of Scripture, in which *Peace* and *Friendship* are recommended to us ; Thus we are enjoyn'd, *To follow the Things that make for Peace ; To live peaceably with all Men, as much as in us lieth, and to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace.* That we are obliged to govern our selves by the Rules here prescribed, is what we readily confess. But why may we not live peaceably, as becomes Christians, and Fellow-Citizens, and yet indulge each Other in our various Sentiments, about external *Modes* and *Ceremonies* ? What necessity is there that we should scratch out one anothers Eyes, because they are not of the same Colour, or perhaps do not see Objects through the same Glasses ? Why should my Neighbour quarrel with me, for not hearing the same Minister as he does, any more than for not consulting the same Physician ? St. Paul will tell us, that the best way to keep the *Unity of the Spirit* in the *Bond of Peace*, is *to forbear one another in Love*, Eph. 4. 2, 3. The same Apostle supposes, that the *Jewish* and *Gentile* Converts might have different Apprehensions about several Matters, without violating the sacred *Bonds of Peace* : Only, *He that eateth, must not despise him that eateth not ; nor he that eateth not, judge him that eateth*, Rom. 14. 3.

I know 'tis buz'd about by the *Wasps* of the Nation, *That We are the Men who disturb the Tranquillity of the Kingdom.* But 'tis no new thing for the *Wolf* to quarrel with the *Lamb*, for troubling those Waters which his own Feet had muddied. The *Apostles* themselves were described, as Men that *turned the World upside down* : ' And the *Primitive Christians* as Dr. *Cave* observes) were looked upon, by their *Pagan* Neighbours, as the *Pests* of Humane Society, counted and called the *Common Enemies* of Mankind *. The truth on't is, there is a mighty Difference betwixt the *Occasion*, and proper *Cause* of *Mischief*. The *Gospel* it self was the *occasion* of *Jeuds* and *Animosities* ; but far enough from being the real *cause* thereof. *I came not* (says out Saviour) *to send Peace, but a Sword ; to set a Man at Variance against his Father, &c.* Mat. 10. 34, 35. Not that this was the End and Design of his *Incarnation* ; nor were

* *Primitive Christianity*, pt. 1. p. 67.

were these dismal Consequences to be imputed to the *Doctrine* which *He* and his *Disciples* taught ; but to the rampant *Pride* and boisterous *Passions* of those *Wretches*, who were so bitterly incensed against it, and all its *Professors*. What *We* desire is, To Live *peaceable* and *quiet Lives*, under the *Auspicious Government* of our Most Gracious *QUEEN* ; And to Enjoy our *civil and religious Privileges* : And whil'st this is The *ONLY* Thing We aim at, We can't think our selves responsible for those *Feuds and Quarrels* which may be occasioned by the *Sons of Thunder*, who Rattle, and Spit Fire, when they cannot Crush and Tear us in Pieces.

ANOTHER Text which Mr. *Agate* urges is, *Phil. 2. 2.* in which the *Apostle* conjures the *Philippians* To be of *One Accord*, and *One Mind* [p. 283.] The meaning of which cannot be, that we should jump exactly in the same *Notions*, or embrace the very same *Opinions*, in all Things : This is impracticable in its own Nature, nor are all the Members of the *Church of England* thus of *One Mind*, or ever will be. Wherefore, to be like-minded, is to have the same Love one to another, as the Phrase is expounded in the beginning of this very Verse. And as the *Mind* includes the *whole Soul*, with all its Faculties and Powers ; so to be of *One Mind*, denotes rather the Harmony of the *Affections*, than of the *Judgment*. The latter is not to be expected, whil'st Mens Capacities, Tempers and Educations are so vastly different ; the former is a Duty, to which all who call themselves *Christians* are indispensably obliged.

AGAIN ; St. *Paul* beseeches the *Romans* in these words, Mark them which cause Divisions and Offences, contrary to the *Doctrine* which you have learned, and avoid them. Which Text Dr. *Hammond*, an Episcopal Divine of Great Note, thus paraphrases : ' Take Notice of them which teach New *Doctrines*, ' either *contrary* or *different* from what we have taught you, ' and so break the Peace of the Church, and discourage and ' drive away others from the Faith. From such *Heretical Teachers* you are to separate. Now, if Mr. *Agate* can find any *Dissenter* who teaches a *Doctrine* that is *Anti-Apostolical*, I should wish, that a *Brand of Infamy* was set upon his Forehead, that all might fly from the Contagion.

MOREOVER, we read in the Holy Scriptures of *False Prophets*, *Grievous Wolves*, and *Murderers* [p. 284.] Therefore we are obliged to say our Prayers by a *Form*, and Baptize our Children with *Godfathers*, and the sign of the Cross. Are not the plain Consequences ! Are not the *Dissenters* an obstinate and stubborn Generation, that can withstand the Force of such

cogent Arguments as these ! If the *Wolf* may be known by his greediness after Prey, and his devouring tearing Qualities ; If the *Hater of his Brother*, who is said to be a *Murderer*, may be defcried by publishing *outrageous Calumnies*, and *bloody Slanders* against him ; These Characters will be found upon some who are far enough from *Dissenters* : In the mean time, we have nothing but this *Gentleman's* word for it, that these Titles belong to us.

I can't imagine the Reason why Mr. *Agate* should subjoyn the *Texts* that follow, unless it be to make up his Number. 'Tis true, St. *Paul* reckons *Hatred*, *Variance*, *Wrath*, *Strife*, *Seditious* and *Heresses*, amongst the *Works of the Flesh* [p. 284.] But have the *Dissenters* engross'd those Vices to themselves ? Are our *High-Flyers* made up of pure Love and Kindness ? If *Hatred* be the Reverse to *Charity*, I fear it may be sometimes found lurking under a Crape Gown. 'Tis one character of *Charity*, that it *thinketh no Evil* : But there is a certain *Clergyman* in the World, who can speak all manner of *Evil* against his *Brethren*, and that *falsly* too ; of which I have given multitudes of Instances in my former *Treatises*. But to proceed : Our Saviour tells us, That a *Kingd^m* divided against it self is brought to Desolation, Mat. 12. 25. And if any Man abide not in him, he is cast forth as a Branch, and is withered, which Men gather and cast into the Fire, John 15. 6. This, I confess, would be something to the purpose, did we by going to Meetings renounce our Creed, or turn *Apostates* from the *Christian Faith* ; or were the saying our *Prayers without Book*, the same with railing a *Mutiny* and *Sedition* in *Christ's Kingdom*. In the mean time, whilst none of the things are proved, the citation of these *Texts* will appear to be very little to the purpose.

BESIDES, if *Uniformity* be so absolutely necessary to preserve the *Churches Peace*, as is pretended, I would fain learn a Reason, why the *Church-men* do not lye under the same *Obligations* with the *Dissenters*, to do all that possibly they can in Order to procure it ? There are Thousands still living, who very well remember, how, upon the late *Revolution*, the Lower-House of *Convocation* were invited, not only by the *Exhortations* of *Christ* and his *Apostles* in general, but by the *King* and *Bishops* in particular, to endeavour a *nearer Union* amongst Protestants : But so tullen and averse to all *Accommodation* was the major part of that *Assembl^y*, that as we are assured by a Learned Prelate still living, " a formed Resolution was taken, " of consenting to no Alterations at all, in order to that U-

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“ nion *. Not a *Gesture*, or a *Ceremony*, must be parted with, though to prevent, what they are pleased to call, a *Damning Schism*.

WE are next presented with large and vehement *Declamations* against *Schism*, by St. *Crispian* and Mr. *Baxter*. As for the latter, he preached himself amongst *Dissenters*, which he would not have done, had he thought them guilty of so great a Crime: And how warmly soever the former expressed himself on that Head, yet, when he was *deposed* and *banished* by the Intrigues of an exasperated *Empress*, and those obsequious *Bishops*, who to make their Court, and gratify their Ambition, were resolved to stick at nothing; his Friends and Followers separated themselves from his Successor, and set up their Meetings in *Constantinople*. Nor do I remember, that he did ever *blame* them for, or *disswade* them from it.

THUS have I considered *Divine Worship*, as to its *essential* necessary parts; and 'tis confessed by Mr. *Agate*, *That the point of Schism does not consist in differing about these Matters*; nor can it be pretended, that the Circumstances of *Religious Worship* are determined in the sacred *Records*. But I am gravely asked by him, *Whether we forsake the Communion of the Church because such Modes are used as are not specified in Scripture?* If so, we must be Separatists from all the Churches in the World. Where are we commanded to sing Psalms in Meter, or Preach in a Cloak? [p. 291.] To which I reply, That I never urged these Circumstances as the Cause and Reason of my *Dissent*: I only argued thus, That because God has not particularly required us to *Pray standing or kneeling, with or without a Form*, therefore, our using either of these indifferent Modes cannot be a *Violation* of the Divine Command; nor does Mr. *Agate* put our *Schism* upon that Issue, but upon a pretended *Disobedience to our Ecclesiastical Governours*; which shall be considered in its proper place. However, I cannot but take Notice of this Gentleman's Assertion, *That the Modes and Postures now used in the Church of England, are such as Christ and his Apostles made use of when on the Earth* [p. 292.] I take this to be a Mistake in Matter of Fact: In the Administration of the *Sacrament*, not *Kneeling*, but a *table Gesture* was made use of by them, *Mat. 26. 20. Mark 14. 18. Luke 22. 14.* And tho' this may not make such a posture absolutely necessary, yet it justifies those who follow so Great an *Example*. 'Tis true, the
Apostles

* Bp. Burnets *Refl. on the Rights of Engl. Convocat.* p. 16.

Apostles kneeled down and prayed ; But is there any *Dissenter* in *England* who dislikes that *Humble Gesture* ? Did *St. Paul* Baptize with the sign of the *Cross* ? Or oblige *Godfathers* and *Godmothers*, to *promise* and *vow* what they are never able to *perform* ? Could one Instance of this Nature be produced, it would be something to the purpose.

I am next to consider the *Laws of the Land*, whether our *Dissent* be a *Violation* of them. To illustrate this Matter, I will crave the Readers Patience whilst I propose the following Case: Suppose that I was a *Layman*, and an Inhabitant of Mr. *Agate's* Parish, I demand, what it is obliges me to attend on his Ministry, rather than that of any other Clergyman in the City ? This I desire to be satisfied in, according to his own Scheme. Is it the *Law of God* ? This cannot be pretended ; for Parochial Bounds are not of a *divine* Original : And 'twas several Hundreds of Years before *Presbyters* had their distinct Cures and Titles assigned unto them. So that if I am under any Obligation to take him for my *Pastor* rather than another, who is as much a Clergyman as himself, this arises from the Sanction of an *Humane Law*. Hence I argue, The same *Authority* which lays the Obligation, can at any time dissolve it. And this is our Case. We are now left at our *Liberty*, to choose our own *Minister*, as well as our own *Physician*. By an Act of Parliament made 1 *W. & M.* 'tis ordained, that several *Statutes* therein mentioned, which did oblige us to a punctual *Uniformity*, ' shall not ' be construed to extend to such Protestant Dissenters, who shall ' *qualify* themselves as the *Law* directs. Whence I inferred, that if these *Statutes* did not *extend* to us, they could not *bind* us ; and where there is no *Law*, there can be no such thing as a *Transgression* of it. To this Mr. *Agate* objects, *That the preceptive Part, and internal Vigour of those Laws relating to Uniformity, are still in force. And that 'tis only the Penalty which shall not be construed to extend to Dissenters* [pag. 297.] Thus runs the Objection.

TO which my Answer is, *Ubi Lex non distinguit, non est distinguendum*. The Acts of Parliament expressly says, That such and such *Statutes* shall not be construed to *extend* unto us. Now, if the *Law* does not reach us, the *preceptive* Part cannot reach us ; for, according to Mr. *Agate's* Notion, the very Life and Essence of a *Law* consists in its *preceptive* Part ; and therefore, one can extend it self no farther than the other. I know Mr. *Norris* keeps a mighty pother with his *Suarez* ; as if that *Spanish* Jesuite was the infallible Expounder of an *English* Statute.

tute. But in Opposition to what has been advanced by him, and others, on that Head, I thus argue: If the *Law* *ALLOWS* us to frequent *Protestant Dissenting-Meetings*, it doth not oblige us to go constantly to *Church*; but it *ALLOWS* us to frequent such *Meetings*, therefore, &c. The *Reason* of the Consequence is, because these two are absolutely inconsistent with one another; 'tis impossible, in the Nature of the thing, that we can be *Bound* and *Free* at the same time; confined to one Place and Object, and yet have our choice of many. 'Tis true, my *Antagonist* affirms, *That the Toleration Act is no Allowance* [p. 63.] And that it is *very different from a License* [p. 302.] But in this he is contradicted by the *Statute* it self, which contains in it the very word *Allowed*, as applied to our *Assemblies*. Or if this *Gentleman* pleases, I will appeal to his own *Diocesan*, who in his *Visitation Articles* [Tit. 4.] orders the "*Church-Wardens* to enquire, if there be any in their Parish who do not resort unto their Church or Chappel for Divine Service, or to some Congregation or Assembly for Religious Worship, *ALLOW'D* or permitted by the Act of Toleration: And to execute the Law against such as go neither to their Parish Church, nor to any Congregation, or Assembly, so *ALLOWED* and permitted. I could wish that his *Lordship's* Instructions on this Head were more fully executed, and such ungodly Wretches dragged out of the Ale-House, and Chimney-Corner, and constrained to pay that Homage to the Supreme Being, which all Reasonable Creatures do owe unto him. However, this may satisfy the Reader, that our *Assemblies* are by *Law allowed*. I hope Mr. *Acate* will content himself with the Glory of publicly Insulting his *late Diocesan*, and that he will pay a greater Deference to his Successor.

BUT 'tis demanded of me, *Whether there be no Obligation to Church-Communion but an Act of Parliament?* [pag. 298.] With other Questions of a like Nature; all which have been already answered, by acknowledging, that we are obliged by the *Law of God* to adore the *Supreme Majesty*, to honour the *Son* as we honour the *Father*, and to assemble our selves together for the participation of Gospel Ordinances: But, that this must be done in such a particular *Place*, in such a set *Form*, and that we must be under the Jurisdiction of a *Diocesan Bishop*, these things are purely owing to the *Civil Establishment*, which has been pleased to give us our Liberty. 'Tis owned, that no Act of *State* can supercede a *Divine Command*; and when it can be proved, that we are as much obliged by *Christ* to live in Subjection to a *Diocesan Bishop*, as *Children* are to obey their *Parents*.

rents [p. 299.] this Instance will signify something to the Purpose, to which it is produced. In the mean time, a little more *Decency* towards Her Majesty, who has Promised to *MAINTAIN* the *Toleration Act* *INVOLABLE*, might have been expected from a *Passive Obedience Man*, than to affirm, That the *Authority of the Nation* can no more acquit us from *Schism*, than *excuse us from cutting one another's Throats* [pag 302.] Which is as much as to say, That the *QUEEN* is resolved to indulge a Crime, of an equal Enormity with *Murder* it self.

'TIS urged by Mr. Agate, That the *Presbyterians* exclaimed against a *Toleration*, some 50 or 60 Years ago; and that therefore the *Dissenters* take Things to be good or evil, according to their Occasions [p. 294, 296.] 'Tis possible, there may be *High Kirk-men* as well as *High Church-men*; but for my part, I dislike *Heat and Violence* in a *Presbyterian*, or *independent*, as much as in another Person. The Question is, Whether the *indulgence* we now enjoy be *justifiable*, and not what Persons Sentiments have been concerning it.

TO make a true Judgment of this Matter, we ought to consider the *Temper* of the *Age* in which these Men lived, and what that *Toleration* was against which they exclaimed. My Lord Clarendon tells us, ' That *Cromwel's* Chaplains inveigh'd bitterly against the *Presbyterian Government*; and his Officers and Soldiers went up into the Pulpits *. Nay, *Cromwel* himself, when declaiming against that *Levelling Faction*, which he had a long time countenanced, in order to promote his own Designs, tells his *Parliament*, ' That the Ax was laid to the Root of the Ministry, and that he who was *Ordained*, had a Nullity, or *Antichristianism* stamped upon his Calling †. And in that Mongrel Assembly, called *Barebones* his *Parliament*, ' there was a Spirit of Confusion working, to take away the *Maintenance*, and the very *Office of the Ministry*; so that *Tithes* were resolved to be *Antichristian*, and fit to be abolished ‖. In one word; Nothing would content those *Hot-headed Sectaries*, which abounded in *Cromwel's* Army, but the Destruction of *Tithes*, *Universities*, and the *Ministerial Function*: No wonder if this gave an Alarm to the *Presbyterians*, as well as others. For my part, I am so far of their mind, that I had rather there was no *Toleration* at all, than that *Schools of Learning* should be destroyed, *Tithes* alienated, (though I am never like

* Clar. Hist. Vol. 3. p. 32.
 † His Speech in the Painted Chamber, Sept. 4. 1654.
 ‡ p. 192.

† His Speech in the Painted Chamber, Sept. 4. 1654.
 ‡ History of England, Vol. 3.

like to have any Benefit of them) and the *Parish Pulpits* invaded by an *Enthusiastical Cabal of Levellers and Ranters*.

IF we consider the Doctrines propagated by this wild Herd, some of them had the Impudence to publish, (as Mr. *Edwards* tells us, ' That *Jesus Christ* was not very God; That we ' should not look for great Matters from one Crucified at *Jerusalem* Sixteen Hundred Years ago. Others pretended, That the ' Holy Scriptures were no better than a Ballad, and that there ' was no Resurrection of the Body! With abundance of Stuff too horrid to be repeated *. These were the monstrous Tenets that the *Presbyterians* exclaimed against; and I appeal to all Mankind, whether it be a Reasonable Consequence, that because they were against tolerating intolerable *Blasphemies and Heresies*, that therefore they must needs oppose the allowing Liberty to such as are confessedly *Orthodox*, and cheerfully subscribe all the Doctrinal *Articles* of the Church?

BUT to what purpose do we talk of a *Toleration*, when, according to this *Gentleman*, there is really no such thing; for he positively asserts, That our *Governours* have ordered all the People of this Nation, to use a *Form of Prayer*, and to kneel at the *Sacrament* [p. 293.] But this Conceit is absolutely false in Matter of Fact: The *Queen* and *Parliament* speak to us by their Laws; and we have a Law which allows us to worship God without a *Liturgy*, and to use the same Posture that *Christ* and his *Disciples* did in celebrating the *Communion*.

IN my *Defence*, I cited A-bp. *Usher*, who tells us, ' That divers ' Rites and Manners of Celebration were observed in divers parts ' of the Kingdom of *Ireland*. This gives great Occasion of Triumph to my Adversary, as he supposes, as if we took our measures of Worship from the *Wild Irish* [p. 304.] But how can this *Gentleman* prove, that the *Irish* at that time were not as much civilized as the *English*? A-bp. *Usher* doth not find Fault with their different Rites and Modes of Worship; they were the *Pope's Legates* who quarrelled with them on that account. And we may guess a little at this *Gentleman's* Humour, when he takes his Measures of Church-Unity from the *Pope* and his *Cardinals*.

I am now come to consider that which is, in truth, the *Hinge* on which the whole CONTROVERSY turns, and that is, Whether we are guilty of *Schism*, because not united to a *Diocesan Bishop*? For this is the very Point in which the Dispute between

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* *Gangræna*, p. 21, 27, 38. Edit. 2d.

us centers : And therefore, I have not swollen this Volume by Animadverting upon every Paragraph, or Sentence which I meet with in this *Author*, or by taking Notice of all his *Quibbles*, and *intemperate Sallies*, that so I might more largely insist on that in which the main Stress of the Business lies.

Mr. *Agate* contends, That the Point of Schism does not consist in differing about Matters of Faith, and the Essentials of Worship [p. 289.] Nay, he does not charge us with Schism, because we have not the same Modes and Adjuncts of Worship that he has; or because we don't use the Surplice; or because our Worship is (as he terms it, p. 306.) slovenly and ill-favour'd. He owns, That the Cathedrals and Parish Churches have different Rules to go by, [p. 305.] without being Schismaticks, because under the same Governours. Whence it necessarily follows, that we may be Innocent, though we walk by different Rules; and all the Question is, Whether we are, or ought to be, in Submission to the same Governours? On the other Hand, this Gentleman affirms, That every Bishop is a spiritual SOVEREIGN; That all Christians within their Territories ought to be subject to them, and acknowledge their Jurisdiction: And that the Dissenters are Schismaticks, because they refuse to obey their Bishops [p. 308.] Nay, we may be in Communion with a Church by Law Established, and yet be Schismatical all the while, for want of what he calls Apostolical Government [page 307.] that is, *Diocesan Prelacy*. And indeed, throughout his whole *Treatise*, the Burden of his Song is this, That we revolt from our Lawful Governours, disobey our Ecclesiastical Rulers, and that this makes us Schismaticks.

THIS is indeed the very Foundation on which the late Mr. Arch-Deacon *Burrough* built his celebrated *Discourse of Schism*. In describing Church-Unity, he tells us, That the Catholic Church is one Political Body: That its Government is One, there being One Episcopacy, which every Bishop possesses (in a manner to me mysterious and unintelligible): That the People are also One, because they obey these their spiritual Rulers, and adhere unto them*. So that if we break the Churches Unity in any respect, 'tis by our Noncommunion with *Diocesan Prelacy*. Mr. *Agate* cannot deny, but that we are the same with the Established Church in Faith, and in the Essentials of Worship. He owns there may be different Rules to go by, without any Imputation of Guilt. All therefore that can be objected to us is this, That we are not united to a Bishop, whose Headship

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* *Burrough of Schism*, p. 35, 36.

over his *Diocess* is, according to this *Gentleman*, of an *Essential Nature* †.

BEING arraigned of *Schism*, upon this Account, I made this Plea in our own Defence, That the Jurisdiction which *Bishops* have over *Presbyters*, is derived from, and founded on, the *Queens Supremacy*, and the *Law of the Land*: That the same Law which gave the *Bishop* his Jurisdiction, hath exempted us from it: That we cannot be Criminals on that account, for where there is no *Law*, there can be no such thing as a *Transgression* of it. This provokes my *Antagonist* above measure, and transports him beyond all the bounds of Decency and Truth. This *Notion* (he says) is, the very Dregs of that Blasphemous Author of the Christian Rights: That I have told the World, that I believe Religion to be only a point of State: That I am of Hobbs's his mind, and have the same Opinion with Atheists and Deists, and think the Priesthood to be a Cheat [p. 321.] These extravagant Exclamations would have startled me, had they come from any other Quarter; but considering the Humour of the Man with whom I have to do, and that those Lines might be composed about the Fall of the Leaf, I was not much surprized at them. However, to cure this *Gentleman* of his Frenzy, I must avow his Accusation to be *injurious, false, and groundless*; for which I have not given him the least Occasion. On the other Hand, I am most firmly perswaded, that the Gospel Ministry is an institution of *Jesus Christ*: That it is not derived from, nor yet depending on, any *Law* or *Sanction* whatsoever, that is purely Humane. If this *Gentleman* understands any thing of the Constitution of his own Church, he must know, that there is a mighty Difference between a *Bishop's Authority* to administer the *Sacraments*, and perform other Holy Offices, which I own proceeds from a Divine Original, and his *Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters*, which is the only thing that I affirm to be Humane, as being derived from the *Law of the Land*.

NOR am I singular in this Notion; and to convince my Adversary that I did not borrow it of the Author of the *Rights, &c.* I shall at present refer him to a Book that is very common, and that saw the Light some dozens of Years before the other was ever thought of; 'tis to *The Present State of England*: That which I have now before me is the 7th Edition of 1673. In the Account which is given of the *Ecclesiastical Government* of this Kingdom, we are told, 'That the Function of an English Bishop

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'consists

† Reply, p. 54.

“ consists in what he acts, either by his Episcopal Order, or by his Episcopal Jurisdiction.

“ BY his Episcopal Order, he may ordain Deacons and Priests, &c. The Jurisdiction of a Bishop is either *ordinary* or *delegated*; the *ordinary*, is what by the LAW of the LAND belongs to each Bishop; the *delegated*, is what the KING is pleased to confer upon him, &c. Again; this JURISDICTION (we are told) is established partly by Statute Law, and partly by Common and Ecclesiastical Law together. And for the better executing this Jurisdiction, the LAW of England hath furnished the Bishops with a Power of Ecclesiastical Censures, &c. The Reader is desired to take Notice, that this Author concurs with me exactly, in deriving the *Bishops Jurisdiction* from the *Law of the Land*. This Book has been so well received, that there have been above 20 Editions of it. Doctor *Chamberlain*, who first composed it, was so far from being a Friend to the *Dissenters*, that he treats them with as much Scurrility, Contempt and Scorn, as Mr. *Agate* has ever done; whilst he speaks as Magnificently of the *Bishops* and *Clergy*, as 'tis possible for a Man to do. Now, if there be such a world of *Blasphemy*, *Impiety* and *Atheism* in the above-named Assertion, as is pretended by my Opponent; is it not unaccountable that such a Doctrine should pass current, for so many Years, without any Censure? That none of our *Bishops* or *Divines* should take any Notice of such a pestilent Heresy? Or that that must be *Deism* in me, which passes for *Orthodox Doctrine* in another Man?

’TIS true, I quoted an *Act of Parliament*, which declares the *King* or *Queen* to be the *Fountain of Spiritual Jurisdiction*. But if this be an improper Expression, as I think it is, he must not quarrel with me, but with the *Statute*, which contains these very words; and Mr. *Agate* undertakes to Vindicate and Expound them [p. 322.] All therefore that I am responsible for, is this Proposition, That *Bishops* receive [not their *Power of Baptizing, Ordaining, or Officiating* in Holy Things, but] their *Jurisdiction over Presbyters* from the *Law of the Land*. My next Task therefore is, to prove, That this is the real Case as to Matter of Fact, and that so much has been acknowledged by the greatest *Dignitaries* of the *Church*, in every Age since the *Reformation*.

I N discoursing on these Heads, I shall at present consider the *Church of England*, not as it is a Church of *Christ* in general, but as it is the Church by *Law Establish'd*; this being that Characteristical

* *Present State of England*, pt. 2. p. 16, 18, 20.

characteristical Mark by which it is distinguish'd, by its most zealous *Votaries*, from all other *Societies*. Under this denomination, it is extoll'd as the *best* and *purest* Church upon the Face of the Earth, and most resembling the truly *Primitive* and *Apostolical* Churches: Scarce a Writer that engages in its Defence, but describes it in such a *magnificent* and *lofty* strain as this is: For which Reason, I shall enquire, whence it is, according to the Constitution of this very Church, that a *Bishop* receives his *Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters*? The *Arguments* which encline me to conclude; that this *Jurisdiction* is derived from the *Law of the Land*, are these that follow.

1. THE first *Argument* which I produce to prove, that the *Jurisdiction* of a *Bishop* in the *Church of England*, is derived from the *Law of the Land*, is this, that the *Bishops* often have been, and at any time may be deprived of their *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* by the same Law. 'Tis a Maxim agreed on by all *Lawyers* and *Civilians*, and I think disputed by none, That no Authority can vacate a Commission, less than that which gave it. There is the same Power required to annihilate, which did at first create. If the *Queen* gives me a Commission, no *Inferiour Magistrate* can divest me of it. If the *KING* of Heaven gives the *Bishop* his *Jurisdiction*, no *Earthly Power* whatsoever may wrest the *Crosier* out of his Hand, or pluck the *Miter* from his Head: I take this to be obvious to the meanest Capacity: Or if Mr. *Agate* expects the *Opinion* of Great and Learned Men, I may refer him to his own *Diocesan*, who affirms, and that with a great deal of Reason, 'That the Priest being, as well as the Civil Magistrate, the *Minister of God*, the Civil Magistrate cannot vacate his Commission *. Whence I humbly conceive, I may justly and modestly infer, That because the Civil Magistrate may vacate that Commission by which *Bishops* rule and govern *Presbyters*, therefore that Commission is not derived from God.

If we consult the *History of the Church of England*, we shall find, that, *de fact*, many *Bishops* have been actually deprived of their *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* by the *Law of the Land*. We need look no farther back than the late King *William's* Reign, and we shall find this Fate attending A-bp. *Sancroft*, and six other *Prelates*, for their *Noncompliance* with the *Revolution*, and refusing to give that Security, which every Government demands of such as expect Protection from it: I hinted at this in my *De-*
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* Sermon before the Queen, March 8. 1708.

fence. and argued, That if the Clergy of *Somerset* were oblig'd, by a Divine Law, to be united to Bishop *Ken*, and he was their *Essential Head*. (as Mr. *Agate* calls him; 'twould follow, that no *Act of Parliament* could dissolve the Obligation; and that he, according to his own Principles, was as much a *Schismatick* as those he exclaims against, in that he concurr'd with those who had set up *Bishop* against *Bishop*, and *Altar* against *Altar*. To which this Gentleman replies, confessing, that by *Jurisdiction*, he means that inherent Right a Bishop has to Ordain and Govern Presbyters; and of this (he says) no Humane Power can divest him: That when King William turned Dr. Sancroft out of Lambeth, he never pretended to delete his Character. But the INHERENT POWERS of his OFFICE, were the same after his Deprivation as they were before [p. 312. 312.] In opposition to which I would Remark:

1st. THAT this Notion is in most express Terms repugnant to the Statute of 1st. William and Mary, which Declares and Enacts, ' That if the Bishops, after 6 Months Suspension, shall persist in their refusal of the Oaths, they shall be *ipso facto* deprived, and are hereby judged to be deprived, of their OFFICES, Benefices, Dignities and Promotions Ecclesiastical. And if deprived of their OFFICES, the Inherent Powers of their Office could not possibly be continued to them, as this Gentleman vainly firmises.

2^{dly}, AGAIN; This Doctrine necessarily involves him in the guilt of *Schism*, according to his own Scheme; for if Bishops have an Inherent Right to govern Presbyters, and the Inherent Powers of the Nonjurant Bishop's OFFICE were the same after their Deprivation as before, it necessarily follows, that their subject Presbyters were under the same Obligations of Duty and Obedience after such Act of State, as they were before it: For a Power of Commanding, always infers a duty of Obeying. So that he must be a *Schismatick* by his own confession, when he withdrew his Obedience from Bishop *Ken*, who had still the Inherent Power of his Office; and transferred it to Bishop *Kidder*, thereby setting up opposite Bishops and Altars. But not to urge him any further with those Contradictions, by which he has entangled himself, let us see what he offers that may look like a provable Solution of the difficulty.

TO this end, he distinguishes between a Bishops Jurisdiction, and the Exercise of that Jurisdiction; and affirms, That a Bishop has an Inherent Right to govern Presbyters, of which no humane Power can divest him. But as for the Exercise of his Authority

Authority within such and such particular Districts, of this he may be divested [p. 317.] Just as a Minister of the Gospel has an Authority to Preach, and Administer the Sacraments, by a Divine Right; but his Relation to a particular Parish, is of an Humane institution. Hence the Union betwixt him and his Parishners is not indissoluble; but the same Authority which fixt him t ere, may, for sufficient Reasons remove him, and put another in his place [p. 311.] This is the Sum and Substance of what is offered on this Head. To which I answer:

THAT the *Abdicated Bishops* were not only restrained from the Exercise of their *Jurisdiction*, but absolutely divested of the very *thing* it fell; which appears from hence, Because, after their Deprivation, by *Act of Parliament*, there was not one *Presbyter* subject to them: Whereas 'twas as impossible that they should have *Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters*, without some *Presbyters* subject to that *Jurisdiction*, as 'tis that I should be a *Father* without a *Child*, or a *Husband* without a *Wife*. Or I may thus argue: If *Bp. Ken* (for Instance) had a *Right* to govern *Presbyters* after his Deprivation, there must be some *Presbyters* obliged to obey him, and to be governed by him. But there were no *Presbyters* thus obliged, and therefore he had no such *Inherent Power*. Certainly, if any *Priests* in the *World* owed Submission to his Government, they were those of his own *Dioceſs*, who had sworn *Canonical Obedience* to him; but these turned *Occasional Conformists*, and revolted from him, which they can never justify, but by supposing that he received his *Jurisdiction* from the *Law of the Land*, which may revoke its own *Grants*.

NOR will the Instance *Mr. Agate* has produced, of a *Minister* retaining his *spiritual Power*, though turned out of his *Parish*, at all relieve him; because, there is a vast Difference between a *Bishop's Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters*, and the *Commission* which he has received from *Jesus Christ*, to officiate in Sacred Things; which may be demonstrated from hence, That the latter continues and remains, when the former is perfectly destroyed. Thus for Instance; If *Bp. Ken* should officiate as a *Gospel Minister*, his Administrations will be esteemed *valid*, and the Child that he Baptizes will not be Rebaptized, &c. The Reason is, Because his Commission is derived from Heaven. But should he pretend to exert any part of his former *Jurisdiction*, to Suspend, Deprive, or Excommunicate a *Clergyman*, such an Act as this would, in its own Nature, be a meer Nullity. The Act of Parliament has annihilated his *Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters*.

ters, which it could not have done, had it been more than an Humane Institution.

IN one word ; 'Tis taken Notice of as a great Truth by my Lord of *Exon*, ' That the *Civil Magistrate* can't vacate that Commission which a Priest receives from God. I therefore demand of Mr. *Agate*, Whether Bp. *Ken* received his Commission to govern *Presbyters* from God, or from Men? If from Men, this establishes my Scheme, and ruins his. If from God, then where are the Persons subject to that Government? For 'tis senseless and absurd to the last Degree, to suppose that God should give a Man Commission to govern, and yet none be obliged to obey : So that it necessarily follows, either (1.) That the deprived *Bishops* derived their Jurisdiction from *Humane Laws* ; or 2.) That God has given them a Jurisdiction over Priests, whilst there are none subject to that Jurisdiction ; or (3.) That an Act of Parliament can vacate a Divine Commission ; or lastly, That the new *Bishops* were Intruders, and all those Schismatics that adhered to them. Nor can Mr. *Agate* excuse himself by pretending, *That he, and his Brethren in Somerset, did not reject the whole Episcopat* [p. 315.] For as the *Long-Parliament* would have been as much guilty of *Rebellion*, had they made *Cromwel* King against the Right Heir, as they were in setting up themselves a Common-Wealth : So the setting up an *opposite Bishop* is as much a Schism, in the prevailing Notion of it, as the erecting a *Presbytery*. And the *Donatists* could make the same Plea of being united to the *Episcopat*, that this Gentleman has done.

WHEN my Opponent tells us, *That the Catholick Church has allowed of the Deprivation of Bishops for a just Cause, and by a Competent Authority* [p. 313.] ; he should have told us, what he means by *Competent Authority*, and whether this may be applied to the *Civil Magistrate*. His Friends Mr. *Lest* and Mr. *Dodwel* will tell him, that it may not, and mind him of *Constantine's* Oration in a Synod of *Prelates*, ' What have I to do, who am no Bishop, to judge those that are? These Gentlemen suppose, that the Church must be governed by an *Episcopal Colledge*, who have Power from *Christ* to chastise their own Members : In the Exercise of which they are Independent on any *Civil Powers*. And so much may be said in Honour of those Learned Men, that their *Practice* corresponds with their *Principles*. Whereas Mr. *Agate* and his Party embrace their *Notions*, but shake Hands with their *Honesty* and *Courage* ; they are in truth OCCASIONAL CONFORMISTS ; they swore *Allegiance* to one whom they accounted a *de facto King*,
and

and *Canonical Obedience* to a *de facto* Bishop: And all this in Defiance to their own darling Principles, because they had *OC-CASION* for the *Glebe* and *Tithe-Pig*.

UPON the whole; The *Nonjurant Bishops* were not only divested of their *Authority* within such particular Districts, as made up their *quondam Diocesses*, but of their very *Right* to govern *Presbyters*; this appears both from the words of the *Statute*, which declares them *deprived* of their *Offices*, and from the *Reason* of the thing, it being impossible that *Bishops* should have a *RIGHT* to govern *Presbyters*, unless there are some *Priests* obliged to *recognize* and *submit* to that *RIGHT*.

PERHAPS Mr. *Agate* will be ready to conclude, that King *William* was a *Dutchman*, and that his first Parliament was made up of *Whigs*, and Apostates from the good Old Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*: To obviate such an Objection, it may not be amiss to look back upon the Reign of his Grandfather the *Royal Martyr*, to see whether he gave Countenance to any thing of a like Nature. Here *History* will present to our view Dr. *Abbot*, who was suspended from the Exercise of his *Archiepiscopal Jurisdiction*, as well as Dr. *Sandcroft*; only with this remarkable Difference, K. *Charles* did that by his own *Arbitrary Nod*, which his *Grandson* would not attempt to do without the Concurrence of *Lords* and *Commons*. The Matter of Fact was as follows: Amongst a numerous Crowd of *Sycophants*, who endeavoured to advance themselves by sordid Flattery, there was one Dr. *Sibthorp*, who being giddy with Ambition, and high-flown Notions of Loyalty, preached a Sermon, in which he endeavoured to prove, That the King of *England* had a Power to impose what *Taxes* he thought fit upon his Subjects, without Consent of *Parliament*. This Sermon was sent to the good *Arch-bishop* to License it, which he generously refused to do, disdaining to prostitute his own Conscience, and the Liberties of the Nation, to the Humours of a few aspiring Courtiers. For this Refusal, he was Sequestred from his *Jurisdiction*, and a Commission given to 3 or 4 other *Prelates*, of a more complaisant, malleable *Temper*, to take Cognizance of all Ecclesiastical Affairs and Matters, within the Province of *Canterbury* *.

Dr. *Abbot* was not the only person who felt the *Indignation* of the Court in that Reign; Bp. *Williams* of *Lincoln* tasted the same bitter Cup, being for meer *Trifles* suspended from all his *Jurisdiction*; not by his *Colleagues*, according to the Rules

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* *History of England*, Vol. 3. p. 50.

prescribed by ancient *Canons*, but by the *King's Commissioners*, the greater part of which were meer *Lay-men*. So that the *Deprivation of Bishops* is no such Peculiarity of *King William's* Reign, as *Mr. Agate* would fain insinuate, in order to depreciate the *Memory* of that Great PRINCE, amongst the High-flown Bigots of the Age.

NOR will it alter the Case, if it should be objected, That *K. Charles's Bishops* were only *Suspended* the Execution of their Office, and not *Deprived*; for the same Power which *suspended* them for 2 or 3 Years, might have *suspended* them as long as they lived; which is the same thing with an absolute *Deprivation*. The same Power that hinders the executing a Commission, may vacate that Commission. He can no more be said to be a *Bishop*, who is not suffered to do the Essential Business of his Function, than he can be called a *Justice of the Peace*, who is not permitted to do the Office of a *Justice*.

IF we look back to the Reign of *Q. Eliz.* we shall find, that she *deprived* all the *Bishops* that she found in *England* at her access to the Throne except one, for *refusing* the *Oath of Supremacy* *. And all this by Virtue of a Commission, founded on an *Act of Parliament*, and executed by meer *Lay-men*, I would willingly be informed by my *Antagonist*, Whether these Excommunicated *Papist Bishops* had full an *Inherent Right* to govern *Presbyters*? If so, where were those *Presbyters* to be found who owed their *Obedience* to them? Or did they owe any *Obedience* to their *Protestant Successors* at the same time? In one word, the Power which the *State* claims, totally to *divest* a *Bishop* of his *Jurisdiction*, is the very Basis on which our *English Reformation* stands; the Foundation on which the *Church by Law Established* is built; 'tis by this Power the *popish Prelates* were discarded, and *Protestants* placed in their vacant Sees: Nor can the *Alterations in Religion* made by *Q. Elizabeth* be justified but by supposing of it. I might also instance in *A-bp. Grindal*, and perhaps some others. But what I have already offered on this Head, may be enough to confirm my first Argument, That our *English Bishops derive their Jurisdiction from the Law* of the Land; because this *Law* often has, and at any time may, totally *divest* them of the said *Jurisdiction*.

2d Arg. I argue, in the Second Place, That the *Jurisdiction* of *Bishops* over *Presbyters* is derived from the *Law*, because this *Jurisdiction* is at this Day exercised by such as are no *Bishops*, and

* *Strypes Hist. of the Reform. p. 140, &c.*

and make no Pretences at all to the Episcopal Character, nor to any Authority over the Inferior Clergy but what the Legal Establishment has given them. Thus we are assured by no less a Man than the present Bishop of Sarum, 'That Deans, and other exempted Persons, do exercise not only the Archidiaconal but the EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION *: Nay, that they do ALL the Acts of Episcopal Jurisdiction †. The Author of the Clergyman's Vade Mecum (who writes not with the Air of a Whig, or a Low-Churchman) informs us, 'That these Dignitaries have sometimes an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Neighbouring Parishes ‖; and yet, before the Restoration and Act of Uniformity, the Deans were sometimes meer Laymen ‡. However, though they are now in Priests Orders, yet they pretend not to an Apostolical Succession: For which Reason their Authority can never flow to them in that Channel.

THE same thing may be affirmed of Arch-Deacons, 'who have now a Power, not only to visit, but to suspend and excommunicate ††; Which are Parts of a Jurisdiction purely Ecclesiastical, by Mr. Agate's own Concession. Nor can it be supposed that they act in these Affairs as the Bishops Delegates; nor indeed is it possible for a Bishop to communicate the Peculiarities of his Office to one, that is not invested with the same Office with himself. A Justice of the Peace can't authorize a Tithingman to do those Acts which are peculiar to a Justice. The same may be said of all other Officers, both Ecclesiastical and Civil.

NAY, according to the present Constitution of the Church of England, they that can lay no Claim to an Apostolical Succession, do yet exercise a Jurisdiction, not only over Lay-men, and ordinary Priests, but over Bishops themselves. Thus we are informed by a Modern Author, who gives us a particular Account of this matter: 'That the Deans and Chapters of Canterbury and York, during the Vacancy of either Arch-Bishoprick, are still Guardians of the Spiritualities of the several Provinces and Diocesses; that is, ALL the ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION belonging to the Arch-Bishops, is, in the Vacancy of the Sees, exercised by them, or their Commissioners. When the Bishop of London presides in Convocation in the Vacancy of Canterbury, 'tis by Commission from Dean and Chapter; and as for Matters of Order, they grant a Commission

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* Reflections on a Book entituled, The Rights, &c. of an English Convocation, p. 11. † Ibid. ‖ Clergyman's Vade Mecum, pt. 1. Edit. 3d, p. 56. ‡ Ibid. p. 55. †† Ibid. p. 58.

* mission to some Bishops of the same Province *. 'Tis certain, the A-bp. of *Canterbury* hath a Jurisdiction over all the Bishops of his Province, which is solemnly recognized by that Oath of *Canonical Obedience*, which they all take to their Metropolitan. And yet, during the Vacancy of that See, ALL his JURISDICTION is exercised by meer *Presbyters*; and *Bishops* themselves, in some Cases, act by virtue of a Commission from them. Was it ever yet known in the World, that *Princes* would accept of a Commission from their own *Subjects*? Will the *Mayor of Exeter* take a Commission to keep Court from one of his own *Constables*? If *Jesus Christ* has given *Bishops* a Right to govern *Presbyters*, according to Mr. *Agate's* Scheme, how came they in such a Case to act in *Subordination* to them, and by virtue of a Commission granted by them? How came these great Men so tamely to give up their own Rights, and submit to such an *Usurpation*? I see not how this can be accounted for upon a *Jure Divino* Principle: But supposing their Authority to flow from the *Law of the Land*, there will be no Difficulty at all in the matter.

BUT the greatest Surprise of all is, that this Jurisdiction, which is pretended to be derived from the *Apostles*, and to be a Branch of the *Episcopal Office*, is at this Day exercised in the *Church of England* by meer *Lay-men*. I mean by *Chancellours* who derive their Authority from a *Statute* made in the 37th of *Hen. 8. c. 17.* which ordains, ' That if any Man be made a ' *Chancellour* by the *King*, or any *Bishop* having Authority of ' to do, such *Chancellour* may lawfully execute and exercise all ' manner of Jurisdiction, commonly called *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, and all Censures and Coercions appertaining, or any ' wise belonging unto the same, albeit such Persons be *LAY*, ' Married or Unmarried, so that they be *Doctors* of the Civil ' Law. By virtue of this *Statute*, *Lay-Chancellours* are at this Day *Judges* in our *Ecclesiastical Courts*; and 'tis owned by the Author of the *Clergymans Vade Mecum* †, ' That they are permitted to exercise a Spiritual Authority. Nor can it be pretended, with any manner of Reason, that they act only as the *Bishops Delegates*; for the *Bishop* can no more delegate his spiritual Authority to a *Lay-man*, than Mr. *Agate* can authorize his *Sexton* to consecrate the *Eucharist*, or perform any part of the priestly Function. And the truth on't is, the *Chancellours* act independently on the *Bishop* as not deriving their Authority

* *Clergymans Vade Mecum*, pt. 1. p. 57. † Part 1. p. 249

thority from him, but from the forementioned *Statute*. Of this we have a remarkable Instance in the Life of *Dr. Bedell*, Bishop of *Kilmore*: 'Twas his Misfortune to have a Knaveish Chancellour, who made the Law subservient to his own cursed Avarice, and invented a thousand Methods to oppress the People, and enrich himself. The good *Bishop* being grieved that so much Bribery and Injustice should be transacted in that Court, which sat in his Name, resolved to do all he could, in order to redress that scandalous Abuse; and accordingly he went and sat in his own Courts, hearing Causes, and giving Sentence in his own Person, to the great Satisfaction of the Country. Upon this, the *Lay-Chancellour* brought an Action against the *Bishop* for Invading his OFFICE; and in Conclusion, the *Bishop* was overthrown, and condemned to pay 100*l*. Cost to the *Plaintiff* *. I must appeal to the Reader, whether this be not a Demonstration, that the Jurisdiction at this Day exercised in the Church of England over *Presbyters*, is not derived from the Law of the Land; when by virtue of that Law, without any Pretence to a divine Institution, 'tis exercised not only by *Priests* but by meer *Lay-Men*.

3d Arg. I argue in the next place, *That the Jurisdiction of Bishops over Presbyters is derived from the Law of the Land, because this very Law has exempted a great many Persons and Places from all Episcopal Jurisdiction whatsoever*; which cannot possibly be without supposing, that both *Jurisdiction* and *Exemption* flows from the same Original. No Judge, or Minister of State whatever, can excuse an Inhabitant of Devon, from the Obedience he owes to the *Justices* of the County. But the QUEEN, if she pleases, may Incorporate any Town or Burrough, and put them under their own *Magistrates*, exclusive of all others: So in the Church, if the KING of SION has made it the Duty of all Christians, to live in Subjection to the *Bishops*, no *Humane Authority* whatsoever can dissolve that Obligation. As to Matter of Fact, now in the Church of England, we are told by that great Oracle of the Law Sir *Edward Coke*, 'That the King may not only exempt any Ecclesiastical Person from the Jurisdiction of the Ordinary, but may grant unto him Episcopal Jurisdiction. And that all Religious Houses, whereof the King was Founder, were exempted from Ordinary Jurisdiction, and were only Visitable by the King's Ecclesiasti-

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* *Burnets Life of Bp. Bedell, p. 88, &c.*

cal Commissioners. He instances in the Abbots of *Abington* and *Bury*, who were by *Royal Charters* exempted from all Episcopal Jurisdiction.

IF it be objected, *That these things relate only to the Times of Popery*, if we examine the present Constitution of the Church, we are inform'd, by no less a Man than Bishop *Stillington*, 'That there are *Archdeaconries* in *England*, which have no Dependance on the *Bishop*, but are **TOTALLY EXEMPT** *. Besides which, there are several Donative Benefices, (as they are call'd) which being exempt from the Jurisdiction of the Ordinary, are visitable only by the *King*, or other *Secular Patron*, who puts his *Clerk* into Possession, by Virtue of an Instrument under his Hand and Seal, without Institution or Induction, License or Examination by the Ordinary †. Such Parishes as these are called by the Name of **EXEMPTS**. Upon this Account I am desirous to be inform'd by Mr. *Agate*, Why the same Law, which in divers parts of the Kingdom hath exempted whole Parishes from *Prelatical Jurisdiction*, may not as well exempt the *Dissenters*? Or why we must be *Schismatics* for not being united to the *Episcopate*, more than others who are in the same Circumstances, without the Imputation of any Guilt?

4th Arg. I argue, in the Fourth Place, *That the Jurisdiction of Bishops over Presbyters in the Church of England, is derived from the Law, because 'tis limited, restrained and confined by the said Law*. 'Tis certain, no Power can limit a Commission, less than that which gave it. Can any subordinate Authority in the Kingdom, restrain the Mayor of a Corporation in those Instances, in which the *Royal Charter* has left him at his own Liberty? Or prescribe to him, how often he shall keep his Courts? Every one may see that this is not feasible. If we examine the Jurisdiction of an *English Bishop*, we shall find it under many Limitations by the *Laws and Customs* of the Land; of which this is a sufficient demonstration, That he can visit his own Diocese but once in Three Years. Now if a Bishop has an Inherent Right to govern Presbyters, which he has received from the great Law-giver to his Church, I would willingly be informed, whether any *Earthly Power* can limit that Authority which is derived from the KING of Heaven? And whether it be not

† Vid. *Caudrey's Case* in *Coke's Reports*, pt. 5. * *Clergyman's Vade Mecum*, pt. 1. p. 58. † Ibid. p. 63.

not a *just* and *reasonable* consequence, that the *Jurisdiction* of an *English Bishop* must be *derived* from that Authority, which sets *Bounds* and *Limits* to it, and prescribes those *Rules* by which it must be managed?

THE last Argument which I shall make use of to prove my Assertion, is founded upon that *Liberty* which *English Subjects* have, To appeal from the Sentence of any Bishop or Archbishop, to the Court of Delegates. The Commissioners which preside therein, are usually half of the Clergy, and half of the Laity; but if the QUEEN and Lord Chancellor think fit, may be every one of them Laymen: And yet these very Persons, by the 25th of Henry 8. c. 19. 'Have full Power and Authority given them, to hear, and definitively to determine; every such Appeal, with the Causes and all Circumstances concerning the same. Now every Person knows, that Appeals are made from an Inferior to a Superior Judicatory; and that the last Resort is to the Highest Tribunal. If Bishops have received from Heaven a Right to govern Presbyters, how can any Appeal from the Institution of Jesus Christ to an Act of Parliament? And yet this very Method of procedure is interwoven into the Constitution of the Church by Law established. If Lay-Chancellors and Lay-Delegates, with the Powers which they exercise, be an Imperfection and Blemish in it, let these Gentlemen answer the Objection, who upon all occasions are ready to extol it, as a truly Primitive and Apostolical Church. Though Mr. Agate may condemn me for an Atheist or Blasphemer, because I relate matters of Fact, as they undeniably are; yet I promise my self a more Just and Equal Treatment from all Impartial Readers.

TO satisfy Mr. Agate, or at least those that will be satisfied with Evidence and Reason, that I did not borrow my Notions from the Author of the Rights, I shall in the next place prove, that I have advanced nothing on that Head, but what has been acknowledged by our most eminent Divines, Bishops and Lawyers, in all successive Ages since the Reformation. My Ed. Coke informs us, 'That by the Statute of Carlisle, made in the Reign of Edward the First, it was declared, That the Holy Church of England was Founded in the State of Prelacy within the Realm of England, by the KING and His PROGENITORS*. This Statute may very well be supposed to speak

* Reports, pt. 5. De jure Regis Eccles.

Speak the Language of *that* Law by which we are now Governed.

BUT to take Notice only of such Governments as were *Protestant*: There is no Doubt but the *Reformation of Religion* may be dated from the Reign of K. *Edward the Sixth*, 'The Bishops that lived at that time had special Clauses in their Letters Patents, authorizing them to Ordain and Constitute Ministers and Deacons†. The least that can be Inferred from this Instance is this, That as all Gospel Ministers have Originally a Power of Ordaining belonging to their Order; so it was the Regal Authority that appropriated Ordination to the Bishops, exclusive of the Inferior Clergy. Though the Power itself be derived from Heaven, yet the SOLE Exercise of that Power within this Kingdom, was a Privilege for which they stood indebted to the Crown. This is all that I contend for, and the least that can be concluded from that Commission by which these First Reformers acted.

'TIS true, the Structure that was raised by K. *Edward*, was demolished by his Successor Q. *Mary*; for which Reason I shall say nothing of her Cruel and Inauspicious Government, but proceed to that of Q. *Elizabeth*, to whose Triumphant Glorious Reign the Church of England owes its Establishment. In order to suppress Popery, and make way for the Reformation, there was an Act of Parliament made in the First Year of Her Reign, in order to restore to the Crown of England its Ancient Jurisdiction: 'By which Statute full Power and Authority is granted to the Queen, and her Successors, to Authorize such person or persons, being their Natural born Subjects, as they shall think meet, to use, exercise and occupy, under the Queen and her Successors, all manner of Jurisdictions, Privileges and Preheminencies, in any wise touching or concerning any Spiritual or any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, within the Realm of England and Ireland, &c. And to visit, reform, redress, order, correct and amend all such Errors, Heresies, Schisms, Abuses, Contempts and Enormities whatsoever, which by any manner of Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Power, Authority or Jurisdiction. can or may Lawfully be reformed, redressed, or corrected, &c. By Virtute of this Statute, the Queen gave Commission to some of her Privy-Council, and others, who deprived all the Bishops in England of their Jurisdiction, as Enemies to that Reformation which was then intended, and in a little time accomplished. 'Tis remarkable, That no other Qualification

† Prinns's *Unbishoping Time* and Titus, p. 86.

lification was required in these Commissioners, but that they should be the *Queens Natural-born Subjects*. If Her Majesty thought fit, they might be every one of them *Lay-men*: And yet 'tis scarce possible to find Words that are more expressive of an entire and ample *Jurisdiction*, in all *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, than those that are made use of on this Occasion. I appeal to all Men of Sense and Reason, whether our *First Reformers* could look upon a *Bishop's Jurisdiction* as derived from *God Almighty*, when they gave meer *Lay-men* a *Jurisdiction* over the greatest Prelates in the Kingdom, with a power to divest them of all their Authority? Nay, by these *Lay-Commissioners*, the whole *Episcopal Colledge* was actually discarded. I would willingly be resolved by my *Opponent*, who was the Churches Spiritual Head, when the *Popish Prelates* were turned out, and no *Protestants* as yet placed in their vacant Sees? For though *Barlow*, *Scory* and *Coverdale*, who were Bishops in King *Edward's* Days, made a shift to save their Lives, by taking Sanctuary in Foreign Countreys; yet they are reckoned by Mr. *Strype*, as having no Promotion in the Church, when the *Romish* Dons were turned a Grazing by the *Queen's Council* *. Mr. *Agate* may exclaim against these Principles as *blasphemous* and *atheistical*, or what he pleases; but after all, these are the very Principles to which the *Church of England* owes its present Establishment.

I may add, That *Q. Elizabeth* ended as she began, governing the Church by her *High-Commission-Court*; which Court continued to the blessed Days of A-bp. *Laud*, when he with his Partisans (who sat therein like so many *Bassas* in a *Turkish Divan*, and were as arbitrary and cruel in their Proceedings) made it *odious* and *intollerable* to the whole Nation: So that the whole Fabrick was then overthrown by King and Parliament, without any present prospect of its *Restoration*.

IN the Year 1558, I find a Bill brought into the *House of Commons*, setting forth, 'That *Edmund Bonner*, late Bishop of *London*, was by just Sentence, and Order of the LAW OF THE REALM, deprived and deposed, &c. †. Hence I infer, that if the Law deposes a Bishop, it also establishes and sets him up; for it cannot do one without the other.

DURING the Reign of that *Queen*, the Bishoprick of *Bristol* was held in *Commendam* for some time by the Bishop of *Glocester*, who had a Commission from A-bp. *Parker*, 'Constituting

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* *Hist. of Reformation*, &c. p. 155. † *Ibid.* p. 65.

‘ tuting him Keeper of the Spirituality of the City and Diocess
 ‘ of *Bristol* †. But this was in a little time recalled, and di-
 vers Commissions were afterwards directed from the Arch-bishop
 to others, ‘ For the INSPECTION of that Diocess, particular-
 ‘ ly one dated *May 23. 1583.* to *John Cottrel*, Doctor of
 ‘ Laws, to be his Commissary and Delegate during the Vacan-
 ‘ cy ‖. Now I would fain know, ‘ Who gave this *Gentleman* a
 Commission to Inspect the Diocess of *Bristol*, which is the
 same thing with exercising Episcopal Jurisdiction in it? He
 was so far from pretending to *Apostolical Succession*, that he
 was but a *Civilian*; and therefore could not derive his *Autho-
 rity* from *Jesus Christ*, nor indeed from any other Fountain
 than the *Law of the Land*. He was, ’tis true, the Arch-bishop’s
Delegate; but if *Jurisdiction* be essential to a Bishop, he could
 no more *delegate* this power to a *Lay-man*, than a power of
 Ordaining and Baptizing. By this the Reader may judge, what
 was the Management during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

TO her succeeded K. *James* the First, *March 24th. 1602.*
 When that Prince came to *London*, he found the *English* Bi-
 shops more Mellow and Complaisant than the *Scotish* Presby-
 ters, whose Tempers partaking perhaps a little too much of
 that rugged Climate in which they dwelt, did encline them to
 censure the *Actions of the Court*, sometimes with greater Libe-
 rty than became them. For this or some other Reason the King
 found Means to re-establish *Episcopacy* in that Kingdom. In
 1606, an Act passed in the *Scotish Parliament* for the Restitu-
 tion of the Estate of Bishops *. In 1609, another Parliament
 was held in that Kingdom; in the 6th Act of which Parlia-
 ment ’tis said, ‘ That His Majesty, with expresse Advice, and
 ‘ Consent of the *Estates in Parliament*, hath restored and re-
 ‘ dinteegrated the *Arch-bishops* and *Bishops* to their former Au-
 ‘ thority, Dignity, Prerogatives, Priviledges and Jurisdctions
 ‘ lawfully pertaining, or which shall be known to pertain to
 ‘ them, ALWAYS FLOWING FROM HIS MAJESTY, as well
 ‘ as any Ordinary Jurisdiction doth, &c. †. Here we have all
 the *Bishops in Scotland* saying the same thing with me, and ac-
 knowledging, by their own solemn Act and Deed, their *Jurif-
 diction* to flow from the Crown; and sure these Reverend Fa-
 thers did not borrow their Notions from the Author of the
 Rights,

† Strype’s *Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 245. ‖ Ibid. p. 246.
 * Spotswood’s *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, p. 496. † Cal-
 derwood’s *Church Hist. of Scotland*, p. 612.

Rights, &c. as has been *falsly* and *disingenuously* alledged against me.

IN the Year 1625, King *Charles* succeeded his Father in the Government of these Realms; for whom *Bp. Laud*, who officiated at his *Coronation*, put up this *Petition*: ‘ Give him *Peter’s Key of Discipline*, and *Paul’s Doctrine* *. Now by the *Key of Discipline*, an *Authority* purely *spiritual* is always understood; and the *Authority* of which this *Prince* was thought capable, could not be of an *Inferior Nature*, this being directly contrary to the *Canon*, which declared him to be *Supream Governor* in all *Ecclesiastical Causes*. The least that can be inferred from the Expression is, That he was thought capable of an *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, paramount to any *Prelate* whatsoever. Had I Complemented King *William* in such a Strain, I should have been represented as a *Libertine*, and a *Hobbiſt*. But this was the Language of High-Church it self in those Days; and how it can be reconciled with *Jure Divino* Notions, this is a Mystery for Mr. *Agate* to unriddle.

IN the Reign of this *Prince*, a great Misfortune befel the good A-bp. *Abbot*, who diverting himself in the *Ld. Zouch* his Park, shot at a Buck, but the Arrow glancing against a Tree, killed the Keeper. This Accident occasioned a *Hot Dispute* amongst the *Canonists* and *Lawyers*, Whether, by this Casual Homicide, he was *Incapacitated* for the Exercise of his *Metropolitanical Function*? Amongst others, the *Lord-Keeper* was consulted on this Head, who gave this as his Opinion: ‘ My Lords of *England* to forfeit all his Estate to His Majesty, and by the *Canon Law*, which is in Force with us, irregular *ipso facto*, and so Suspended from all *Ecclesiastical Function*, until he be again restored by his Superior, which, I take it, is the *King’s Majesty* in this Rank, and Order of *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* †. By this the Reader may perceive, that, according to the prevailing Sense of that Age, the *Arch-bishop* himself was dependant on the *Crown* for the Exercise of his *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*.

WHEN the *Court of Star-Chamber* had resolved to Censure *Dr. Williams*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, A-bp. *Laud* (to whose implacable *Revenge* his Prosecution was chiefly owing) pressed for the DEGRADATION of his Brother Bishop †. Now to de-

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* *Perrincheſſ’s Life of K. Charles*, p. 6. † *Hacket’s Life of Bp. Williams*, pt. 1. p. 66. † *Ibid.* pt. 2. p. 125.

grade, was the same thing as to *unbishop* him, or *delete* his Character. And yet in this Instance, we have a *High-Church Martyr* exciting a Company of meer *Lay-men* (for such were the *Lords* who sat as *Judges* in that Court) || to *degrade* a confessed and undoubted *Prelate*. Hence I infer, if the *Kings Laws* could vacate the Commission of a *Bishop*, that Commission can be derived no higher than the said Laws; for (as has been offered) no *Power* can *annihilate* less than that which *created*: What Authority *Christ* has given, no *Man* can take away.

TO convince Mr. *Agate*, if possible, that the *King's Supremacy* was advanced much higher by A-bp. *Laud* and his Faction, than ever it has been by me, I will crave the Reader's Patience whilst I relate one Matter of Fact more. In the Year 1640, the *Convocation* thought fit to continue Sitting after the *Parliament* was abruptly broken up. Amongst other things, they made the Famous *Et cætera Oath*, and those *Canons* which were so severely animadverted on in the ensuing *Parliament*. In the first of these *Canons*, when they had asserted, That the Government of the *Church* belongs in chief to *Kings*, and disclaimed any *Independent* and *Coactive Power* whatsoever within His Majesty's Realms; they conclude with this remarkable Sanction: 'If any Parson, Vicar, Curate, or Preacher, or any other Ecclesiastical Person whatsoever, any Dean, Canon, &c. shall in any Sermon, Lecture, or Disputation, by Word or Writing publicly abet or maintain any *Position* or *Conclusion*, in Opposition or Impeachment of the foresaid Explication, he shall forthwith, by the power of His Majesty's Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical, be Excommunicated 'till he repent, and be Suspended for two Years, &c. And if he offend a second time, he shall be Deprived, &c. * To understand this Matter rightly, we must remember, that these *Commissioners* acted by virtue of the Statute made in the First of Q. *Elizabeth*, that no *Qualification* was required of them, but that they should be the *King's Natural-born Subjects*; and if His Majesty thought fit, they might be every one of them *Lay-men*. In this Instance, we have all the *Bishops* and *Dignitaries* in *England* authorizing a Company of meer *Lay-men* (should the King commission only such) to Excommunicate, Suspend and Deprive any *Ecclesiastical Person* whatsoever, who should contravene the Decrees which they had made: I take this to be a Complement

|| *Rushworth's Collect.* pt. 2. vol. 1. p. 416, &c.

* *Nelson's Collect.* vol. 1. p. 546, 547.

plement to the *Crown* of too High a Strain ; I'm sure, I never advanced any *Notion* so derogatory to the *Priesthood*, yet I must be railed against, as joyning with the *Atheists* and *Libertines* of the Age, who would undermine all *Religion*. However, this is plain Matter of Fact, This was the Sense of the *Church of England's* Representative at that Time ; And our *Jure Divino* Men may Sweat 'till they melt their Grease, before they will be able to reconcile the *Canons* of this *Convocation*, with their own High *Fantastick Notions*.

ONE Story more of this Blessed Martyr *Land*, and I have done, When this Gentleman was Dean of *Glocester*, a Fancy took him in the Head to turn the *Communion-Table* into an *Altar*. Dr. *Smith*, at that time Bishop of the Diocese, opposed it with much Earnestness, seriously protesting, *That if such Innovations were brought into that Cathedral, he would never come within its Walls any more*. Notwithstanding this, the Dean pursued his first Design, and in despite of the *Bishop's* Opposition, he placed the *Communion-Table* Altarwise, and commanded the *Choristers* to make Obeysance to it. This was deposed at the *Lords Bar* by Mr. *John Langley*, at that time School-master in *Glocester* †. From this Relation I would infer, that this precious *Father* of our *Modern High-Church*, could not at that time perceive that *Inherent Right*, which *Bishops* are pretended to receive from *Jesus Christ* to govern *Presbyters*. When he, who had but *Priests Orders*, refused Obedience to his *Diocesan*, in a thing he might have complied with without any Sin.

TO King *Charles* succeeded his Son of the same Name : Amongst other of his good *Deeds*, he reestablish'd *Prelacy* in *Scotland* ; and in *Par. 2. Sess. 1. Act 1.* 'Tis Enacted, That
 ' his Majesty and his Successors, by Virtue of that Supremacy
 ' which is declared to be their Inherent Right, have a Power
 ' to order and dispose of the External Government and Policy
 ' of the Church, and may settle, enact, and emit such Con-
 ' stitutions, Acts, and Orders, concerning the said Govern-
 ' ment, and the Persons imployed in the same, and concerning
 ' all Ecclesiastical Meetings, and Matters to be propos'd and de-
 ' termin'd therein, as they in their Royal Wisdom shall think
 ' fit *. To this Act the *Bishops* themselves consented ; and
 therefore, if the *External Government* of that Church be since
 altered

† Pryn's *Canterbury's Doom*, p. 75. * *Account of Proceedings in Parliam. of Scotland*, printed 1704. p. 59.

altered, they ought to *submit* unto it according to their own *avowed* Principles. These *Gentlemen* express themselves more fully concerning the *Royal Supremacy* than I have ever done; and I would gladly be informed, why that must be *Heresy* and *Blasphemy* in the Days of Queen ANNE, which was *Orthodox Doctrine* in the Reign of King CHARLES?

AS for the *short*, but *unfortunate* Government of King James 2d, He screw'd the Strings of his Prerogative, both in *Civil* and *Religious* Matters so very high, that they broke in pieces, and flew about his Ears. Omitting therefore any *Reflections* on his *unhappy* Conduct, let us consider how *Ecclesiastical Affairs* have been managed here in *England* since the late *Revolution*.

HE must be a mighty stranger to the *Affairs* of our *Israel*, who hath not heard of the *differences* that arose in the days of King *William*, and which have continued ever since, between the *Bishops* and the *Lower House of Convocation*. Amongst other things, it has been warmly debated, whether the *A-bp*, with his *Colleagues*, have a Power to adjourn the *whole Convocation* to such a Day as they think fit: This Priviledge their *Lordships* claim. On the other hand, the *Inferior Clergy* pretend a Power to adjourn themselves, and meet at their own times; accordingly, they have had their intermediate *Sessions*, and Assembled themselves without the *Bishops* leave, and contrary to their good liking. The Matter in dispute betwixt my *Antagonist* and me, is, whether *Bishops* in the *Church of England* derive their *Right of governing Presbyters* from God or from *Men*? He affirms the *former*, and I the *latter*, and conceive it may be demonstrated impossible for the *Lower House of Convocation* to vindicate their own *Actions*, but by my *Principles*. If it should be demanded, whether the *Father* or the *Children*, the *Master* or the *Servants*, have a *Right* to appoint the time of Meeting, to transact the *Affairs* of the *Family*! This would be looked upon as a very impertinent Question. And it must be equally surprizing to every thinking Man, that *Bishops* should have a *Divine Right* to govern the *Inferior Clergy*, and yet have no Power to *determine* so small a Circumstance as *Time*; or to fix the proper *Seasons* of Assembling to consult about the concerns of the *Church*.

IN managing these Debates about the *Power of Adjournments*, I find the *Lower House* always insisting upon the *common Usage* of *English Convocations* *. Now the *common Custom*

* *Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 798.*

from of England is, in truth, the *common Law* of England; and therefore, when these *Gentlemen* appeal from the *Authority* and *Judgment* of the *Bishops*, to *common Usage*, they appeal to the *Common Law*; and by such Appeal, they confess the *Law* to be superior to the *Bishops* Tenure; for all *Appeals* lie from an *inferior*, to a *Superior* Tribunal. On this Matter of Fact I ground the ensuing Argument: That which is the Rule and Measure of *Presbyters* Obedience, must be also the Rule and Measure of the *Bishop's* Authority. But the *Lower House of Convocation*, make the *Law* of the Land the Rule and Measure of their Obedience; therefore this must be also the Measure of the *Bishops* Authority. I hope it will not be pretended, that an Institution of *Jesus Christ* may be controll'd by any *Humane Law* or Sanction whatsoever.

WE are told by an *Eminent Historian*, who is also a considerable *Dignitary* in the *Church*, 'That the *A-bp.* and a far greater part of his *Suffragans*, look'd on the Proceedings of the *Lower House* as a *Declaration* of setting up for a SEPARATE Interest and Power, &c †. Mr. *Agate* has told the World in Forty Places, that we are *Schismatics* because we *Separate* from the *Bishops*, and he would very much oblige us, would he let us know by what Rules, Maxims, or Distinctions he acquits his own Friends of this Scandal, when attempting to set up a *Separate* and *independent Power*.

LEST the *Reader* should imagine that these *Gentlemen* have been misrepresented, I will set before his Eyes the Claim which they have made in their own Words; In a *Representation* offered to the *Upper House*, June 6. 1701. they thus express themselves, 'We of the *Lower House*, being a *Distinct House*, with a Power of *Dissenting* from the Proposals of the *Upper*, &c ‖. Nor have they abated of their Pretensions since that Time: for in the Year 1705 they Assign this as the *Grand Cause* of their refusing to concur with their *Lordships* in an *Address* which they had drawn up to be presented to her *Majesty*. 'Because (say they) the *Lower House* apprehend themselves to be invested, by the fundamental Constitution of an *English Synod*, with an unquestionable Right of DISSENTING FINALLY, from any thing propos'd to them by your *Lordships* for their Concurrence, without specifying the Reasons of such *Dissent* *. Now, if *Bishops* according to Mr. *Agate's* Scheme, have deriv'd from God a Right to govern *Presbyters*, it

† *Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 797.* ‖ *Ibid. p. 841.* * *Some Proceedings in the Convocation A. D. 1705, printed 1708, p. 8.*

it must be the Duty of *Presbyters* to Obey such Governours in all *lawful Things*; But how can this consist with a *Right* of *finally Dissenting* from any Thing they shall propose? Are they *bound* and *free* at the same time? Are they oblig'd to *obey* with a *Liberty* of *disobeying*? Light and Darkness may sooner be united; the greatest Contradictions in Nature may be more easily reconciled, than a *Right* of *Governing* in One; may be made to consist with a *Right* of *finally Dissenting* in the other. This makes me conclude that these *Gentlemen* acted upon my Principles; for if the *Jurisdiction* of *Bishops* be derived from the *Law* of the Land, 'tis subject to such *Restrictions* and *Limitations* as the said *Law* prescribes: And it may be still a *Moot Case*, whether the Proceedings of the *Upper* or *Lower House* of *Convocation* be more legal. But for Men to tell us that *Bishops* have an Authority from *God* to *Rule*, and yet that their own Subjects have a *Right* to refuse 'em their *Obedience* in Things of an indifferent and *lawful Nature*. This seems to me such a prevaricating with *God*, the *World* and their own *Consciences*; that I durst not accuse that *venerable Body* of so foul a Crime.

BUT not to insist longer on the Disputes between the *Two Houses*, there is a Modern Author who gives us a particular and learned Account of the *present Constitution* of the *Established Church*; by him we are informed, 'That it is the peculiar Privilege of *English Presbyters*, that they have a *Right* to sit in *Provincial Synods*; and that they are allowed in all conclusive Acts to have a *NEGATIVE* on the *Bishops**. But how can this be; if these latter derive their *Jurisdiction* from *Jesus Christ*? Can Servants and Children claim a *Negative* on their Masters and Parents? Can they, whose Duty it is to *obey*, have a *Negative* on those who are authorized by *God* himself to govern? The truth on it is, the very *Constitution* of the *Established Church*, and the whole Management of *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, is absolutely *inconsistent* with those *High Notions*, which have been obtruded upon the *World* with such *uncharitable Zeal* and *Fury* by some Men.

MY Scheme is so far from being taken from that accursed Book, as Mr. *Agate* calls it, *The Rights*, &c. that it was the current Doctrine in *K. Charles* his Reign. Dr. *Fulwood*, who was a Dignitary in this Diocese, wrote a *Treatise* at that time against *Häckeringill*, to which he gives this Title, *The Lawfulness of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*, &c. He lays down this as a Fundamental Maxim, 'That when once the *Bishops* are legally
' Invested,

* *Clergymans Vade Mecum*, pt. 1. p. 142. Edit. 3d.

‘ Invested, their proper Jurisdiction came into their hands BY
 ‘ THE LAWS, without any *Power* derived from the *Pope* *. And
 having enlarged on this *Topick*, at last he concludes, ‘ That the
 ‘ Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction being founded on the *Common Law*,
 ‘ *Magna Charta*, and the *Statutes*, is in the very Constitution
 ‘ of the Kingdom †. So that this *Arch-Deacon* derives the *Ju-*
risdiction of Bishops from the same Original with me, even from
 the *Law of the Land*. I never heard that this Book was censu-
 red, or that any smelt *Blasphemy* and *Atheism* in the Doctrine
 which it taught, till the appearance of my Quick-scented *Ad-*
versary, whose peculiar Glory it is to find Knots in Bull-rushes,
 and draw a perverse Meaning from the most innocent Expressi-
 ons.

THUS have I proved, that, according to the present Con-
 stitution of the *Church of England*, our *English Prelates* do,
de facto, derive (not their *Power* of administering the *Sacra-*
ments, but) their *Jurisdiction over Presbyters* from the *Law of*
the Land. But, says Mr. *Agate*, pray whence had *St. Ignatius*
and St. Cyprian their *Episcopal Jurisdiction*? Could they de-
 rive it from the State, when the Civil Magistrates were all Hea-
 then and Hostile? Or, How could the Old British Bishops *E-*
borius and Restitutius, derive their Authority from an Act of
Parliament, before there was any Act in Being [p. 327.] Not
 to insist upon the very great Uncertainty of our *British* Records,
 and the State of Christianity in this Island before the *Empire* be-
 came *Christian*, I will answer this Question at present, by pro-
 poundng another like it, Pray whence came *Metropolitans*
 by their *Jurisdiction over Bishops* in those early Ages of the
Church, of which he speaks? It could not be derived from the
Civil Magistrates, who were then Enemies; nor from *Jesus*
Christ: For according to the prevailing Scheme, *Bishops* are
Successors to the *Apostles*, to whom our Saviour left none Su-
 perior in the Government of his Church. It therefore follows,
 that the *Jurisdiction* of *Metropolitans* over *Bishops*, could be
 only owing to the Consent of Churches, who generally concu-
 red in such a Model; and it may be very reasonably concluded,
 that the *Jurisdiction* of *Bishops* over ordinary *Priests*, was then
 derived from the very same Original; and that the One as well
 as the other is but an *Humane Institution*.

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HOWEVER, since Mr. *Agate*, and other Modern Authors, have made so great a Noise in the World about their *Episcopat*, it may not be amiss to examine that Scheme which these *Gentlemen* have obtruded on us, that we may see whether it will hold Weight when laid in the Ballance of the *Sanctuary*, or *Sound Reason*. 'Tis alledged, *That the Catholick Church is one Political Body, or Corporation of Christians*; (which we do not deny, as being all *Subjects* to the *Prince of Peace*; but 'tis added) *That according to the Institution of Jesus Christ, this Universal Church of his must be united to, and governed by an Episcopat*, (that we may have a *French Word* for *French Divinity*) *or a Colledge of Bishops, that who ever causelessly separates from one Bishop, separates from the whole Colledge, and thereby disfranchises himself, and forfeits all the Priviledges of the Society, with all the Benefits of the New Covenant*. The Reader may be satisfied that this is a fair and equal Representation of the *Notion*, if he pleases to consult Mr. *Burroughs* †, Dr. *Hicks* ‖, and others of the same *Kidney*. If we view this *Model* at a distance, and as 'tis gilded over with fine Rhetorical Flourishes, it may seem a very beautiful and noble Structure: But if we take a nearer Prospect of it, 'twill appear nothing else but a *Castle in the Air*, that has no Foundation to sustain it; a painted Bubble, which flies in pieces as soon as ever it is touch'd, as may easily be evinced by a close Examination of the Matter.

IF the *Catholick Church* is to be governed by an *Episcopal Colledge*, the *Bishops*, who compose this Colledge, must either act as so many *absolute and independent Princes* within their respective *Precincts*, and spiritual *Jurisdictions*, being accountable to none but *Jesus Christ*; or else they must govern the *Church* as an *Ecclesiastical Senate* or *Parliament*, in which the greater part have Power to correct the *irregularities* of its own *Members*. 'Tis impossible to conceive, how they can Rule *Christ's Kingdom*, as his *Viceregents* upon *Earth*, but they must act either as so many *Sovereigns*, or as so many *Members* of a *Supreme Sanhedrim*.

IF it be pretended, *That every Bishop is absolute and independent in his own Diocess*, *Episcopacy* will be so far from being a Remedy against *Schism*, which is said to be the End of its *Institution*, that it makes the Wound incurable, and leaves the Case absolutely desperate. If a *Prelate* should turn *Heretick*, and

† *Of Schism*, p. 29, &c. ‖ *Preface to the Christian Priesthood*, pag. 4.

and undermine the *Faith*, as *thousands* of them have done, what *Method* can be taken in such a Case to put a Check to the *Contagion*, and hinder others from being infected by it? Who shall *diveft* the *Heretick* of his *spiritual Principality*? For, according to this Scheme, he is *Christ's Vicegerent*, and accountable to none but his *Supream Lord*. His *Colleagues* are his Brethren and Equals, and cannot pretend to any *Jurisdiction* over him. The Kings of *Fran e* and *Spain*, have no Power to call a King o. *England* to Account for any real or pretended *Mal-Adminiftration*, within his own Dominions. Just fo, if every *Bifhop* be *Christ's Representative* on Earth, what has any other Person to do to thrust his Sickle into his Harvest, or to controul the *Exercise of his Authority* in his own *spiritual Territories*? According to this *Hypothesis*, I fee not but what a *Flattering Canonist* once faid of the *Roman Pontiff* may be applied to every other *Prelate*, Though he should lead *Thousands* to Hell along with him, yet none may presume to say unto him, *What do'st thou?* To all which I may add, That this *Independent Power* in a *Bifhop*, is inconsistent with the present Constitution of the *Church of England*, which allows of *Appeals* from any *Bifhop's Sentence* to the *Court of Delegates*.

IF it be pretended, That this Colledge of Bifhops is authorized by *Jesus Christ* to govern the *Univerfal Church* as an *Ecclesiastical Senate*, or *Sovereign Council*; I reply,

1. THAT had it been the *Mind of Christ* and his *Apostles*, to govern the *Church* by fuch *supream* and *universal Officers*, 'tis very unaccountable that we should not have the leaft *intimation* of fuch a *Design* in all the *sacred Volumes*; that there should be no *peculiar Titles* given to them, by which they might be distinguished from other Persons; that there should be no *Directions* given, no *Rules* prefcribed, for the better Management of fo high a *Trust*; nor any *Qualifications* required in thofe who were to be invested with fo *sublime* a Character; that there should be a *total Silence* about that *Ecclesiastical Polity* which is now contended for as *absolutely neceffary to Salvation*: This is what can never be accounted for by fuch as believe the Sufficiency of the *Holy Scriptures*.

2. THIS Notion of an *Epifcopal Colledge*, with a *Right* to govern the *whole Corporation of Christians*, will unavoidably fubject the *Church of England* to a *Foreign Jurisdiction*. For as the *major part* of the *Parliament* has the *Name* of *Parliament*, and the *Power* of enaëting *Laws*; fo the *Power* of Ruling the *Church*, muft be in the *major part* of this *Colledge*, that is, in *Foreign Prelates*: For our *Englifh Bifhops* are fo far from

being a Moiety, that they do not make up a Twentieth part of this *Supreme Senate*. But now this is directly contrary to the *QUEEN's Royal Supremacy*, to that Oath which the *Bishops* themselves have taken, in which they did *testify and declare*, That no Foreign Prince, Person, *PRELATE*, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any Jurisdiction, Power, Pre-eminence or Authority, Spiritual or Ecclesiastical, within these Realms : And that they do utterly renounce and forsake all Foreign Jurisdictions, &c. * This Notion is also contrary to the Articles of the Church, and the Laws of the Land : These Consequences do necessarily flow from that *Fantastick Scheme*, which has of late been obtruded on us. I add,

3. IN the next place, That this Notion is inconsistent with, and utterly destructive of, the Church of England, as it is a Protestant Reformed Church. I have proved in a former *Treatise*, That there is no such thing as a Protestant Bishop beyond the Seas who pretends to an *Apostolical Succession*, or has any other than a *Presbyterian Ordination* : This I have evinced by the express Testimonies of the most eminent *Divines* and *Lawyers* amongst the Modern *Lutherans*. If therefore we, as parts of the *Catholick Church*, must be governed by this *Episcopal Colledge*, our *British Bishops* will be down-voted Twenty for One : Nay, this very *Colledge* condemns them for a pack of *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* ; it thunders out its Curses and *Anathema's* against them. And were their Power equal to their Bigotry and Malice, would make Bonfires of their Carcasses. I have called upon Mr. *Agate* once and again, to name that one Bishop in the whole Christian World, that he can joyn in Communion with out of the *Queen's Dominions* : And I do now challenge him, and all the High-Flyers in *England*, to name me such a Prelate. And I appeal to all Mankind, Whether any thing in Nature can be more ridiculous and absurd, more fantastical and vain, than for Persons to pretend to be united to the *Episcopal Colledge*, when in Truth they are not united to the twentieth part of it, but stand condemned by all the rest ? And the greatest Jest of all is, That Dr. *Hicks* and Father *Lestly* renounce Communion with our Legally Established Bishops, confining it to two or three Abdicated Prelates ; yet these are the Men forsooth who make so great a Noise and Bounce about this *Chimerical Episcopat*, that is to govern the *Universal Church*, and damn the *Dissenters* for breaking that Union to which they themselves can make but lame Pretences.

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* *Vid. Statute, 1 Eliz. c. 1.*

I could earnestly wish, that Mr. *Agate*, and others of his Party, would cease to lurk in *Generals*, and name those Spiritual Senators who are *Christ's Vicegerents* upon Earth, with a *Right to govern* the whole Christian World, and let us know in what *Regions* they inhabit. Must the Denomination of the *whole* be taken from the *greater part*, as is usual in all other Cases, and the *Catholick Church* be ruled by the major part of those *Bishops*, who are the *Members* of this *Colledge*, or indeed by 19 parts in 20? If so, we must abandon the Church of *England*, renounce its *Articles*, abhor its Communion, and go over into the Tents of the *Romanists*.

IF it be urged, That the Christian Corporation *must be governed only by the Sound and Orthodox Part of this Colledge*; it will follow, that as the *British Prelates* are the only *Orthodox Successors* to the *Apostles*, so these are the Men, who, as *Christ's Vicegerents*, have an *Authority* to Rule the *Universal Church Militant*. But when did they ever lay Claim to such a Transcendent Power? Or in what Charter will they find their Commissions? In one Word; if this *Notion* prevails, we must either turn *Papists* our selves, or transform our *Prelates* into so many *Popes*, or *Universal Pastors*. One of these Consequences must unavoidably flow from this magnified Scheme. These things tempt me to suspect that this *Episcopat*, which Mr. *Agate* talks of, is nothing else but an *Imaginary Being*; an *Universal* that has no *Particulars*, like *Aristotle's Materia prima*, without any Form or Qualities; and that has no Existence but in a *High-Flyer's* Brains.

'TIS true, St. *Cyprian* long since drop'd an odd Expression, which might perhaps be a Foundation to this Airy Structure; which was to this effect, ' That there is one Episcopacy, of which a Part is held of every one in Whole†. I must profess, that though I have read that *Treatise* in which this Sentence is found, from the Beginning to the End, I know not how to comprehend the meaning of it; 'tis to me as *mysterious* as *Transubstantiation*; and seems to be nothing else but a good Man's *Whimsey*. Whether this arises from the *Sublimity* of the *Doctrine*, or the *Dulness* of my *Capacity*, is none of my Province to determine. Dr. *Hicks* expounds the *Notion* thus, ' That in the Collegiate Government of the Church by *Bishops*, *Christ* hath committed the Charge and Care of it in *whole*, as well as in *part*, *joyntly* as well as *separately*, to all the *Bishops* as
' his

† *Episcopatus unus est cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur.* Cypr. de Unit. Eccles.

‘ his *Vicegerents* †. Had this proceeded from another Quarter, it might have been condemned for *Fanatical Bombast*, and *unintelligible Cant and Jargon*: For how can they take Care of the *whole*, who are intrusted only with a *part*? Or how can that be a *Collegiate Government*, which is managed *separately*? And whether Two or Three *Nonjurant Bishops*, who have survived the darling Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Nonresistance*, compose this *Colledge*? If not, where is that *Colledge* to be found with which he holds Communion?

I have also consulted on this Head the late Reverend and Learned Mr. *Burroughs*, who establishes his *Discourse of Schism* on this very Bottom; concluding, if this *Notion* was capable of a Defence, *Dextra hac defensa fuisset*, I might find Satisfaction in the Performance of so Great a *Master*. The Exposition which he gives of this obscure Text of *Cyprian*’s is this: ‘ There is but ‘ One *Episcopacy*, and this possessed by the *Bishops* in such a ‘ manner, that they are All *Legally One*, and every One of them ‘ *Virtually All*.

‘ 1. ’TIS urged in the first place, That all the Bishops in ‘ the Universal Church are *Legally One*; that is, as a *Colledge* ‘ in Law is One Person: So they being a *Colledge* in the Sense ‘ of the Ancients, are One also ‖. In Answer to which, I would crave Leave to Remark.

[1.] THAT a thing is said to be *LEGALLY* thus, or thus, when it is so, in the *Sense, Interpretation and Construction* of the *Law*. But where is that *Law* that interprets all the *Bishops* in the World to be One? I find not the least Footstep of such a *Colledge* in all the sacred *Scriptures*, though they contain all things necessary to *Salvation*, as the *Articles of the Established Church* have rightly determined. Had there been the least *intimation* of such a *Senate* in the sacred Volumes, without doubt the Inquisitive and Learned *Arch-Deacon* would have taken Notice of it. However, quoth this Gentleman, *they were so in the Sense of the Ancients*. But pray who made the *Sense of the Ancients* a *Law* to the *Universal Church*? ’Twas the *Sense of the Ancients*, and even of this very Father, from whom this odd Conceit was taken, That *Infants and Children* should receive the Holy Sacrament of the *Lords-Supper*! But has this Practice therefore the Sanction and Force of a *Law*? If so, the *Church of England* must be guilty of an *Unlawful Act* in Suppressing this *Ancient Usage*. Will any Person urge, That *Common Custom* is the

† Preface to *Christian Priesthood*, p. 3. ‖ *Disc. of Schism*, page 36.

the Churches *Common Law*? I may reply, That about 200 Years ago, 'twas the *Common Custom* of Christians to worship Images, to invoke Saints and Angels, and to adore a piece of *Bread* as if it were a real *God*. Now if *Custom* makes this an Authentick *Law*, then they who first reformed those gross Abuses, not only without, but contrary to the Sense and Inclination of the *Episcopal Colledge*, must act *illegally*, and violate the *Catholick Laws* of Christianity. In one word, all Christian Prelates cannot be *Legally One*, because they are not so in the Sense and Construction of any *Law* whatsoever.

[2.] A *Colledge*, *dicitur a Colligendo*, and signifies a Body of Men collected and gathered together, in order to exert those Powers with which they are invested, and to consult proper Measures for the better managing their Affairs; but 'twas never yet known that *all*, or the *greater part* of *Christian Bishops* did meet together in one Assembly. We read of very few *Synods* for the first 300 Years, and those thin, and consisting but of few *Members*: Nay, there were more *Prelates* in a few Provinces of *Africa*, than were present at the first General Council of *Nice*, tho' there were scarce half so many at the second, which met at *Constantinople*. If we consult the present Times, there is not one Bishop now living that can pretend to be ever present at, or to have voted in such an *universal Synod*: And how can all the *Bishops* in the World be a *Colledge*, and *Legally One Person*, when they were never collected into *One Assembly*, not concurred as a *Collegiate Body* in one Common Act?

[3.] ONCE more; If all *Bishops* make *one Colledge*, and all Christians must be governed by it, this Authority must be lodged in the *major part* of it; as is practised in all other *Senates* of an *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil* Nature; and this *Notion*, as has been already observed, will destroy the *Protestant Religion*, confound the Church of *England*, and subject it to a *Foreign Jurisdiction*.

THE late *Arch-Deacon*, of whom I have been discoursing, endeavours to strengthen his Position by this Argument, 'They (i. e. the Bishops) all sustain the Person of Christ, and if Christ be not divided, neither are they *'. But if this Consequence will hold Water, I may as well argue, that all Sovereign Princes sustain the Person of God; I have said you are Gods, and all of you are Children of the most High, Psal. 82. 6. Therefore all Kings are *Legally One*; for if God be not divided, neither

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* Of Schism, p. 36.

are they. All the Mayors in England do, in their respective Corporations, sustain the Person of the QUEEN; therefore they are Legally One Person. The dullest Eye may see the Weakness of such Inferences: And the truth on it is, I may as well conclude, that the whole World is to be Ruled by a Colledge of Kings, as the Church by a Colledge of Bishops; and the one is as defensible as the other.

THE Second Position which the late Arch-Deacon laid down to explain the Notion of One Episcopacy, is, That every Bishop is Virtually all †. That is, he must have as much Vertue, Power and Efficacy as all others. But if this be the Case, there can be no Remedy applied, if a Bishop should corrupt the Faith, or devour that Flock he ought to feed. I don't see how any neighbouring Synod can claim a Power to depose him, or vacate his Commission; he is Christs Vicegerent as much as the best of them. He has as much Vertue and Power as any, or all of them; wherefore they can have no Authority over him, for *Par in Parem non habet Potestatem*. Besides, if one Bishop be Virtually all, what need is there of Synods and Councils? When the Determinations of a single Prelate may have the same Force and Efficacy within his own Precincts, as if they were the Results of a more Numerous Assembly. Nay, there is not one of the Order but, according to this Hypothesis, may reverse the Decrees of a General Council, or (which is much the same) exempt his own Subjects from any Obligation to obey them; for he, being Virtually All, must have the same Authority to abrogate a Law, that all the rest have to enact it. I have been the longer in Examining this Notion of One Episcopacy, because it is the very Basis on which that celebrated Author builds his Discourse of Schism; and if the Foundation be rotten and unsound, the Superstructure totters, and tumbles to the Ground without any more ado.

'TIS true, Mr. Agate opens, and exclaims against me, For ridiculing the most Awful and Sacred Unity of Christs Mystical Body the Church [Pl. Tr. p. 115.] Whilest I have Ridiculed nothing but that Wild and Imaginary Scheme on which he lays so great a Stress; I Reverence and own that Unity S. Paul takes Notice of, One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism: But as for One Episcopat, or Colledge of Bishops, I find no such Thing in my Bible, and see no Reason to make it an Article of my Creed. If this Gentleman thinks fit to Rescue this Darling Notion from Contempt, let him plainly tell us where this Colledge is to be found,

† Discourse of Schism, p. 37.

found, that has a *Right to govern the Universal Church*, and to which this latter ought to be united.

I come next to consider that Important Question, *Whether Bishops are Successors to the Apostles, in their Apostolical Office and Government of the Church?* I shall First consider the *Arguments* made use of to support this Doctrine, and then urge those *Reasons* which determine me to be of a contrary Opinion.

THE Grand Argument produced for the establishing this Notion, is the Testimony of some *Ancient Fathers*. To save the Labour of *numerous Quotations*, I will freely own, that several of them have affirmed, *That Bishops are the Apostles Successors*. And I am ready to acknowledge, that *Prelacy* had a Being in the Church before *Popery*; for which Reason, I will not pretend to justify any who shall exclaim against all Bishops as *Limbs of Antichrist*, and *Brats of the Whore of Babylon*: And must with all Solemnity profess, that I have no Conversation with any who allow themselves in such *uncharitable Censures*. As for the Testimonies of such *Ancient Authors* as affirm, *That Bishops do succeed the Apostles*, I crave leave to make these following Remarks upon them.

1. I observe, That *Presbyters* are said to succeed the *Apostles*, as well as *Bishops*; and that by the same Authors: Nor can it be pretended, that the one succeed the *Apostles* in the *amplitude and fulness* of their Power, and the others only in some part of it; for there is not the least Hint of such a Distinction in the *Fathers* themselves, nor have they given Authority to our *Modern Commentators* to coin it for them. The *Fathers* who affirm this of *Presbyters*, are *Ignatius, Irenaeus, Jerom*, and many others, whose Testimonies I shall produce at large, when I treat of the *Validity of Presbyterian Ordination*.

2. 'TIS further to be observed, That when the *Antients* found any *Institution* or *Custom* established in their Days, of whose *Original* they were ignorant, they were ready presently to conclude it *Apostolical*, and to derive it from that Fountain. Lest my *Antagonist* should object against this as a *Whimsy* of my own, I will produce the *Acknowledgment* of some of those Writers, who were most celebrated for *Learning* and *Knowledge*

ledge of any in the Age in which they lived. The Testimony of St. *Jerom* is very exprefs to this purpose, who, having spoken of divers Customs observed in different Parts of the World, draws this conclusion from the whole: 'Let every Province be bound in its own Sense, and esteem the Precepts of their Ancestors as so many APOSTOLICAL LAWS *. He gives this Rule in relation to different Customs, when they could not possibly be all of them *Apostolical*. St. *Austin* lays down this Maxim: 'That which the whole Church observes (*says he*) which was not Instituted by *Councils*, but has been always retained, we rightly believe to have been delivered to us by APOSTOLICAL AUTHORITY †. And in another place he tells us, 'There are many things which the *Universal Church* observes, and for this very Reason we believe them enjoined us by the *Apostles*, though they are not found in any written Record ‖. If therefore we read in some of the *Ancients*, that *Episcopacy* is derived from an *Apostolical Appointment*, all that we can infer from such an Expression, according to the foregoing Maxim, is, that this was the Government at that time generally prevailing in the *Church*, and that they reckoned it amongst the *Precepts* of their *Ancestors*.

AND therefore, I crave Leave to add this further Remark, That the *Antient Writers* of the *Church* did often give the Title of *Apostolical* to those *Rules, Customs* and *Institutions* which they found established in their Days, of which in truth the *Apostles* never were the Authors. And that my *Antagonist* may not suspect that I do tread in his Steps, and confidently affirm what I am not able to prove, I will produce several Instances of this Nature.

(I.) AND begin at what is commonly called *The Apostles Creed*. And to prevent the *groundless Clamours* of a *cavilling* and *peevish Adversary*, who will perhaps be ready to cry out, *That I am turned Mahometan, or Deist*, I must take this occasion to tell him, That I am as fully perswaded as he can be, that the *Doctrine* contained in this *Creed* is truly *Apostolical*, and to be found in the Writings of divinely inspired Men. But the Question is, Whether the *Creed*, in that very Form of Words which is now received in the *Churches*, was composed and drawn up by the *Apostles*. This is what is now denied

* *Præcepta Majorum leges Apostolicas Arbitretur. Hieron. Ep. ad Lucin.* † *Aug. de Bapt. con. Donat. l. 4. c. 23.* ‖ *Ib. l. 5. c. 23.*

denied by most Learned Men ; and for this weighty Reason amongst others, because the *Creed*, in that Form in which it now stands, is not to be found in any *Writer* of the three First Centuries ; though in that space, we have many *Creeds*, agreeing in *Doctrine*, though differing in *Expressions*. And Bishop *Pearson* enumerates many *Creeds*, even in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, in which the Article of *Christ's Descent into Hell* is not to be found *. Whereas had that Form of Faith we now have, been composed by the *Apostles*, it would have been the same in all Churches, and in all Ages. The Reader who desires further Satisfaction on this Head, may consult *Dupin* †, the Learned *Vossius* ‡, Dr. *Barrow* §, and above all Sir *Peter King's* incomparable *Treatise on the Creed* ||, who have put this Matter, I think, beyond Dispute. However, if we consult some of the *Ancient Fathers*, and first *Expositors* of the *Creed*, we find them ascribing the composition of this very *Symbol* to the *Apostles* in their own Persons : Thus *Ruffin* tells us, ' That when the *Apostles*, after the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon them at *Jerusalem*, were about to separate from each other, and preach the Gospel to all Nations, they first conferred amongst themselves, and so by joyned Advice compiled this *Creed*, that there might be no diversity of Opinion amongst their new Converts |||. Nay, St. *Austin*, or whoever was the Author of those *Sermons de tempore*, which are bound up with that Father's Works, is so very particular in this Matter, that he pretends to name those very *Articles* which were dictated by each of the *Apostles* ††. And *Leo*, surnamed the Great, speaks to the same purpose **. And why may not the *Antients* be mistaken about the *Apostolical Succession of Bishops*, as well as an *Apostolical Concurrence* in compiling of our *Creed* in that Form and Manner in which we enjoy it.

(2.) A Second Instance which I shall produce to the same purpose, is that of the *Apostolical Canons*. 'Tis not my Business at present to puzzle and confound the Reader with the various *Opinions* of Learned Men concerning the *Original* of these *Ecclesiastical Laws* ; let it suffice at present to observe,

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* *Pearson on the Creed*, p. 225. Edit. 4th. † *Dupin's Eccles. Hist. V. I. p. 10.* ‡ *Vossius de tribus Symbolis Dissert. I.* § *Barrow on the Creed*, p. 7. || *Critical Hist. of the Creed*, p. 14. ||| *Exposit. Symboli.* †† *Ser. 115.* ** *Leon. Ep. ad Pulcher.*

That they passed current for many Ages, as so many *Rules* laid down by the *Apostles*, for which Reason they got the Denomination of *Apostolical*, and are cited as such by the Sixth General Council in *Trullo*. But on the contrary, were these Injunctions really *Apostolical*, they would as much oblige all Christians, as any Precept in the *New Testament*, or even as the *Ten Commandments* themselves: Whereas the *Church of England* is so far from acknowledging the Divine Authority of these *Canons*, that she makes no Scruple of a Non-compliance with them in multitudes of Instances. To give the Reader a Specimen of this Matter. The *sixth Canon* deposes a *Priest* or *Bishop* who undertakes any Secular Cares or Employments (*νοομυνης Πεεετλδαε*) The *19th*, deposes a *Clergyman* who engages in Suretiship. The *17th*, declares him incapable of the *Priesthood*, who Marrys a Widow or a Servant Maid. And the *25th*, permits none of the Clergy, but *Readers* and *Singers*, to Marry at all, after they have taken *Holy Orders*. The *29th*, deposes all those *Bishops* who get their Bishopricks by the Means of *Secular Powers*; which is the Case of all our *British Bishops*. The *43d*, deposes all those Priests who put Money to use. Every Person must see, that the *Church of England* does not Regulate her self by these *Canons*: An Argument that she looks not on them as compiled by *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, with the rest of that sacred *Colledge*. I would fain see a Reason, why *Episcopacy* must be *Apostolical*, any more than those *Canons*, which for so many Ages have been received in the Church under that Denomination? The truth on^t is, when the Ancient *Canons* may be brought to bear on the *Dissenters*, they are sacred, venerable, and extolled to the very Skies: But when they cross the *Intere^t* or *Humours* of other People, they are no more regarded than an *Almanack* out of Date.

(3.) A Third *Custom* which I shall take Notice of, that prevailed among the *Ancients*, was the *Communicating of Infants*. This, as absurd as it was, was yet patronized by *St. Cyprian*, and founded on an *Apostolical Tradition*, in the Apprehension of no less a Man than *St. Austin* himself. I know the Reverend and Learned Mr. *Wall*, in his *History of Infant Baptism*, would fain put a milder Construction on the Words of this Father; I shall therefore produce the Text as it is, and the Reader may put what Comment he thinks fit upon it. ' Whence is it (*says he*) but from an Ancient, and I conceive

‘ an APOSTOLICAL TRADITION, that the Churches of
 ‘ Christ hold, that without Baptism, and a Participation of
 ‘ the Lord’s Table, no Man can come to the Kingdom of God,
 &c. And having produced several Texts of Scripture to justify his Doctrine, particularly that of *Jo. 6. 53. Except you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, you have no Life in you*; he concludes, ‘ Seeing so many Divine
 ‘ Testimonies do agree, that Salvation is not to be hoped for
 ‘ without the *Body and Blood of our Lord*, in vain it is promised to *Children* without participating of these*. I leave the Reader to compare these Passages, and then he may judge for himself, whether this Learned Father did not mistake a corrupt Custom of his own Age, for an *Apostolical Institution*.

(4.) The *Trine Immersion in Baptism*, or a repeated Application of Water to the baptized Person, at the naming of each Person in the sacred *Trinity*, is another Custom which has had the *pompous Title of Apostolical* stamp’d upon it by some Fathers of the Church. Thus when *Tertullian* gives us an Account of the *Traditionary Rites* observed in *Baptism* in his Days. Having mentioned their *renouncing the Devil and all his Works, &c.* ‘ And then (*says he*) we are thrice immers’d†. And *Sozomen* tells us, ‘ That the Heretick *Eunomius* was the first who durst affirm, that Holy Baptism was to be performed by one single Immersion; whereby he corrupted that *Tradition* which was derived from the APOSTLES, and every where observed‡. As for the Church of *England*, it has now laid aside that Baptismal Rite: An Argument that it looks not upon it as an *Apostolical Institution*.

(5.) THE *Observation of a Lent-Fast* is also mentioned by several of the Ancients, as an *Institution* derived from the same sublime Original with the former. Thus St. *Jerom*, when declaiming against the *Errors of the Montanists*, expresses himself in these Words: ‘ We (*says he*) according to the *Tradition* of the APOSTLES, Fast one *Lent* in a Year, they observe three, as if we had three *Saviours* suffered for us†. And *Leo the Great* tells us, ‘ That the *Apostolical Institution* of Forty Days Fast is complied with, not only by a Sparingness
 ‘ in

* August. *de Peccat. Mer. l. 1. c. 24.* † *Dehinc tēmergitamur. Tert. de Cor. Mil.* ‡ *Soz. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 26.* † Hieron. *Ep. ad Marcel. adv. Montanum.*

‘ in our Diet, but by a Total Abstinence from Vice *||. In one Word; If we must conform our selves to the Sentiments of the *Fathers*, we shall find as much in them for the *Observation of Lent*, as for the *Government of the Church by Bishops*, and *Metropolitans*; and I would fain learn a Reason, why their Authority must be more regarded in the *one*, than in the *other*?

(6.) TO what has been said of *Lent*, I may subjoyn the *Fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays*; which can pretend to an equal Antiquity with the former. *Epiphanius* tells us, ‘ That the Fast of the 4th and 6th Day is an *Apostolical Constitution*, and always to be observed, except in the time of *Pentecost* †. And in another place of his Writings he assures us, ‘ That the *Apostles* made this Determination, that the Scripture might be fulfilled, *The Bridegroom shall be taken away, and then shall they Fast* ||. Though these Annual and Weekly *Fasts* may lay claim to *Apostolical* Institution with as much Reason as *Episcopacy* it self, yet ’tis universally known, that no such mighty stress is laid upon them by the greatest Admirers of Antiquity amongst us. Should we now press these *primitive Austerities* upon Mens Consciences, the *plump* and *jolly Sons* of the Church would be apt to ridicule this Doctrine, as only fit for a few meagre and precise *Fanaticks*.

(7.) HAVING mentioned the *Fasts*, ’tis fit we should take Notice also of the *St. Irenæan Festivals* of the Church, and particularly that of *Easter*; concerning which, there arose a mighty warm Dispute between the *Italian* and *Asiatick* Churches. They kept this Feast on different *Days*, laid a mighty stress upon this Circumstance of *Time*, and both, with a wonderful Air of Confidence, pretended *Apostolical Tradition* for what they did. For the understanding of which *Controversy*, we must note, that the *Jews* did not calculate their Time as exactly as we now do by the *Motion of the Sun*; but every *Moon* was reckoned by them for a *Month*, of which they had in some *Years* 12, and in others 13. The first *New Moon* that happened after the *Vernal Equinox*, was always the first *Month* in their Year; and on the 14th Day of that *Moon* or *Month* they kept

*|| Leon. Ser. 6. de Quadra. † τὸ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν Ἀποστόλων, &c. Epipha. Hær. 75.

|| Epipha. Exposit. Fidei Cathol. c. 22.

kept their *Passover*, at which time our *Saviour* suffered. That which divided the *Primitive Christians* was forsooth this important Question, *Whether they should keep their Easter the same Day on which the Jewish Passover was celebrated, tho' it fell on Monday, Tuesday, &c. Or whether they should adjourn it to the succeeding Lord's Day?* Pope *Victor*, with his Party, pleaded a Tradition from *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* for the latter, whilst *Polycrates*, with the *Asian Clergy*, pleaded the Example of *St. John* for the former †. By this Instance we may see what little Reason our Brethren have to leave the Scriptures, and boast of *Apostolical Tradition*; whilst the Churches of the Second Century were so divided about it, and could plead it for the Support of quite contrary Customs.

8thly. IN those Questions and Answers, which are generally ascribed to *Justin Martyr*, and bound up with his Works, it is demanded amongst other things, why the *Christians* did not bend their Knees in Prayer on the *Lords-Day*, nor from *Easter* to *Whitsuntide*? To which that Author makes this Reply: 'That they prayed standing, in token of *Christ's* Resurrection; and this Custom (says he) took its beginning from the very Times of the APOSTLES *'. Now, if this Posture be really *Apostolical*, why doth the *Church of England* impose another on us, that is quite contrary to it? If it be not, why may we not be excused, if we think the same of *Episcopacy*, whilst we find no mention of it in the *Apostolical Writings*?

9thly, ANOTHER Custom which some *Ancient Fathers*, and *Councils* have, with more zeal than knowledge, declared for, is, the *Celibacy* of the *Clergy*. I have already hinted at one of the pretended *Apostolical Canons*, which forbids Priests to Marry after they are in Orders; directly contrary to *St. Paul's Doctrine*; That *Marriage is honourable in all*. In the Second Council of *Carthage*, it was unanimously determined by all the *Prelates* that were present, that all *Bishops*, *Priests* and *Deacons*, or any that handle the *Sacraments*, should abstain from their Wives; by which we are to understand, such as were Married before their Ordination. The *Fathers* of the *Synod* tell us, 'They are resolved to keep to this Rule, because it is what the APOSTLES TAUGHT, and all Antiquity had observed

† Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 5. c. 23, 24. Sozom. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 7. c. 19. * *Justini Qu. & Resp.* 115.

‘ observed †. But pray where did the *Apostles* teach this Doctrine? We know that one of them has asserted the quite contrary, *That the Husband hath not Power of his own Body, but the Wife*. Had this Council told us, *That the Apostles* instituted a *Colledge of Bishops*, to govern the Christian World, with what an Air of Triumph and Ostentation would such a Sentence be produced? What a perverse and stubborn Generation had we been, to shut our Eyes against so bright an Evidence? Nay, how often is the 8th Canon insisted on, which anathematizes Priests, who shall erect an *Altar* against their *Bishops*? But is the *Authority* of this *Synod* be good in one Instance, why not in another? They lay a *Yoke* on the Necks of the *Clergy*, injoin them *Abstinence from their Wives*, pretending to derive this Doctrine from the *Apostles*; But sure Mr. *Agate* who pleads for *ingratiating himself with the Women* ||, will not urge this as an *Apostolical* Injunction. All that we desire is, that we may have Liberty as well as he, to dissent from *Fathers* and *Councils*, when they produce neither Scripture nor Reason for what they offer.

(10.) THE last Instance I shall produce of this Nature, is what deserves our particular Regard, both upon the Account of its subject Matter, which is *Episcopacy*; and the Author who relates it, that is *St. Cyprian*, from whom the *Notion* of an *Episcopal Colledge* is borrowed. We have an *Epistle* of this Father’s to the *People* and *Clergy* of *Spain*, who had Abducted a couple of their *Bishops*, for lapsing into *Idolatry* in Time of Persecution. *St. Cyprian* commends their Zeal, and positively declares, ‘ That a People fearing God ought to separate themselves from a Wicked Pastor, seeing they have the principal Power of choosing the Worthy, and refusing the Unworthy. Which thing *says he*) we see descending to us by a *DIVINE AUTHORITY*, that the Priest [or Bishop] be chosen, the People being present, and in the view of them all, that so a fit Person may be approved of by publick Testimony *. And having cited some Texts of Scripture to prove

† ----- *Ut quod Apostoli docuerunt, & ipsa servavit Antiquitas, nos quoque Custodiamus: Ab Universis Episcopis dictum est: Omnibus placet, ut Episcopi, Presbyteri & Diaconi, vel qui Sacramenta contrectant, Pudicitiae Custodes, etiam ab Uxoribus se Abstineant. Con. Carthag. 2. c. 2.*

|| *More Pl. Tr. p. 11.* * *Quod & ipsum Videmus de divina Auctoritate descendere, ut sacerdos Plebe Praesente, sub omnium Oculis deligatur, &c. Cypr. Ep. 68.*

prove his Assertion, he goes on. ' For which Reason, it is diligently to be held for a *Divine Tradition*, and *Apostolical Rule*, which is observed by *Us*, and almost all the *Provinces*, that *Neighbouring Bishops* should assemble amongst that People who are to have a *Pastor* set over them, and that the *Bishop* be chosen, the People being present, who have a full Knowledge of his *Life* and *Conversation*. This we have seen done in the Ordination of *Sabinus* our *Colleague*, who had the *Episcopal Dignity* conferred upon him (*de universæ Fraternitatis Suffragio*) by the *Suffrages* of the whole *Brotherhood* *. Here we have the Famous *S. Cyprian* positively, and in direct Terms, affirming, That the *Election* of a *Bishop* by that People he is to govern, is a *Divine* and *Apostolical Institution*: I would, therefore, demand of my *Antagonist*, and the rest of his *Friends*, whether they will receive or reject the Testimony of this *Father* concerning *Prelacy*? If it be rejected, that *Episcopal Cledge*, which has made so great a Noise in the World, will lose its main Pillar, and the strongest Plea for *Prelacy*, which is to be found in all Antiquity, will be discarded. If his Testimony is received, 'twill necessarily follow, that our *English Prelates* are no *Apostolical Bishops*; for they are not chosen by their People. Their Concurrence is not demanded, nor expected, nor scarce one in all the *Diocess* consulted about the Matter. *Her Majesty* confers the *Honour* on whomsoever she pleases, and the *Dean* and *Chapter* are obliged to fix upon the Person she nominates. On the other Hand, the *Dissenters* choose their own *Pastor*, and thereby observe the *Apostolical Tradition*, if this Saint deserves any Credit: How can they succeed the *Apostles* in the Government of the Church, who contradict that *Rule* and *Order* of Succession which was prescribed by *God* himself?

THUS have I given a *Catalogue* of divers *Customs* disused this Day in the Church of England, which are yet said, by Writers of the greatest *Reputation* and *Antiquity* in the Church, to be of an *Apostolical Institution*. If they were not mistaken in the *Report* which they have made of these Matters, our *Brethren* can never justify their Disuse of these *Ancient Rites*; but if they were, we crave the same Liberty which they assume to themselves, of appealing from the *Testimonies* of Men to the *Oracles* of *God*.

I

I

* Propter quod diligenter de Traditione divina, & Apostolica Observatione observandum est & tenendum---- Ut Episcopus deligatur Plebe Præsente, &c. . Cyp. Ep. 68.

I expect that Mr. *Agate* will make an Out-cry, as he has already done, *That I am against the Fathers, because they are against me.* But 'tis not a noisy *Exclamation* that will Answer an *Argument*, grounded upon plain Matter of Fact. I own the *Fathers* to be competent Witnesses of what was done and transacted in their own Days, and pay a just *Regard* and *Deference* to their *Authority* in these Cases; but as they had a great and deserved *Veneration* for the *Apostles*, so we find them ingenuously confessing, *That they made it a kind of standing Rules* amongst them, to impute such *Customs* to those divinely inspired *Authors*, as they found *Established* in the *Church*, and for whose *Original* they were not able to Account. I Reverence the *Memories*, and admire the *Vertues* of those *primitive Heroes*, who were *Martyrs* and *Confessors* for the Faith of *Jesus*, whilst their Writings bespeak them to be *Men*, and subject to the same *Mistakes* and *Passions* with other *Mortals*.

2. ANOTHER, and I think the most plausible Argument that is, or can be produced, to prove the *Divine Right of Episcopacy*, is taken from that General *Entertainment* it met with in the Early Ages of the *Church*. How can we suppose that *Presbyters* should tamely give up their own *Rights*, without any *Struggle* and *Opposition*? And submit to the *Jurisdiction* of *Prelates*, had it not been Founded on an *Apostolical Institution*? Or, as Mr. *Agate* argues, *How impossible is it, that the whole Christian World should conspire together to set up Episcopacy, without the least Contention and Noise about it* [p. 105.]? To which I reply,

1st, THAT the *History of the Church* for the first 300 Years is very imperfect and defective. There are but few of those *Pieces* which were composed by *Christian Writers*, in that Period, come safe unto our Hands; and those that we have, are, for the most part, made up of *Defences*, and *Apologies* for the *Christian Religion*, or *Disputes* against the *Absurdity* and *Folly* of the *Pagan Superstition*. 'Tis true, my *Antagonist* (with an Air of Confidence peculiar to himself) pretends, *That in the famous Churches of Antioch, Rome, &c. they kept Catalogues of their Bishops, and could demonstrate their Succession several Hundred Years from the Apostles Time, as readily as we can now the Succession of the Kings of England* [ib.] 'Tis as usual for some People to talk of *Demonstration* in the most doubtful Matters, as 'tis for *Quacks* and *Mountebanks* to

to boast of their infallible *Receipts*, and never-failing *Remedies*. The truth on't is, the most Ancient *Historians* contradict each other in the most *palpable* and *gross* manner, concerning the *First Bishops* of these Renowned Cities; nor are our Modern *Criticks* and *Chronologers*, whether *Protestant* or *Popish*, less divided about this Matter. The Succession at Rome it self, is as *Muddy as the Tyber*, as Bp. *Stillingfleet* expresses it. If Mr. *Agate* be so well skilled in the *Heraldry* of the Church, as he pretends, let him Name that Man who was first Bishop of Rome, and I will undertake to *confront* him by as good Authority as any he can produce in Favour of his own *Hypothesis*. The most Ancient Ecclesiastical *Historian* we have is *Eusebius*; when he undertakes to give us an Account of the *Apostolical Successions*, he ingenuously confesses, ' That he was the first who undertook this Argument; That he went in an untrodden Path where there were scarce any Footsteps to be found, of such as had gone before him †. Nay, after the strictest Enquiry he could make, he frankly owns, ' That 'tis no easy matter to say, who were those *genuine Imitators* of the *Apostles*, who by them were thought fit to govern the Churches they had planted, any farther than might be collected by the *Apostles* own Writings ‡. Now, if *Eusebius* himself, who lived about 1400 Years ago, who has given us those very *Catalogues* of Names on which so great a Stress is laid, and who mentions the Bishoprick of *Timothy* and *Titus*, only as a vagrant Rumour or Report ¶, if this very Author professes it a hard matter to find who were *Successors* to the *Apostles*, what an Amazing Confidence is it in a poor sorry Scribler, to pretend to *Demonstration* in an Affair so *dubious* and *uncertain*?

2d, 'TIS to be considered further, that those *Bishops* who flourished in the First Ages of the Church, were so far from being *Diocesans*, that in truth they were only *Pastors*, or *chief Ministers* to particular Congregations: This the Reader may see demonstrated by Mr. *Baxter*, in his *Treatise of Episcopacy*, and by the Author of the *Constitution, Discipline, Unity and Worship of the Church for the first 300 Years* *. From which Books I shall transcribe nothing at present, but only take Notice of the Concessions made by 3 or 4 of the most Eminent Defenders of *Episcopacy*. The first which I shall produce

I 2

† Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1. ‡ Ib. l. 3. c. 4. ¶ Ibid

* Part 1. c. 2. p. 20.

is Bp. *Hall*, who acknowledges, ' That at first, all the *Prest-
byters* were as of the *Bishops* Family; all the *Tithes* and
' *Means* of the Church coming in to him, and he dispensing
' among the Priests, and other Church-Officers, to every one
' his portion *. To the same purpose speaks Dr. *Maurice*,
who, though writing against Mr. *Clarkson*, with an avow'd
Design to magnify the Extent of the Primitive Diocesses, is for-
ced to confess, ' That the Name of *Altar* was appropriated to
' that of the Bishops Church, in respect of the Oblations of the
' Faithful, which were presented there ONLY, and from
' thence Distribution was made according to the Occasions of
the Church †. Agreeable to this is the Concession of Mr. *Burs-
cough*, who tells us, ' That in the Primitive Times the *Bishop*
' was intrusted with the *Goods* of the Church, and out of the
' Contributions which were made to him, he appointed Sub-
' ordinate Officers, to supply the Wants of private Christians;
' he was also obliged to make Provision out of the same for
' his Clergy ‡. To these I may add the Famous Mr. *Dodwel*,
who informs us, ' That in the Days of *Cyprian*, the Names of
' ALL such as were in Communion with the Church, were re-
' cited in their *Dypticks*, or the publick Offices of the Church †.
Now then, if all the publick Contributions were brought into
the *Bishops* Hands, and he provided not only for the *Inferior*
Clergy, but all the *Poor* of his Flock, if all the Communicants
made their Oblations only at his *Altar*, and had their Names
commemorated by him, I must leave the Reader to determine,
whether such a *Diocess* could exceed the Bounds of a single Con-
gregation.

3d, IF we consult the Management of Ecclesiastical Affairs
in the *Cyprianick Age*, according to which *Model* the *Estab-
lished Church* is pretended to conform it self, we shall find,
that there were then several Orders of *Clergymen*, which we in
England know nothing of; particularly, they had their *Sub-
Deacons*, *Acolythists*, and *Exorcists*, &c. all which were
looked upon as parts of the *Clergy*, and Men in Holy Orders,
and are so esteemed at this Day in the Church of *Rome*. We
find these mentioned by St. *Cyprian* †‡, and before him by
Cor-

* *Hall's Episcopacy by Divine Right*, pt. 2. p. 30. † *Mau-
rice's Defence of Diocesan Episc.* p. 38. ‡ *Burscough of Ch.
Government*, p. 108, &c. † *Dodwel's Dissertat. Cyprian.*
5. Sect. 5. † *Cyprian's Ep.* 55, 76. †‡ *Apud Euseb. Hist.*
Eccles. l. 6. c. 43.

Cornelius, in his celebrated Epistle to *Fabius*; and by many others in the following Centuries. Upon this Occasion, I demand of my Adversary, Were these Orders of an *Apostolical Institution*, or were they not? If they were, why are they disused in the Church of *England*? Or how can she justify her Conduct in discarding of them; If they were *not*, then here we have an Instance, in which the Christian World conspired to set up divers sorts of *Ecclesiastical Officers*, without any *Noise* and *Contention* about it; and why might not *Bishops* be introduced into the Church as silently, and with as little Disturbance as the others?

4th, BUT that which I look upon as a full *Solution* of the forementioned Difficulty, is this, that the *Metropolitans* got, in the Early Ages of the Church, the same *Preheminence* and *Jurisdiction* over *Ordinary Bishops*, that they had over *Presbyters*, and that without the least Clamour or Opposition, that we read of. That *Arch-bishops* are of an *Humane institution*, is generally acknowledged by our *Prelatical Brethren*; and the truth on't is, the contrary Opinion is absolutely inconsistent with their *beloved Scheme*: For if *Bishops* succeed *Apostles*, they succeed such as were the *SUPREAM Governours* of the Church under *Christ*, and by consequence there can be none *SUPERIOR* to them by a *Divine Law*. Did Mr. *Agate* insist on the *Apostolical* Appointment of *Metropolitans*, I might enlarge on this Head; in the mean time, I shall refer the Reader, who desires Satisfaction, to *Dupin*, who treats of this Subject in Opposition to *de Marca* *; and he that understands *French* may consult *Monf. Basnage*, who gives a particular Reply to all the Arguments, or rather Conjectures of *Bp. Beveridge* †. 'When this Office of *Metropolitan* first began, I find not, says the *Learned Dr. Cave* ‡; whose Judgment, in Relation to *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, deserves as great Regard as that of most Men living. However, this is beyond Dispute, these Superior Officers were introduced betimes into the Church of *Christ*. Their Superintendency over other Prelates, is mentioned as an *Ancient Custom* by the Council of *Nice* itself †. And *Dr. Cave* supposes it might commence not long after

* *Dupin de Antiqua Eccles. Discipl. Dissert. Hist. Sect. 6. p. 15.* † *Histoire de L'Eglise, Tom. 1. c. 8, p. 36, &c.* ‡ *Prim. Christianity, pt. 1. p. 226.* † τὰ ἀρχαία εἶδη καὶ τῶν, *Conc. Nic. can. 6.*

after the *Apostolick* Age *. If we consult the Nature of that *Jurisdiction* which was exercised by *Metropolitans* over other *Bishops*, 'twill be found every Way as extensive as that which they themselves had over *Ordinary Priests*. For Instance; if a Person was ordained a *Bishop* without the Consent of his *Metropolitan*, he was pronounced, by the most Ancient *Canons* of the Church, to be *No Bishop* †. He had Power to receive *Appeals* from other *Bishops* ‡; and by consequence to reverse the Sentences pronounced by them, if he judged them inconsistent with Equity and Reason. In one Word, the *Metropolitan* took Care of the whole *Province* §; he summoned *Synods*, and presided in them, nor were *Bishops* permitted to Travel beyond the Seas without his *License*, and *Letter Recommendatory* ||. I have hinted at these Things, to let the Reader see, that tho' there be no *Divine Appointment* which gives *Arch-bishops* a *Jurisdiction* over *Bishops*, (our Adversaries themselves being Judges) yet, *defacto*, they did, in the Early Ages of the Church, obtain it, without any *Clamour* or *Contention*; nor do we read of the least *Opposition* made to the Exercise of this Claim by those whose *Rights* and *Prerogatives* were thereby lessened and surrendred up. Why might not the Christian World as well conspire to set up *Episcopacy*, as we know it actually did to establish a *Metropolitcal Power*? And that with as little Noise, In one Word; if Mr. *Agate* will inform me of the Time *when*, and Manner *how*, the *Metropolitans* got a *Jurisdiction* over other *Bishops*, I will engage to be as punctual and exact in Relation to that Authority which these have obtained over *Ordinary Priests*. I am confident our *High-Flyers* don't love His Grace of *Canterbury* so well, as to allow him a *Divine*, and by consequence an *Uncontroulable* Commission to govern all the Clergy of his *Province*: And I may defy all Mankind to give a tolerable Reason, why the whole of our *Hierarchy* may not be an *Humane Constitution*, as well as the principal Part of it?

THUS have I examined the Pretences commonly made use of, to prove the *Succession* of *Bishops* to the *Apostolical Office*. I come next to give the Reason of my Dissent from that prevailing Notion, which is grounded on the Nature of an Office: An Office in general, is an Authority and Obligation to do such

* *Disc. of Ancient Church Government*, p. 93. † *Conc. Nic. can. 6.* *Conc. Antioch. can. 19.* ‡ *Conc. Sard. can. 14.* § *Conc. Antioch. can. 9.* || *Conc. Carthag. 3. can. 28.*

such and such Work and Business. Thus for Instance, He that hath *Authority* to issue out his Warrants, to commit Malefactors to Prison, to hold Sessions, and the like, has the *Office* of a *Justice of Peace*; he that has a *Commission* to Lead, Command and Muster a Company of Men, has the *Office* of a *Captain*; he that has *Authority* to consecrate the *Eucharist*, to Preach, and Baptize Infants, has the *Office* of a *Priest*. So that to understand the *Office* of the *Apostles*, we must consider the Nature and Extent of that *Authority* with which they were Invested. This we find to be universal over all Christians; both Clergy and Laity were obliged to yield Obedience to those divinely-inspired Persons. Were *St. Paul* now alive, I hope there is never a Prelate in *England* would dispute his Authority, or refuse him his Submission. 'Tis pretended, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were real *Bishops*; and yet we find that the *Apostles* did command, charge and injoin them to do so and so, that he did prescribe them Rules which they were obliged to observe, That he sent them here and there, and summoned them to attend his *Motions*; acting in all these Instances as a *Governour* or *Ruler*. Now if *Bishops* have not the same Authority, they cannot pretend to the same *Office*. Or my Argument may be thus formed: The *Offices* of *Governours* and *Governed* are distinct *Offices*; but the *Offices* of *Apostles* and *Bishops* are the *Offices* of *Governours* and *Governed*; therefore they are distinct *Offices*.

BY this time I hope the Reader may be satisfied, that there is neither *Heresy* nor *Blasphemy* in my Assertion, That *Bishops* derive their *Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters* from the *Law of the Land*. And 'tis a Surprize to me, that this should be questioned by any Person, when by the *Laws* of the *Established Church* our *Chancellors* and *Delegates*, who may be meer *Laymen*, are yet Invested with an *Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction* independent on, and paramount unto the *Bishops* themselves. If it be objected, That this is an *Encroachment* of the *State* upon the *Privileges* of the *Church*; my Answer is, That *K. William*, upon his Access to the Throne, summoned a *Convocation* of the *Clergy*, giving them a *Commission* under the Great Seal of *England*, to consult, amongst other things, of proper *Methods for the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Courts* *. On the other Hand, *Dr. Jane*, *Prolocutor* of the *Lower House*, when delivering the Sense of himself and Brethren to the *Bishops*, 'Extolled the Excellency of the Church of *England* as 'Established

* *Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 553.* † *Ibid. p. 552.*

‘ Established by Law above all Christian Communities ; and
 ‘ implied that it wanted no Amendments. Concluding with
 this triumphant Resolution, *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*,
 We will not have the Laws of England changed †. I demand
 therefore, whether the *Jurisdiction* exercised by *Laymen*, be a
Fault and *Error* in the Constitution of our Church, or no ? If
 it be, then it must be laid at the Doors of the *Lower House of*
Convocation, who had an Opportunity and Invitation to re-
 dress this Grievance, and yet peremptorily refused to do it ;
 and it will be a Question, whether the Church deserves those
pompous Characters of *Primitive* and *Apostolical*, with which
 ’tis usually larded over. But if this be no *Blemish* in our Con-
 stitution, why must it be *Blasphemy* and *Atheism* in me, to
 suppose that the Law gives a *Jurisdiction* over *Presbyters* to
 Men in *Holy Orders*, when the same Law gives much more
 than I contend for to meer *Laymen*.

THE next Post I undertook to defend, is, *The Validity of*
Presbyterian Ordination : This I shall attempt both from
 Scripture and Antiquity ; and the Precedency being due to the
 former, I shall begin my *Defence* with an Argument taken
 from the sacred Records.

IF *Presbyters* in Scripture times did invest Persons with the
 Ministerial Office by the *Imposition of Hands*, then they had a
Power of Ordaining ; but *Presbyters* in Scripture times did
 thus invest Persons with the *Ministerial Office*, therefore, &c.
 The Consequence is too plain to be denied, the *Investing* Per-
 sons in such an *Office* being all that we understand by *Ordina-*
tion. The *Minor* I prove from that celebrated Text, 1 *Tim.*
 4. 14. *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which was given*
thee by Prophecy, with the laying on of the Hands of the PRES-
BYTERY. To confirm the Argument drawn from this Text,
 I shall prove, (1.) That by *Presbytery* we are to understand a
 Company of Persons called *Presbyters*. (2.) That these *Pres-*
byters, of which the *New Testament* makes mention, neither
 were, nor could be *Bishops*, in the Modern Acceptation of the
 Word. And (3. that by *Gift* we are to understand the *Mini-*
sterial Gift Authority or Office. These things being cleared,
Presbyterian Ordination will appear agreeable to *Scripture*
Rules, though it may be condemned by subsequent *Church*
Canons.

I. BY

† *Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 552.*

1. BY the word *Presbytery*, we are to understand a Company of Persons called Presbyters. The Greek Word Πρεσβυ-
τέρειον (from whence the English Word *Presbytery* is derived) is to be found in two other places of the *New Testament*. *Luke* 22. 66. where we read of the *Elders of the People*; but in the Original 'tis the *Presbytery of the People*. So *Acts* 22. 5. our Translators render it, the *Estate of the Elders*. In both which places it necessarily signifies an *Assembly* of such Officers as in the *Jewish Church* were called *Elders* or *Presbyters*. And from them the *Christian Church* borrowed this Term, as it did a great many others, to denote those Persons who under the *Gospel Dispensation* were to officiate in sacred things. If we consult other Authors who have written since the *Canon* of Sacred Scripture was compleat, we shall find that this Word is taken in the same Sense; of which multitudes of Instances might be easily produced. But the Reader who desires further Satisfaction, may have recourse to the Learned *Blondel*, who produces numerous *Quotations*, from *Fathers* and *Councils*, both of the *Greek* and *Latin Church* to this purpose *.

2. BUT the main Question is, *What those Officers were which in the New Testament go under the Denomination of Presbyters?* And my next Province is to prove, That they neither were nor could be *Diocesan Bishops*. However, the Reader is desired to take Notice, that the Word which in our *English Bibles* is translated *Elders*, is in the *Greek Presbyters*, and I, in my *Quotations*, have followed the Original. These things premised,

[1.] I argue in the First Place, That the Persons called *Presbyters* in the *New Testament* were not *Diocesan Bishops*, because there were many of them in one and the same Church or City; which is absolutely inconsistent with the *Prelatical Scheme*, which allows but of one Bishop in one City. When *Paul* and *Barnabas* went up and down the *Lesser Asia*, propagating the *Gospel*, confirming the *Disciples*, and proclaiming the glad Tidings of *Salvation* where so e're they came, we have this Account of their Proceedings, That they Ordained them Presbyters in every Church, *Acts* 14. 23. Not a *Prelate* to govern several Churches, but a *Company of Presbyters* to
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* *Blondel's Apolog.* p. 89.

manage the Affairs of each individual Church. Thus we read of several *Presbyters* in the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 15. 4. And of the *Presbyters* of the Church of *Ephesus*, who were summoned by *St. Paul* to attend him at *Miletus*, *Acts* 20. 17. to whom he made a most Affectionate *Discourse* concerning the *Duties* of their *Function*. To all which I shall subjoin that celebrated *Text* so much insisted on by our *Episcopal Brethren*, *Tit.* 1. 5. *For this Cause* (says *St. Paul* to *Titus*) *left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in Order the Things that are wanting, and ordain Presbyters in every City, as I had appointed thee.* We no where read of a particular *Presbyter* governing many Churches; but we have many Instances of a *Company* or *Colledge* of *Presbyters* belonging to the same individual Church or City. Whence I infer, that *Scripture Presbyters* could not be *Diocesan Bishops*; two *Prelates* in the same Church being now looked upon as *Monstrous*, as two *Suns* in the same Firmament, or two *Sovereign Princes* in one and the same State.

[2.] I argue in the next place, That the *Scripture Presbyters* were not *Diocesan Bishops*, because they stood related only to one particular Church or Congregation, and could take the Charge of no more. This I prove from the Epistle of *St. James*, c. 5. v. 14. *Is any Sick among you? Let him call for the Presbyters of the Church, and let them pray over him, &c.* Hence I argue, If it be the Duty of Sick Persons to send for the *Presbyters* of the Church, 'tis their Duty to come when sent for, to pray with and for the Languishing Patient, administering such Advice and Counsel to him as may be suitable to his present Circumstances. Now every One sees, that this is absolutely impossible to be done in a *Diocess*, consisting of many Parishes. Can our *Bishops* Visit all the Sick in their respective precincts? This is Impracticable in the very Nature of the Thing, for which Reason the *New Testament Presbyters* could not be *Bishops* in the present Acceptation of the Word; and by consequence, the *Presbytery* imposing Hands on *Timothy* was an Assembly of *Presbyters*, not of *Ecclesiasticks* possessing an Higher Dignity in the Church.

[3.] THE next thing I undertook to prove, is, That these Persons did, by this solemn Rite or Ceremony, confer on *Timothy* the Ministerial Gift, Authority, or Office, which is the very same thing with *Ordination*. 'Tis evident, beyond all Dispute, that *Timothy* did, with the Imposition of these Mens Hands,

Hands, receive a *Gift*, which he was called upon to *excite* and *stir up*. 'Tis confessed, that we find mention made of two sorts of *Gifts* in the Holy Scriptures, some *extraordinary*, and others *ordinary*. Of the first sort were the *Gifts of Healing*, of *working Miracles*, of *Propheſie*, *divers kinds of Tongues*, and the like, 1 Cor. 12. 9, &c. Thus 'tis recorded of the first Preachers of the Gospel, That God did *bear them witness*, both *with Signs and Wonders*, and *with divers Miracles and Gifts of the Holy Ghost*, Heb. 2. 4. enabling them to confirm the Doctrine which they taught, by *numerous* and *uncontrolled Miracles*. But as these *Gifts* were only necessary for the first planting of the Gospel, so there has been a Cessation of them for many Ages in the Christian Church. There be other *Gifts* of an Ordinary Standing Nature in the Church; thus we read of the *Gifts of Ministry*, of *Teaching* and *Exhortation*, Rom. 12. 6, 7. These suppose the *Ministerial Office* to be of a perpetual Duration, and to continue as long as Christianity has a Being.

IF it be demanded, what *Gift* it was that *Timothy* is said to receive in this celebrated Text? I will not deny but he might have the *Gift of Tongues*, to speak those *Languages* he never studied, or of working other *Miracles*; but this could not be the *Gift* which he received with the *Laying on the hands of the Presbyters*: My reason is this, because the *conferring* this Miraculous *Gift*, was the peculiar Province of the *Apostles*. This is evident to any Person who consults the Eighth Chapter of the *Acts of the Apostles*, in which we read, that when *Philip* preach'd the Gospel at *Samaria*, and confirm'd his *Doctrine* by *astonishing Signs and Wonders*, great Multitudes of People were prevailed upon to embrace the *Christian Faith*. Now when the *Apostles* which were at *Jerusalem* heard that *Samaria* had received the *Word of God*, they sent to them *Peter* and *John*, v. 14. who when they came down *laid their Hands on them* and *they received the Holy Ghost*, v. 17. i. e. the *Gift* of working *Miracles*, speaking with *Tongues*, &c. as Dr. Hammond paraphrases on the Words. *Philip* could himself work *Miracles*; but not being of the *Apostolical Order*, he could not confer this extraordinary *Gift* on others; so that it is expressly affirm'd, that the *Holy Ghost* was given through the *laying on* of the APOSTLES HANDS, v. 18. Nor do we read that this Privilege was communicated to any other Persons. Whence the Reverend and Learned Dr. *Whitby* remarks, that the *Holy Ghost* was never thus conferr'd, but by the Hands of

an *Apostle* *. And therefore when *Simon Magus* was instigated by his own *sordid Ambition*, to attempt the purchasing this extraordinary *Gift*, he did not address himself to *Philip*, or any *Ordinary Pastors* of the *Church*, but to *Peter* and *John* who had power to confer it. Thus when *St. Paul* laid his Hands on the *Disciples* at *Ephesus*, the *Holy Ghost* came upon them, and (as the consequence of this) they spake with Tongues and Propheesied. *Acts* 19. 6. And several other Instances of the like Nature might be produced, in which the *Holy Ghost*, in its *miraculous Influences*, is said to be communicated by the *Apostles*. But this was their peculiar privilege; Nor do we find any others making the least pretences to it. Whence I infer, that the *Gift* which *Timothy* receiv'd with the laying on the Hands of the *Presbytery*, was not any extraordinary *Miraculous Gift*. But the *Ministerial Gift*, *Authority* or *Office*.

THAT this is the true intent and meaning of this famous Text, is further evident by the whole scope and tendency of this Chapter, which is to excite and stir up *Timothy* to a Conscientious Discharge of his *Ministerial Function*. If thou put the Brethren in mind of these Things thou shalt be a good Minister of *Jesus Christ* says *St. Paul*, v. 6. Till I come give attendance to Reading, to Exhortation, to Doctrine, viz. Then it immediately follows, neglect not the Gift that is in thee, &c. concluding thus, Meditate upon these Things, give thy self wholly to them; take heed unto thy self and to thy Doctrine. All these Things concerned *Timothy* as he was a Gospel Minister, abstracted from any Power of working Miracles. And this was the Gift plainly intended by the Text.

UPON the whole, I doubt not, but it has been made appear, to the Impartial Readers satisfaction, that here were a Company of Presbyters imposing Hands on *Timothy*, that by, or with this Solemnity, the Ministerial Gift or Power was conveyed; which is the very same thing with Ordination. And if such did Ordain in the first Ages of the Church, their Ordination must be still valid; for what *Humane Canon* can divest them of that Authority, which originally belonged to their Office, by the Institution of *Christ*, and his *Apostles*? We own this Text to be (as *Mr. Agate* calls it) our *Asylum*; I may add an *Asylum* that stands on an *immoveable Foundation*, which may defy the impotent Efforts of all that shall assault it: And I must crave leave to tell this Gentleman, and the whole World, that we value one Sentence of *St. Paul* more than all the bulky Volumes

* *Whitby's Annot. in Acts* 8. 15.

Volumes of *Fathers and Councils*, which he or his Friends can heap together. And whilst we have *one Scripture Example* to Justify our *Ordination*, we are not much concerned though the *Canons and Decrees of Men* condemn it. But let us hear what *Mr. Agate* offers, to Invalidate the Argument drawn from this part of Holy Writ.

1st Obj. IN the first place he objects, *That there is no Necessity of taking Presbytery in this place for a Company of Presbyters; St. Chrysostom, and others, take it for a Company of Bishops* [p. 263.]

Ans. BUT I have already proved, in Opposition to this Conceit, that the Scripture Presbyters were many of them in the very same Church; and that they had the Care but of one individual Congregation. So that they neither were, nor could be *Diocesan Bishops*. And the Opinion of *Chrysostom*, or some others, who lived 500 or 1000 Years afterwards can be of no such weight as to be laid in the Ballance against a Testimony taken from the sacred Records.

2^d Obj. 'TIS objected in the next place, *That the word Presbytery* [Πρεσβυτεριον] *may as well denote the Office of a Presbyter, as a Company of Presbyters* [Ibid.]

Ans. BUT had this Gentleman intended to give any real Satisfaction to his Reader, instead of amusing us with his Impertinent Quibbles and *May-be's*, he should have given us some Instance in which the Word is actually thus taken. We find the same Word in some other places of Scripture, and there it necessarily denotes a Company of Men called *Presbyters*, or *Elders*; and so it does in all other *Authors*, as far as I can find; and nothing but a Design to serve a Cause could obtrude another Sense upon it in this place, especially when he has not been able to produce so much as one *Greek Author* to warrant his Conjecture. Besides, did this Gentleman's Notion prevail, how awkward and untoward would the Translation then run? *Neglect not the Gift that is in thee, which thou hast received with the laying on of the Hands of the Office of the Presbytery.* But what Hands has an Office? Or by what Rules in Rhetorick can such an harsh, ill-favoured Figure be defended? Or lastly, will this Gentleman stand to *Calvin's* Interpretation of this Text which he has quoted? If so, we must thus read it, *Neg-*
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lest not the Gift of the Presbytery that is in thee, &c. And this Sense (were it consistent with the Grammatical Construction of the Words) would please me as well as any; for then it would follow, that *Timothy's Office* was that of a Presbyter, and therefore that Presbyters have a Power of Ordaining, as *Timothy* doubtless had; and this is the very thing I am contending for.

3d Obj. 'TIS objected further, *That 'tis not necessary to take the word χάρισμα (i. e. Gift) for the very Office itself, with which Timothy was invested at his Ordination: That it seems rather to import some extraordinary Spiritual Gift bestowed upon him* [p. 264.] To which I Answer.

Ans. THAT this Objection has been already obviated by me, in shewing, that the conferring the extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost was the peculiar Province of the *Apostles*; to which persons of an Inferior Order never once pretended. Besides, this Gentleman in the very next page, affirms, *That hence [i. e. from this Text] it plainly follows, that St. Paul, as a Bishop, ordained Timothy with the Assistance of his Presbyters.* Now then, if Ordination be PLAINLY intended in the Text, why does he endeavour to obscure a PLAIN Truth by his impertinent and idle Comment?

4th Obj. MY Antagonist urges in the Fourth place, *That though Προβυτέριον may be taken for a Colledge of Presbyters, yet the Presbytery mentioned in this Epistle was made up of the Highest Officers in the Church; of Apostles, Evangelists, and persons invested with Episcopal Power; at least St. Paul must be allowed to be amongst them* [p. 264.] To which I reply,

Ans. THAT in this place Mr. Agate plays over his Old Game, and obtrudes his own wild Conjectures upon the World without any proof, or the least Shadow of probability, as if we were obliged to take his Confident Assertions for Evidence and Demonstration. He gives us no one proof, that a *Company of Apostles* were present at this Solemnity, nor no one Instance in which the word Presbytery signifies an Assembly of such Officers: On the other hand, I have produced those Arguments which do evince, that Scripture Presbyters could not be Bishops in the Modern Acceptation of the word. 'Tis true, St. Peter
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and *John* called themselves *Presbyters*, as indeed they were, the lesser being included in the greater, and this bespeaks their great Humility and Modesty; but when one *Apostle* speaks of another, he never gives him that diminutive Character. The Bishop of *Sarum* may subscribe himself *Mr. Agate's Most Obedient Servant*, and this may be an Instance of his Lordship's Complaisance and Condescension: But should he write, that the Bishops of *London* and *Winchester* were *Mr. Agate's Obedient Servants*, this would be a Complement most unaccountably odd and absurd. The Judge upon the Bench calls the Serjeant at the Bar his *Brother*, but he never salutes another Judge by the name of *Brother Serjeant*. Nor does one *Prelate* call another *Brother Presbyter*, though he disdains not to give that Title to the meanest *Curate* in his Diocese, who has but Priests Orders. Just thus in the Scripture Language, though an *Apostle* may stile himself *Presbyter*, he never gives this Title to others of the *Apostolical* Order.

ON the other hand, it is very well worth our observation, that whensoever *Apostles* and *Presbyters* are mentioned in the *New Testament*, the distinction that there was between these two Orders is carefully regarded. Thus when there was a Dissension at *Antioch*, about Circumcision and other Rites of the *Mosaical Law*. 'Twas determined that *Paul* and *Barnabas* should go up to *Jerusalem*, to consult the *Apostles* and *Presbyters* about this Question. *Acts* 15. 2. When they came there, they were received of the *Apostles* and *Presbyters* v. 4. Again, the *Apostles* and *Presbyters* came together to consider of this Matter, v. 6. and when they came to a Resolution, their Letters began thus. The *Apostles* and *Presbyters*, &c. send Greeting, &c. v. 23. As *Paul* and *Silas* went through the Cities, they delivered to them the *Decrees* for to keep, that were ordained of the *Apostles* and *Presbyters* at *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 16. 4. Some Years after this, *Paul* and his Companions came again to *Jerusalem*, when they went in unto *James*, and all the *Presbyters* were present, *Acts* 21. 18. Where *James*, being an *Apostle*, is distinguished from those who were of an Inferior Order. And what probability is there that the two Orders should be confounded in this Text, when the distinction between 'em is so carefully observed in all others? Besides, *Mr. Agate* owns in the very next Page, that *Timothy* was ordained by *St. Paul* a Bishop, with the assistance of his *Presbyters*, and this he says is demonstrable, if so, the *Presbytery* in this Text cannot signify a Company of *Apostles*, when there was

was but one *Apostle* present, and he assisted by Ordinary Priests.

Mr. *Agate* urges further, *That Timothy was a Bishop, and though the Presbyterians may be so impudent as to take upon them to Ordain Priests, yet Mr. Tros himself never pretended to make a Bishop* [p. 264.]

THAT *Timothy* was a *Diocesan Bishop*, is what we do deny, and should be glad to see a good Substantial Proof of it. All that we contend for is this, that the Presbytery Ordained him a *Gospel Minister*; which hinders not, but that *St. Paul*, or rather that Holy Spirit by which he was guided, might invest him with a higher Character, give him an extraordinary Commission, with a Superintendency over all those Churches which he should visit by Virtue of his *Apostolical Mission*. The Mayor of *Exeter* is invested with his Office by the Election of the *Commons*, and the *Recorder's* Administring the usual Oath unto him; but if Her Majesty pleases she may enlarge his Commission, and make this Gentleman a *Judge* or *Lord Chancellor*. And it by no means follows, that because the *Citizens* did not make him a *prime Minister*, that therefore they did not make him Mayor of a Corporation. Just thus, we may not conclude that *Presbyters* could not ordain *Timothy* a *Gospel Minister*, because *St. Paul* did afterwards give him a Jurisdiction over all Ordinary Pastors: Our Bishops first consecrate the *Arch-bishop*, and then swear Canonical Obedience to him.

5th Obj. The Fifth and Last Objection which my *Antagonist* musters up, is to this effect, *That in the Text there is a perfect Pattern of Episcopal Ordination, as 'tis performed at this Day in the Church of England, by a Bishop with the Assistance of his Presbyters. This* (he says) *is demonstrable from the Greek Prepositions which St. Paul makes use of on this Occasion: In 1 Tim. 4. 14. 'tis μετὰ, with the laying on the Hands of the Presbytery. But 2 Tim. 1. 6. 'tis διὰ, by the Imposition of my Hands. The latter denotes the Principal, the former only the Concurring Cause. And hence it plainly follows, that St. Paul as a Bishop ordained Timothy with the Assistance of his Presbyters* [p. 265] To all which I reply.

1. THAT as this Critical Remark is borrowed of others, so it will do Mr. *Agate* no manner of Service; for notwithstanding his nice Distinction betwixt the two Particles *διὰ* and *μετὰ*, they are promiscuously used in the *New Testament*: It is not true

true, that the former always signifies a *principal Cause*; So for Instance, *Romans 14. 20. It is Evil to him that eateth, δια προσόμματος, with, not by Offence.* See also *2 Tim. 2. 2. 2 Cor. 2. 4.* On the other Hand, the preposition *μετὰ* often signifies the *principal efficient Cause*: Thus, when *Paul and Barnabas* came from *Antioch to Jerusalem*, they declared to the *Apostles and Elders* all that *God had done with them, μετ' αὐτῶν, Acts 15. 4.* The very same thing is expressed by *δι' αὐτῶν, v. 12.* So that both these phrases denote the same thing, viz. That the *Apostles* were, under *God*, the *Causes* of many Wonderful and Miraculous Events. This very particle is also made use of upon the same Occasion, *Acts 14. 27.* It is said of *God*, That he brought the Children of *Israel out of Egypt with an high Arm, μετὰ βραχίονος Ὑψίστου, Acts 13. 17.* I hope *Mr. Agate* will allow *God's Arms* to be the *principal Cause* of his Peoples Deliverance from the House of Bondage; And why may not the *Presbyters Hands* imposed on *Timothy*, be the *principal Cause* of his Ordination, the very same particle being made use of in both Texts? If we consult prophane Authors, we find *Homer* introducing *Apoll*, rescuing his Favourite *Aeneas* out of the Hands of his Pursuers, upon which he thus expresseth himself:

Καὶ τὸν μὲν μετὰ χερσὶν ἔρυσσας Ἀπόλλων.

Iliad. 5. ver. 344.

Let our profound Critick, upon reading this Verse, inform us, whether *Apoll's Hands* were not the *principal Cause* of *Aeneas's* Deliverance.

IF *Mr. Agate* understands his *Mother Tongue*, he can't be ignorant, that the words *WITH* and *BY* are often u'ed promiscuously in our own Language: Thus I may say, That such a Child was baptized with or by the pouring of Water on his Face, in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. Such a Nobleman was made Lord-Steward, or Comptroler of Her Majesty's Household, with or by the Queens Delivery of a white Staff unto him; this being the Ceremony whereby he is invested in his Office. Thus when 'tis said of *Timothy*, that he received a Gift by the Imposition of *St. Paul's Hands*, or with the laying on of the Hands of the *Presbytery*. The same thing is denoted by these different Expressions, even his Admission to the sacred Function; and that this was the Rite made use of at his

Investiture : So that Mr. *Agate's* Criticism upon the Particles *by* and *with*, is, in truth, a grand piece of Impertinence, and will do his Cause no manner of service.

2. THOUGH it be certain, that St. *Paul* laid his Hands on *Timothy*, yet we cannot be sure that he did it at the same time with the *Presbytery* ; perhaps it might be at another Time, and to another End. We find, that the *Holy Ghost*, in its Miraculous Gifts and Powers, was conferred by the laying on the Hands of this *Apostle*, *Acts* 19. 6. And this might be the Design of his imposing Hands on *Timothy*.

3. BUT we will suppose, that St. *Paul* laid his Hands on *Timothy*, together with a number of *Presbyters* ; this is a plain Acknowledgment of an inherent Power of Ordination belonging to their Order. Will the Mayor of *Exeter* allow those who are no Justices of the Peace, to set their Hands and Seals to his Warrants ? Will Mr. *Agate* permit his Clerk or Sexton, or indeed the best *Layman* in his Parish, to pour Water on a Child's Face, together with himself in *Baptism* ? As little Reason have we to imagine, that St. *Paul* would have permitted *Presbyters* to lay on their Hands by his in Ordination, had they had no power to Ordain.

IT is indeed boldly asserted by Mr. *Roberts*, in his late *Vitification Sermon*, p. 13. ' That by St. *Paul's* Authority alone ' the Ordination of *Timothy* was compleat ; and if meer *Presbyters* laid on their Hands, it was to testify their Consent and ' Approbation. But this Interpretation is absolutely repugnant to the Text, which affirms, That this Gift was conferred *by* or *with* the laying on the Hands of the *Presbytery* : Whereas St. *Paul* was but a single Person, and neither was, nor possibly could be, a *Presbytery*. If this Gentleman has got such a pretty knack of Multiplication, that he can make a Company of One Man, 'tis pity but he should spend the next Campaign with the Duke of *Marlborough*, where he might do more than *Knights Service*, and prevent a World of Trouble and Expence in raising Recruits. The Mayor of this City hath doubtless a power to commit Malefactors to Prison ; but when other Justices set their Hands and Seals to the same *Mittimus*, it would be absolutely false in Matter of Fact, to affirm, that such a Criminal was sent to Goal by the Mayor's single Warrant. Just so, tho' the *Apostle* might have conferred *Holy Orders* by his own single Authority ; yet when the Scriptures positively affirm, That *Timothy* was ordained by a *Presbytery*, or Company of *Priests*.

Priests. 'Tis a direct flying in the Face of those sacred Records, to pretend, that his *Ordination* was finished and completed by One single Man.

IN one word; if *St. Paul* was one of the *Presbytery*, he acted only in the Capacity of a *Presbyter*, which he was as well as an *Apostle*, the lesser being included in the greater. The *Judges* that travel our Circuits, are also *Justices of the Peace* in those respective Counties through which they travel. Suppose that one of that Character should concur with other *Justices*, in making such an *Order*, or doing such an *Act*, for Instance, in Impressing an Able Man to serve the *Queen*, and it were entered upon the *Court-Rolls*, that such an *Order* was made by the *Justices of the Peace* for the County of *Devon*; no Man that reads these *Records* an Age or two hence, but will presently conclude, that the *Gentlemen* who were in Commission of the Peace, had power to make such an *Order*; and that its Validity did not depend on the Concurrence of one particular Person, who was also a *Judge*. Just thus, when we read that *Timothy* was Ordained by a *Company of Presbyters*, though *St. Paul* was one of the Company; yet we may reasonably conclude, that he acted not in his *Apostolical* Capacity, but as a Member of that *Presbytery*, though the principal amongst 'em. We may also infer, that the Validity of this *Ordination*, did not depend on him *alone*; for then *Timothy* was not Ordained by a *Presbytery*, as the Text asserts, but by a single Person, and he of an higher Order. To all that has been said I may add,

4. IN the Fourth place, that after all the Pains *Mr. Agate* has taken to *darken* and *obscure* this plain perspicuous Text, it still shines with so great a Lustre, as to constrain him to grant me the very thing for which I am contending. If I do not prove by his own Concessions, that *Presbyters* have a Power of Ordaining, I'll never more pretend to Argument or Reason. This *Gentleman* confesses, That *St. Paul* Ordained *Timothy* with the ASSISTANCE of his *Presbyters*, and that they were the Concurring Cause [p. 265.] Hence I argue, If *Presbyters* were Assistants at an Ordination, then they had a power of Ordaining; or otherwise, they would be Assistants without any power to ASSIST. Again; if *Presbyters* were Concurring Causes at *Timothy's* Ordination, then they were Causes; and if Causes of Ordination, they must have a power to Ordain, or otherwise they would be Causes without any power to produce their Effects; that is, they would be Causes and No Causes at the

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same time. And this I'm sure is such a Monster, both in *Nature* and *Metaphysics*, as was never yet heard of: So that this *Gentleman*, after all the Bluster that he has made about the pretended *Sense* of the *Catholick Church* for 1500 Years together, is forced to own, that Presbyters, in Scripture Times, were *Causes* of Ordination; which 'tis absolutely impossible they should ever be, without an inherent *power* of Ordaining. So great is the Force of Truth, that it sometimes constrains an Acknowledgment from its most vehement Opposers.

THOUGH this be the *principal Text* insisted on to prove the *Validity* of a Presbyterian Ordination, yet 'tis not the only one made use of to that purpose: Wherefore,

A *Second Argument* produced to this End, is founded on the Example of those *Prophets* and *Teachers* which were at *Anti-och*, who were commanded by the Holy Ghost, to *separate* Barnabas and Saul, for the *Work* whereunto he had called them. And accordingly, when they had *fasted and prayed*, and *laid their Hands on them*, they sent them away, Acts 13. 1, 2, 3. As for the persons called in this place *Teachers*, they are carefully distinguished from the *Apostolical Order*. God hath set some in the Church, first *Apostles*, secondarily *Prophets*, thirdly *Teachers*, 1 Cor. 12. 28. Ep' es. 4. 11. From hence 'tis evident, that these *Teachers* were not *Apostles*, nor could they be *Bishops*, which pretend to succeed the other in the very same Order: And yet these persons did, by *Fasting, Prayer, and Imposition of Hands*, set apart Paul and Barnabas to the preaching of the Gospel among the *Gentiles*. And what is this but *Ordination*? 'Tis true, St. Paul had no need of an *Ordination* from Men, having received an extraordinary Commission from *Jesus Christ*. Our Saviour had no need of *Baptism*, having no Sin or Guilt to repent of, or to be washed away: However, being about to make *Baptism* a standing Ordinance in the Christian Church, He condescended so far as to submit himself unto it. Just so, might St. Paul submit to *Ordination*; not because 'twas necessary in Relation to himself, but to satisfy and convince the World, that this was to be the Ordinary Method for the future, by which persons were to be admitted to the *Ministerial Function*. And this solemnity was performed by such as had no *Episcopal Character*. An Argument, that such as pretend unto it, have no Reason to look upon *Ordination* as their peculiar Province, exclusive of all others.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, **THE Validity of Presbyterian Ordination** is further argued from the *Identity* between *Bishop* and *Presbyter* in their Original Institution. The Scriptures never mention any Difference between these two *Orders*; they are described by the same *Names*, and have the same *Titles* given them. They that are called *Presbyters*, *Acts* 2. 17. are in the 28th Verse called *Bishops* (for so it is in the Original, though we translate the word *Overseers*.) The same *Qualifications* are required in them both, *Tit.* 1. 5. compared with v. 7, &c. The same *Work* and *Duty* is enjoined them both, *Acts* 20. 28. *1 Pet.* 5. 2. We find more *Bishops* than one in the same City; for which Reason, they could not be of the *Diocesan Stamp*, *Phil.* 1. 1. When *Directions* are given to *Gospel Ministers*, how to govern and demean themselves in their respective Stations, there are only two *Orders* taken Notice of; which gives us Reason to conclude, that there are no more which can pretend to a *Divine Institution*, and were designed for a perpetual Duration in the Church. Should the *Queen* grant a *Charter* to any Town or City, which describes the *Qualifications* and *Duties* of Common-Council-Men, Stewards, and other Inferior Officers, but takes no Notice of the *Mayor*, who is the Head of the *Corporation*, would not this be looked upon as a most unaccountable Omission? The Holy Scriptures, which are the *Grand Charter* of Christianity, describe to us the *Duties*, *Qualifications*, *Work* and *Business* of *Deacons*, and other *Ministers*, who are promiscuously called *Bishops* and *Presbyters*; and can any Reasonable Man believe, that had a *Prelate* been the Chief Officer in the Church, and absolutely necessary to the very Being of it, we should have heard nothing of it in all the *New Testament*? Not one word of his *Qualifications* for his Office, his *Business* in it, the *Manner* of his *Investiture*, or his *Peoples Duty* and *Obligation* to him. The Silence of the Scriptures on these Heads, give us Reason to conclude, that *Prelacy* owes its Original, not to a *Divine*, but *Humane Institution*. I have only hinted at the two last Arguments, which the Reader may find more largely prosecuted by Mr. Owen, in his *Plea for Scripture Ordination*, and the Authors of the *Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*.

I shall, in the next place, consider, Whether Presbyterian Ordination be such a Novelty in the *Christian World* as is pretended? And whether Mr. *Agate* has any Reason to make so great a Noise and Bluster as he has done, about the pretended *Sense* of the *Catholick Church* for 1500 Years together? And if I can fairly prove, that such an *Ordination* has been esteemed

Valid,

Valid, I have gained my point, our *Adversaries* themselves being Judges.

HOWEVER, before I make this Essay, I would premise one thing, that, according to the 6th Article of the Church of England, we do not look upon any thing as *requisite to Salvation*, which may not be read in *Holy Scripture*, or proved thereby. Nay, when Mr. Agate was Ordained, the Bishop proposed this Question to him, *Be you perswaded, that the Holy Scriptures contain sufficiently all Doctrine required of Necessity for Eternal Salvation? And are you determined to teach nothing (as required of Necessity to Eternal Salvation) but what you shall be perswaded may be proved by the Scripture?* To which he returned this Answer, *I am so perswaded, and have so determined by God's Grace* *. Now sure it can be no Breach of Modesty in us to remind this Gentleman, and his Brethren, of their *Ordination Vows*: And if Bishops be necessary to the Being of a Church, and by Consequence to Salvation, we desire that they would perform their Promise, made with such great Solemnity, and instead of amusing us with *Fathers and Councils*, that they would prove *this point* by the *Word of God*; which if they cannot do, as I know none that pretend to without the Assistance of *fallible Tradition* and *Humane Canons*, that then they would leave this as a Controverted Point, which may be believed or not, without any great Harm done. These things premised, I thus argue.

Arg. 1st, THEY who are Successors to the *Apostles*, have power of Ordaining.

BUT *Presbyters* are Successors to the *Apostles*, therefore *Presbyters* have power of Ordaining.

I presume the Reader will not expect that I should spend much time in proving the first of these Propositions. That Authority which our Modern Prelates claim, both to *ordain* and *govern* Presbyters, is founded upon this Supposition, that *Bishops* succeed the *Apostles* in their Superintendency over Christian Churches. This is what Mr. *Burscough*, and the most Eminent Defenders of *Episcopacy* have strenuously contended for: 'Tis in truth the very *Basis* on which our *English* Prelacy would be thought to stand; And the very *Tenure* by which they pretend to hold their Ecclesiastical Prerogatives. If therefore it can be proved, by good Authentick Evidences, that Pres-

* Sparrow's Collect. p. 155.

Presbyters are *Successors to the Apostles* as well as *Bishops*. I hope the Reader will be satisfy'd, that there was no such vast Distinction between those two, in their *Original Institution*, as is pretended ; and that they who succeed the *Apostles* in the Ordinary standing parts of their Office, must have a *power to Ordain Gospel Ministers*, in order to the securing this Succession.

THIS being therefore the Proposition I am oblig'd to prove, I shall produce the *Testimonies* of those Christian Writers, who are most Eminent for their Antiquity, and of the best Established Reputation in the Church, our *Adversaries* themselves being Judges.

[1.] THE First Witness I shall produce on this Head, is, the famous Martyr *Ignatius*, of the Credit of whose Epistles our *Episcopal* Brethren are so infinitely fond, that Bp. *Pearson* and Dr. *Hammond* have written large Volumes to prove them to be genuine : And Mr. *Agate* has represented this Father, as *living in an Age when Apostolical Traditions were fresh and undisputed* [p. 104.] 'Tis own'd, that this *Author* speaks very magnificently of a *Bishop*, (if those lofty Expressions are not foisted in by a later Hand, as 'tis apparent by *Usher's* Edition of his Epistles that many of a like Nature have. but I cannot remember one Expression which seems to appropriate *Ordination* to a *Bishop*, any more than *Baptism* and the *Administration* of the *Lords-Supper*. But let us see what he says concerning Presbyters and their Original : In his Epistle to the *Smirneans*, he calls upon them, 'to follow the Bishop as Jesus Christ did the Father, and the Presbytery as the Apostles *'. And in another place, 'he represents the Presbyters as sitting in the place of the Consistory of the Apostles †. So that how Great soever the *Ignatian Prelate* may be thought to be, the Presbytery is, by the very same Author, represented as succeeding to, and coming in the room of, the *Apostolical Colledge*. This is a Concession we are well contented with, and think we need no other to prove the *Validity of a Presbyterian Ordination*.

[2.] A

* Καὶ τῷ Πρεσβυτερίῳ ὡς τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις, Ignat. Ep. ad Smirn.

† ----- ἐν τῶν Πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τόπον συνελεύσεως τῶν Ἀποστόλων, Ib. Ep. ad Magnes.

[2.] A Second Witness to the same purpose is *Irenæus*, Bp. of *Lyons*, who flourished in the Second Century, who thus expresses himself when disputing against the *Valentinian Heretics*: 'When (*says he*) we challenge those who are Enemies to Tradition, to have Recourse to that Tradition, which is derived from the *Apostles*, and which by a SUCCESSION of PRESBYTERS is preserved in the Churches; will they say that they are Wiser not only than Presbyters, but even than the *Apostles* themselves *. If any thing can be more express and positive, 'tis the Assertion of the same Author, who in another place affirms, 'That Men ought to obey those Presbyters which are in the Church, even those who have their SUCCESSION FROM THE APOSTLES, who with the Succession of Episcopacy, have received the certain Gift of Truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father †. In which Quotation there are these two things plainly affirmed: First, That Presbyters are Successors to the *Apostles*. Secondly, That their Succession, and the Succession of Episcopacy, is the same thing, and by Consequence, that according to their Original Institution, they were the same with Bishops; though Custom and the Consent of Churches hath since made so great a Difference. 'Tis further remarkable, that this Venerable Author is looked upon by our Brethren, as an *eminent* and *topping* Prelate; and therefore cannot be suspected of Partiality in favour of an Inferior Order, or of any Design to derogate from the Dignity and Honour of his own Character.

[3.] A Third Witness, who speaks the Language of the former, is *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who also flourished in the first Ages of Christianity. Having spoken of *Judas* his Election to the Apostleship, and his unworthy Conduct in it, he proceeds in these following words: 'Wherefore *Matthias*, though he was not chosen together with the rest, when he had approv'd himself worthy to become an *Apostle*, was substituted in the room of *Judas*. And it is possible even NOW for those who
' exercise

* Cum autem ad eam iterum Traditionem, quæ ab Apostolis, quæ per Successiones Presbyterorum in Ecclesiis Custoditur, provocamus eos qui adversantur Traditioni, &c. *Iren. adv. Hæc. l. 3. c. 2.*

† Qua propter eis qui in Ecclesia sunt Presbyteris obaudire oportet, iis qui Successionem habent ab Apostolis, qui cum Episcopatus successione Charisma Veritatis Certum, secundum placitum Patris acceperunt. *Iren. adv. Hæc. l. 4. c. 43.*

‘ exercise themselves in the Divine Commands, who live knowingly, and as becomes the *Gospel*, to be enrolled in the *Number of the Apostles*. This is a real Presbyter of the Church, and a true Minister of God’s Will, if he does and teaches the things of God ; nor is he esteemed a Just Man, because he is a Presbyter, and ordained by Men, but because he is a just Man, therefore is he taken into the Presbytery *. In the first of these Sentences, this *Learned Author* takes it for granted, that in the Age in which he lived, some Men might be reckoned in the *Number of the Apostles* ; (by which he must understand their Successors in the *Gospel Ministry*, they themselves being dead some Scores of Years before.) In the next Sentence he describes the Man that deserves so high a Character, and that is the Presbyter, who adorns his Function by a Wise and Holy *Conversation*. And it is evident to any one that consults this passage, that the Presbytery in the latter part of it answers to the *Catalogue of Apostles* in the former ; and this being granted, we need no more to prove the Validity of a Presbyterian Ordination.

[4.]. I shall next present the Reader with a passage to be found in the *Constitutions* commonly called *Apostolical*, pretended to be drawn up by St. *Clement* their Disciple. ’Tis agreed on all Hands, that they are not so Ancient as the first *Compiler* of them would fain persuade the World: *Dupin* supposes, that their first Appearance in the World was in the 3d or 4th Century. I shall not therefore cite them as the Words of St. *Clement*, but as the Sense of the Church in that Age in which they were received ; but thus they express themselves : ‘ Let the Presbyters (*say they*) be esteemed as those who are in the PLACE of us the APOSTLES †. These words are so plain, that they need no paraphrase, and effectually confirm the thing for which they are produced.

M

[5.] THE

* ἔξεσιν οὖν καὶ οὖν ταῖς κυριακαῖς ἐνασκήσαντας ἐν τολαῖς κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον---- εἰς τὴν ἐκλογὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἐλθέμενοι. οὗτος πρεσβύτερος ἐστὶ τῷ οἷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, &c. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 6. p. 667.

† ὅτε πρεσβύτεροι εἰς τόπον ἡμῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων νενομήδωσαν. Cit. by Walo Messal. p. 294.

[5.] THE Fifth Witness which I shall produce to the same purpose is St. *Jerom*, who is known by every one to be a mighty Stickler for a *Monastick* Life, and whose Zeal sometimes transports him to write with great Severity against all those who did not subscribe to his *Notions*, and were not so much in love with a *Wilderness* as himself. His *Works* begin with an high *Encomium* upon *Solitude* and *Contemplation*, and runs the Matter so far, as if it were scarce possible for a Man that lived in Cities, and saw so much of the Gayety and Vanity of an enticing World, to be a good Christian, or at least a Christian of Consummative Piety and Virtue. Having expatiated a while, after his florid Manner, upon this *Topick*, he comes to answer an Objection: ‘ You will be ready (*says he to his Friend*) to appeal to the Clergy, and ask me, If I dare say any thing against them, who yet have their Residence in Cities? To which St. *Jerom* answers, Far be it from me, that I should speak any ill thing of those, who, SUCCEED-ING to the APOSTOLICAL DEGREE, do with their sacred Mouth make the Body of *Christ*, and by whom we ourselves are made Christians *. That is, in other words, who have power to administer the *Sacraments* of *Baptism* and the *Lords-Supper*. So that all those who are invested with this Authority, that is all Presbyters, are said by this Learned Father to succeed the *Apostolical Degree*. And in another of his Epistles he thus expresses himself: ‘ Let Bishops and Presbyters take for their Example, the *Apostles* and *Apostolical Men*; and seeing they possess their Honour, let them endeavour to obtain their Merit †. So that if this Renowned Author deserves any Credit, Presbyters do, as well as Bishops, possess the Honour of an *Apostolical Succession*.

[6.] NEXT to the Testimony of St. *Jerom*, I shall produce that of his dear Friend St. *Austin*, or whoever was the Author of those *Sermons to the Brethren in the Wilderness*, which are bound up with the *Works* of that Father. He has one Discourse particularly directed to his Presbyters, who did not

* *Abfit ut de his quicquam sinistrum loquar, qui Apostolico gradui succedentes, Christi Corpus sacro Ore conficiunt, per quos & nos Christiani sumus. Hier. Ep. ad Heliodor.*

† *Episcopi & Presbyteri habeant in Exemplum Apostolos, & Apostolicos Viros: quorum Honorem possidentes, habere nitantur & Meritum. Hier. Ep. ad Paulinum.*

not lead their Lives so regularly as they ought to do; to whom he addresses himself in these following words: 'You are the Salt of the Earth, the Light of the World, the Sons of the Prophets, and the *Successors of the Apostles**. Than which nothing can be a plainer Confirmation of what I have advanced.

I shall conclude my Evidence on this Head with that of *devout Salvian*, who inveighing against the *Covetousness of the Clergy* in his Days, mentions that Charge which our *Saviour* gave his *Apostles*, Mat. 10. 9, 10. *Provide neither Gold, nor Silver, nor Brasse in your Purse, nor Scrip for your Journey, neither Shoes, nor yet Staves.* On which Text the good Man thus paraphrases: 'What can be said more? He took Money out of the *Apostles* Hands, and though they were to travel over the whole World, he left them not the use of a single Staff: Yet after all this, 'tis not enough for their *Successors*, that is the *Levites* and the *Priests*, if they be Rich themselves, unless they leave Wealthy Heirs behind 'em †. 'Twas never yet known, since *Prelates* got such an *Ascendancy* over their *Inferior Clergy*, that they were stiled by that Diminutive Name *Levites*; and therefore, the least that can be inferred from this *Citation* is, that *Presbyters* are *Successors to the Apostles*.

THUS have I produced a Cloud of Witnesses, who all attest to the Truth of that *Proposition* which I undertook to prove, nor can it be pretended, with the least colour of *Reason*, that *Presbyters* succeed the *Apostles* only in some part of their Office, viz. that of *Preaching*, and *Administring the Sacraments*, whilst *Bishops* succeed them in the *Government*; for there is not the least Shadow of such a *Limitation* or *Distinction*, in any of the Authors that I have cited; In all which 'tis directly affirmed, that the *former* do succeed the *Apostles*, and that in as ample and full a manner, as the *Bishops* themselves are said to do by any other Author. And if this *Succession* proves a *Power of Ordination* in the *one*, it proves the same in the *other* also.

MY

* *Vos estis sal Terræ, Lux Mundi----* *Prophetarum filii, Apostolorum Successores.* Aug. ad fratres in Eremito. Ser. 36.

† Et post Hæc parum est Successoribus eorum, id est Levitis & Sacerdotibus, &c. Salvian. ad Eccles. Cathol. l. 2. p. 381.

MY next Argument, founded on Antiquity, to prove the *Validity of Presbyterian Ordination*, shall be taken from the *Chorepiscopi*; an *Order of Ecclesiasticks*, which we read of in the latter end of the Third, or beginning of the Fourth Century. As for the Original and Signification of the *Word*, it is not agreed upon amongst Learned Men, whether it signifies a *Village Bishop*, or a *Bishops Vicar* one that acts in his Place and Stead; this is certain, that, according to the Discipline of that Age, he had something of a *Superintendency* over the *Country Clergy*, but was himself liable to the Controul and Censure of the *City Bishop*. Nor is there the least Hint in all Antiquity, as if *Episcopal Consecration* were necessary to qualify him for his Office. But my Argument, when drawn in Form, will thus stand:

Arg. 2. IF the *Chorepiscopi* had in the Primitive Church a *Power of Ordaining*, then meer *Presbyters* had a *Power of Ordaining*.

BUT the *Chorepiscopi* had then a *Power of Ordaining*, therefore meer *Presbyters* had such a *Power*.

TO make good this Argument, I have these two things to do: (1.) To prove that these *Chorepiscopi* had a *power of Ordination*. And then (2.) that they were meer *Presbyters*. Which two Points being gained, the *Conclusion* will stand firm and unshaken, and may easily bid Defiance to all the impotent Efforts of Railery and bitter Censures.

[1.] THE First *Proposition* I am to prove is, That the *Chorepiscopi* had a *power of Ordination*. This appears by the famous Council of *Antioch*, assembled about the Year of our Lord 341; which gives them a General Commission of Ordaining those Inferior sorts of Clergy-men, which had at that time a Being in the Church, particularly *Sub-Deacons*, *Readers* and *Exorcists*; but at the same time decrees, That they attempt not to ordain *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, without *special Leave* from the *City Bishop*, to whom they are said to be subject*. Hence 'tis evident, they could confer some sort of Orders as oft as they thought fit; and that an *Episcopal License* could Authorize them to ordain even *Presbyters* themselves; which could not be, unless they had an *Original power*.

* Conc. Antioc. Can. 10

er of *Ordaining*, though the Exercise of that Power was restrained by *Ecclesiastical Laws and Canons*. 'Tis worthy our Observation, that the Decrees of this *Synod* were confirmed by the 6th General Council in *Trullo*, (according to the computation of the *Greeks*) and were taken into the *Code* of the Universal Church; and therefore ought to be look'd upon as the *Sense* of the whole Christian World at that time.

WHAT was now determined concerning these *Chorepiscopi* by the *Synod* at *Antioch*, seems to be an *Exposition* on the 13th Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*, forbidding them to ordain *Presbyters* or *Deacons* without a *License* under the *Bishop's* Hand. Which Prohibition, necessarily implies an Original Power of conferring *Holy Orders* in these Persons, for were *Ordination* peculiarly appropriated by *Christ* or his *Apostles* to a *Bishop*, he could no more Authorize one that is not a *Bishop* to perform this part of his Office, than Mr. *Agate* can Authorize his Sexton to consecrate the *Eucharist*, or to baptize an Infant.

A little after these Councils, *St. Basil* of *Cæsarea* made a considerable Figure in the Church: He gives us this Account of the *Chorepiscopi*, 'How that formerly their Custom was, when they had received a good Character of one that was a Candidate for the Ministry, from such of the Neighbouring Clergy as had narrowly inspected his Conversation; first to advise the Bishop of it, and then to number such in the *Sacerdotal Order*. He upbraids them with their present Remissness, and conjures them to be more strict in their Examinations for the future, to acquaint him with the Qualifications of such Persons, and so have his Approbation to Ordain them &c.

To what has been said, I might add the Testimonies of *Isidore* of *Sevil*, *Rabanus Maurus*, and many others, who all agree, that the *Chorepiscopi* did frequently confer *Holy Orders*; nor is this denied by the most zealous Patrons of *Episcopacy*: And a Modern Author of good Note; who has written the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, acknowledges so much as this is*. The great Question therefore is, whether these Persons had *Episcopal Consecration*, OR WERE ONLY *Presbyters*? Our Modern Prelatists generally affirm the former; but whether it be Affection or Judgment, that determines them in this Affair, the Reader may more easily guess, when he has consider'd those Reasons which induce me to conclude, that they

† *Basil. Ep.* 181.
169.

* *Bingham Orig. Eccles. Vol. 1. pag.*

they were no more than *Presbyters*, though they might have some *peculiar Priviledges* and *Jurisdiccions*, as our *Arch-Deacons* now have.

[1.] MY first Argument to prove, that these Persons were no *real proper* Bishops, is grounded upon those *Ancient Testimonies* which positively affirm, that they were Instituted after the Example of the *seventy Disciples*. 'Tis the *open and avowed Doctrine* of the most *eminent* Defenders of *Episcopacy*, That Bishops are Successors to the Apostles, and Presbyters to the Seventy Disciples: This is the *Foundation* on which the present *Hierarchy* seems to stand; the *Ground* on which its *Mighty Champions* chuse to fight, in order to Triumph over all their *Adversaries*: This is the Scheme which the late Mr. Arch-deacon *Burscough* draws up, in all his celebrated Pieces against the *Dissenters*. If, therefore, it be made appear, that these *Chorepiscopi* were at first appointed in *imitation* of the *Seventy* and not of the *Twelve Apostles*, I hope Mr. *Agate*, or at least the *impartial Reader*, will be satisfied, that they were in the apprehension of the *Christian World* no more than *Presbyters*. And that they were so, we have the express Testimony, not of a particular Writer, but a whole Council of *Bishops* assembled at *Neccæsarea* about the Year of our Lord 314. who affirm in so many Words, 'that the *Chorepiscopi* were after the Example of the *Seventy* *'. And therefore could have no such thing as an *Episcopal Authority*. For though *Presbyters* are often said to succeed the *Apostles*, as being Originally the same with *Bishops*; yet, since these latter came to have such a Superintendency over the former, not one Writer can be produced by whom they are pretended only to *succeed* the *Seventy*. To which I may add, that the *Canons* of this *Synod* were afterwards taken into the *Code* of the Universal Church; and therefore may be looked upon as the prevailing Sense thereof.

WHAT was asserted by this Council, stands confirmed by many Ancient Authors, particularly by *Isidorus Hispalensis* † *Rabanus Maurus*, as well as the *Decretal Epistles*, which go under the Names of *Damasus*, and *Leo the Great*; but there is no need of heaping up a Multitude of Testimonies in a Case so plain and obvious; I must leave it to the Reader's consideration,

* 'Οι δὲ χορεπίσκοποι ἐστὶ μὲν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἐβδόμινοντα, *Con. Neocæs. c. 14.* † *Chorepiscopi*--- *instituti sunt ad Exempla 70 Seniorum.* *Isid. Hisp. de Offic. Eccles. l. 2. c. 6.*

sideration, whether there be the least Degree of Probability, that these Persons could be *more than Presbyters*, when all Antiquity concurs in this, That they were first Instituted in Imitation of the *Seventy Disciples*.

[2.] MY second Argument to prove that the Ancient *Chor-episcopi* were no more than *Presbyters*, is founded upon this, that they had no other Ordination but what was *common* to *Presbyters*, without making any manner of Pretence to an *Episcopal Consecration*, distinct *from*, and superadded *to*, the former. Whoever has the least Acquaintance with Antiquity, must know, that ever since *Bishops* got an Ascendency over the *Inferior Clergy*, the Concurrence of several *Prelates** has been thought absolutely necessary to give a Man a Valid Title to that Dignity. The two first of those *Canons*, which are commonly called *Apostolical*, determine, That a *Bishop* must be Ordained by two or three other *Bishops*, and a *Presbyter* by one.

THOSE Fathers who assembled at the first General Council at *Nice*, made a Decree to the same purpose, but with a greater Air of *strictness* and *severity*: ‘ They declare it highly convenient, that all the *Bishops* of the Province should be present at the Ordination of a fellow *Bishop*. But if this be not practicable, by reason of the greatness of the Journey, or any other Difficulty, they determine, That Three must by all means meet together, and those that are absent, having signified their Consent by Letter, the Consecration may be then performed *.

ABOUT the same time, the *Western Bishops* held a Council at *Arles* in *France*, in which they do absolutely forbid the Ordination of a *Bishop*, unless there be Three assisting at it, and require the concurrence of Seven, if so many may be conveniently drawn together †,

AS these Decrees were frequently enacted, so they were religiously observed in those Ages of the Church, of which we are speaking: Of this we have a remarkable Instance in one *Armentarius*, who was Ordained *Bishop* of *Ebredunum* only by two *Bishops*; upon which Occasion there was a Council held at *Ries* in *France*, who, upon a full hearing of the cause, came to this Resolution: ‘ Forasmuch (say they) as the *Canons* of the Church have declared such an Ordination to be null, we
‘ also

* *Con. Nicæn. can. 4.* † *Con. Arlat. can. 21.*

‘ also adjudge it to be absolutely void, and of no effect ||. But seeing the said *Armentarius* had renounced his Pretensions, and submitted to their censure, they allowed him the Title and Privileges of a *Chorepiscopus*, provided he complied with those Conditions which were then prescribed unto him.

I doubt not but these Authorities will sufficiently prove the Thing for which they are alledged: To return therefore to the *Chorepiscopi*, of whom we find frequent mention in that very Age which gave Birth to the above-named Constitutions. And can it be pretended on their Behalf, that they had *Episcopal Consecration*? Or that their Ordination differed in any Respect from that of *common Presbyters*? Did ever Three *Bishops* concur in the Installing any one of them into their New Dignity? Should Mr. *Agate* ransack all the bulky Volumes of Antiquity, I am very confident he would not be able to produce one Instance of this Nature.

ON the contrary, the Council of *Antioch*, whose Decrees, as I have already observed, were confirmed by the 6th General Council, and received into the Code of the Universal Church; this very Council, I say, determines, ‘ That a *Chorepiscopus* shall be constituted [not by a plurality of Bishops, but] by ‘ the Bishop of the City to which he is subject *. ’Tis also remarkable, that this very Council made another Decree at the same time with the former, in which they resolve, ‘ That a ‘ Bishop is not to be ordained without a *Synod*, and the Presence of his *Metropolitan*; That it is highly convenient that ‘ all the Bishops of the Province should be present at his Consecration: But if this could not be, ’twas yet altogether requisite, that many of them should be present, or give their ‘ Suffrage and Consent by their Epistles. And if any thing were ‘ transacted contrary to this, they adjudge such an Ordination ‘ to have no Force or Efficacy at all †. Upon the whole, when they make one Decree, that a *Chorepiscopus* shall be made by a single Bishop, and at the same time resolve, that a Bishop shall not be consecrated without the Concurrence of several other Prelates; this, I think, will amount to a Demonstration, that they did not look upon the former of these as a real, proper

|| Itaq; Ordinationem quam Canones irritam definiunt, nos quoq; vacandam esse censuimus. Conc. Regen. cap. 1.

* Con. Antioc. can. 10. † μὴ δὲν ἰσχυρὴν τὴν χειροτονίαν. Ib. can. 19.

per Bishop; to assert the contrary, is to suppose that these *Venerable Fathers* did *blow hot and cold* in the same Breath, and make *contradictory Decrees* in the very same Session.

IF all this will not satisfy my *Antagonist*, he may, if he pleases, consult the two great Bishops of *Sevil* and *Mayence*, who lived before the *suppression* of this Order, and both attest, That these *Chorepiscopi* were Ordain'd by *one single Bishop*, just as PRESBYTERS ARE *. And having the same *Ordination* with *Presbyters*, they could be *no more* than *Presbyters*; which was the Thing I undertook to prove.

[3.] MY third *Argument*, to prove, That the *Ancient Chorepiscopi* were *no more* than *Presbyters*, is built upon such *Testimonies* of *Fathers* and *Councils*, as do affirm this very thing, either in *express Terms*, or by *direct* and *necessary* Consequence.

1. THE first *Testimony* I shall produce, is as good as a thousand; 'tis the 8th *Canon* of the Famous *Nicene Council*, in which these *Fathers* determine, That if any of the *Novatian Clergy* would be *reconcil'd* to the *Church*, they should be readily received: That in whatsoever *Town* or *City* there were none but such, they should retain the same *Rank* and *Order* in which they were. But if there were a *Catholick Bishop* in the *City*, he only should possess the *Episcopal Dignity*: And if he did not think fit to *honour* this New Convert with the Name of a *Bishop*, he is enjoyn'd to provide for him the place of a *Chorepiscopus*, or a *Presbyter*, that there may not be two *Bishops* in the same *City*. Which is a *Demonstration* that they could not look upon a *Chorepiscopus* as the same with a *Bishop*; for then the Reason which they assign, and on which they build their Decree, viz. That there may not be two *Bishops* in one *City*, would be impertinent and silly to the last Degree.

2. The second *Witness* I shall produce to this purpose, is *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, who wrote several Letters to *Theodorus*, Bishop of *Tyanea*; in one of which he expresses himself to this Effect: 'As for the *Violences* with which we are
'threatned by the *Apollinarian Hereticks*, you will understand
'these Things more perfectly from *Eulalius the Chorepiscopus*,
N pus,

* *Hi autem (ss. Chorepiscopi) a solo Episcopo Civitatis, cui adjacent ordinantur, Ibid. Hisp. de Officiis Ecclesi. l. 2. c. 6. A solo Episcopo Civitatis, cui adjacent ordinantur, sicut Presbyteri, Raba. Maurus de Institu. Cler. l. 1. c. 5.*

pus, and Celestius, my FELLOW PRESBYTERS, whom I have sent to your Holiness for this very purpose *. I take this to be a Testimony that will admit of no Evasion: Here is the Person named, his Office described, and he in express Terms declared to be a Presbyter. It may perhaps be urged, That Nazianzen was himself a Bishop. But if this Epistle were written before his Exaltation to that Dignity, the Objection instantly vanishes. However, supposing the contrary, yet he, as well as every other Bishop, was a Presbyter, though every Presbyter be not a Bishop. If the Bishop writes to Mr. Agate, or the meanest Vicar in the Diocese, he subscribes, *Your Loving Brother*--- But in what Sense? Are they Brother Bishops? I trow not: But Brother Presbyters they are, the Lesser being still included in the Greater. St. Peter styles himself a Com-Presbyter, 1 Pet. 5. 1. which is an Argument, that the Persons to whom he wrote were not Apostles. So, when Nazianzen calls Eulalius Fellow-Presbyter, 'tis an Evidence that he was no Bishop. Nor can one Instance be given in Antiquity in which one Bishop gives that Diminutive Title to another of the same Order with himself. On the other Hand, 'twas very usual for Bishops to call Ordinary Priests their Com-Presbyters. Thus Caldonius, who was himself a Prelate, directed an Epistle to Cyprian and his Com-Presbyters, dwelling at Carthage †, and St. Cyprian writing another to Rogatian and Numidicus his Com-Presbyters, distinguished them from Caldonius and Herculanus, to whom he gives the Title of Colleagues in the same Superscription, they being Bishops like himself ‡. Eusebius mentions an Epistle, which Dionysius, Bishop of Alexandria wrote to his Fellow Presbyters of the same Church and City §. And to name no more, we have an Epistle written by Nazianzen in his Father's Name, in which the good old Bishop styles St. Basil, at that time a meer Priest, his much esteemed Son and Fellow-Presbyter ¶. This may be enough to satisfy the Reader that this Eulalius was a meer Priest, though one of these Chorepiscopi, whose Power of Ordaining was acknowledged by the Universal Church.

3. MY third Testimony is very pregnant, as including in it the Suffrages of a whole Council; 'tis that of Sevil, which I refer

* *Ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῇ πρὸς τοὺς συνπρεσβυτέρους μαρτύρου, Εὐλαλίου τῷ χορεπισκόπῳ, &c. Nazianz. Ep. 88.*
 † *Inter Opera Cypriani, Ep. 19.* ‡ *Ib. p. 38.* § *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 7. c. 20.* ¶ *Nazianz. Ep. 23.*

refer to, in which the **Fathers** that composed it deliver themselves as follows: ' It has been reported to us (*say they*) that the most Reverend *Agapius*, Bishop of *Corduba*, hath appointed *Chorepiscopi* and *Presbyters* (who, according to the *Canons*, are ONE and the SAME THING) who, in the Absence of the Bishop, should erect Altars, consecrate Churches *, and do several other Things which they protest against, as contrary to those Constitutions which they tho't fit to govern themselves by. The Reader may take Notice, that this Synod positively affirms, that *Chorepiscopi* and *Presbyters* are one and the same thing; nor can Mr. *Agate* object against this Testimony, which he himself produces upon another Occasion with a great deal of Pomp and Ostentation: Nay, from the Determinations of this very Synod, he undertakes to shew us, what were the Thoughts of the *Primitive Fathers* †. And therefore, I hope this may pass with him for a good Authority.

4. MY fourth Witness is *Rabanus Maurus*, a Person of as great Renown and Reputation as any in the Age in which he lived. He wrote a Learned Treatise concerning the Institution of Clergymen, in which we may reasonably expect to find a true Account of this Matter. In his 5th and 6th Chapters he treats particularly of *Bishops* and *Presbyters*; of the latter, he affirms, that they are constituted after the Similitude of the *Seventy Elders*; of the former, that they succeed the *Apostles*. And speaking of the *Chorepiscopi*, he positively asserts, ' That they were after the Example of the *Seventy*, and ordained just like *Presbyters* †. So that if this great Man deserves any Credit, they could not possibly be ranked in the Prelatical Order.

5. TO the same purpose the Council at *Ratisbon* delivers its Opinion, speaking of those Ecclesiasticks, ' They were not *Bishops*, (*say they*) because not ordain'd by three other *Bishops*, as the *Canons* do enjoyn 'em †. And this may be well allowed to be a direct and pregnant Testimony.

6. I shall conclude my Evidence with the *Epistles* commonly ascribed to *Damasus*, and *Leo the Great*, who insist largely upon this Topick, and vehemently urge, ' That the *Chorepisc-*

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* *Relatum est nobis, venerandissimum quondam Agapium Cordubensis Urbis Episcopum, frequenter Chorepiscopos vel Presbyteros destinasse, qui tamen juxta Canones unus sunt, &c. Con. Hispal. 2. c. 7. † Pl. Truth, p. 255. † V. Rabanum Maurum de Instit. Cler. l. 1. c. 5, 6. † Vid. Merinum de Ordinat. pt. 3. Exercit. 4. c. 2.*

copi were meer *Presbyters*: That they were ordained by one single *Bishop*, and succeeded the *Sevent Disciples*. Their Words are too tedious to be recited, and therefore the *Latin Reader* may consult them at his leisure †.

THUS have I produced a Cloud of Witnesses (such as liv'd in the same Age with the Persons of whom they write) to prove, that the Ancient *Chorepiscopi*, though they had a Power of conferring *Holy Orders*, were yet no more than *Presbyters*; all which may be enough to satisfy an Impartial Mind, that *Presbyterian Ordination* is no such *Novelty* in the Christian Church, as Mr. *Agate* would fain persuade his credulous *Disciples*.

BEFORE I proceed further, it may not be amiss to consider those Arguments which the Modern Defenders of *Episcopacy* make use of, to prove those *Chorepiscopi* to be real *Bishops*, and invested with the *Episcopal Character*.

1st. 'TIS urg'd in the First Place, That the very Name imports so much as this amounts to; the word *Chorepiscopus* signifies (they say) in Greek a Village-Bishop, and if a Village-Bishop then a Bishop, though not perhaps attended with a Splendour equal to that of a City-Bishop. To this I Answer,

1st, THAT Learned Men are not so well agreed about the Etymology of the Word, as is supposed in this Objection; the great Cardinal *Bellarmino* supposes, that the Greek Word from whence it is derived, signifies not a Village, but a Place; and that *Chorepiscopus* is as much as to say a Bishop's Deputy, or Substitute †. Nor is he singular in his Opinion; the two Prelates whom I have so often cited, and who lived above a Thousand Years ago, give this Interpretation of the Word, *Chorepiscopi, id est, Vicarii Episcoporum* ‡; which is as much as to say, That they were the Bishops Surrogates, or Vicars; and in this they are followed by *Iustellus*, a Modern Critick of great Note †. This Notion rather confirms than contradicts the Thing that I have been contending for. But

2dly, LET us suppose that *Chorepiscopus* ought to be translated Village-Bishop, we must consider, that as the Signification of a Word is wholly arbitrary, so it is often quite changed by the Addition of another Word with which it is compounded: Thus with us in England, the word *Lord* signifies a No-

† Vid. *Dama. Ep. apud Binium*, Tom. 1. pag. 509. *Leo Ep. 88.* * *Bellar. Disputat. To. 1. l. 1. c. 17. de Clericis.* ‡ *Isidor. Hispal. & Rabanus Mau. in Locis Cit.* ¶ *Notæ in Cod. can. p. 77.*

a *Nobleman*; but if we add to it the word *Land*, every paltry Fellow that sells a Pot of Ale enjoys the Denomination of *Land-Lord*. And it no more follows that every *Village-Bishop* amongst the *Greeks* must be a *real Bishop*, than that every *Land-Lord* here with us must be a *real Lord*. Besides, the Council of *Nice* has intirely cut the Throat of this Objection, by that *Canon* which I have already produced, in which 'tis decreed, ' That if a *Novatian Bishop* reconcile himself to the Church, he shall have the *Honour* of a *Presbyter*; unless the *Catholick Bishop* think fit to honour him with the *Name* of a *Bishop*: But if this does not please him, he shall provide for his New Convert the Place of a *Chorepiscopus* ||. A Demonstration, that he who possessed this Office was not then looked upon as honoured with the *Episcopal Name*.

2d Obj. 'TIS objected further, *That these Chorepiscopi must be real Bishops, because we find them voting in, and subscribing to several General and Provincial Councils; which none but such are pretended to have done.*

THE Answer to this is very easy, for this is no more than *Presbyters* themselves have often done; so for Instance, *Elpidius* and *Flavianus*, two *Presbyters* of *Antioch* are found subscribing to the Second General Council at *Constantinople*; nor can it be pretended, that they acted only as *Deputies* in that Affair, for *Meletius*, the Bishop of that City, was himself present, and subscribed his Name in the same Roll. So also the Names of *Tyrannus*, *Presbyter* of *Amorium*, and *Anaxanon*, *Presbyter* of *Apamea*, are found amongst the Subscribers to the same *Synod* *. So that no Argument at all can be founded on those Subscriptions, whatever Weight some Men may lay upon 'em.

3d Obj. 'TIS urg'd in the Third Place, *That these Chorepiscopi had many Priviledges which Presbyters have not: That there is a manifest Distinction put between these two, by Athanasius and other Writers; Which is an Argument (say they) that they were not Presbyters.*

Ans. ONE would think, that the Gentlemen who urged this did not understand the *Constitution* of their own Church: Is there not a *manifest Distinction* betwixt our *Arch-Deacons* and the *Rectors* and *Uicars* which are subject to them? Have they

|| *Con. Nic. can. 8.*
536.

* *Vid. Binium, Tom. 1. pt. 1. pag.*

they not an Authority Superior to them, and Priviledges distinct from them? The Author of the *Clergymen's Vade Mecum* tells us, 'That they have a Power, not only to Visit, but 'to Suspend and Excommunicate *'. Notwithstanding all which, they are but *Presbyters*, and, according to Mr. *Agate's* Scheme, have no more Power to Ordain a Minister, than the Fellow that sweeps the Church, or tolls the Bell. Besides, there is as manifest a Distinction put by Ancient Writers between the *Chorepiscopi* and *Bishops*, as betwixt them and *Presbyters*, particularly by that Canon of the *Nice* Council, which I have already quoted, and to which I refer the Reader: So that if the Distinct mentioning of these Ecclesiasticks proves any thing, it is, that they were not proper Bishops, and by Consequence, that the Primitive Church did not look upon Ordination as appropriated to a Prelate by any Divine Warrant; which is the Thing I am contending for.

4th Obj. I find it urg'd by a Learned Defender of Episcopacy, That these *Chorepiscopi* continued but a little time in the Church: That an End was put to 'em by the Council of *Laodicea*, which decreed, can. 57. That Bishops should be no more made in Villages, but Visitors [*πρεσβυτέραις*] in their stead, That the Persons of whom the Council of *Sevil* speaks were these Visitors, and not the *Chorepiscopi* mentioned by the Synods of *Antioch* and *Ancyra*; and he pretends, 'That this 'Laodicean Canon, made in the Year 364, gave a plain Supersedeas to that Order of the *Chorepiscopi* for the future. To all which I might reply, that this was but a Provincial Synod, that it is supposed by many to be earlier than that Year assign'd for it, and placed by *Binius* before the Councils of *Nice* and *Antioch*. But to wave these Things, I answer,

1st, THAT the Synod of *Laodicea* forbids indeed the fixing of Bishops in Country-Villages; but this does not affect the *Chorepiscopi*, who, according to my Scheme, were only *Presbyters*.

2d, HOWEVER this Gentleman labours under a gross Mistake as to Matter of Fact, when he pretends, That a Supersedeas was given to this Order of Men by the *Laodicean* Canons: For in the Year 451, the Fourth General-Council was held at *Chalcedon*, in which was the greatest Appearance of Prelates that the Christian World ever saw. And there are the Names

* Vol. 1. p. 58. Ed. 3. † *Gipps* Tentam. nov. contin. pt. 2. p. 54.

Names of several *Chorepiscopi* subscribed to this very Council; not only so, but the Fathers made this Decree in the second Canon, 'That if any Bishop whatsoever should take Money for Ordaining another Bishop, a *Chorepiscopus*, a Presbyter, or Deacon, such a Mercenary Wretch should be deposed from his Dignity. So far is it from being true, that an End was put to this Order, by the *Laodicean Synod*, that their Ordination is allow'd of by a General Council, near an Hundred Years afterwards, provided there were no Simoniackal Contract in the case. Nor can it be pretended, that the Council spake one thing, and mean'd another, having these *Visitors* in their Eye; for when the Emperor *Justinian* gave these Decrees a civil Sanction, he makes a plain Distinction between the two Orders: 'We decree, says he, according to the sacred Canons, (alluding to that just now mentioned) that no Bishop, *Chorepiscopus*, Visitor, [*περιόδευτὴν*] Presbyters, or Clergyman, give any thing to be Ordain'd*.

IN one word; the Authors flourishing in the Fifth Century, speak of these *Chorepiscopi* as Persons existing in their own Days: And sure their express Testimony ought more to be regarded, than the Conjecture of a Modern Author, who was not Born in a Thousand Years afterwards, and who is struggling hard to support his own *Hypothesis*.

5th Obj. THE last, and most plausible Objection against what I have offered, is taken from the Tenth Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which begins thus: 'It is thought fit by this Holy Synod, that those *Chorepiscopi* which are in Country Towns and Villages, tho' they may have received the Imposition of the Hands of Bishops, [*εἰ καὶ χειροθεσίαν εἶεν ἐπισκόπων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν*] should yet keep within their own Bounds, &c. Hence 'tis inferred, that these Persons had several Bishops imposing Hands upon them, that by this the Episcopal Character was convey'd to them, and made 'em real Bishops. To which I reply,

1st. 'TIS not said of any Individual *Chorepiscopus*, that he had the Hands of Bishops imposed upon him; but this is affirmed of the *Chorepiscopi* in the plural Number: Which may be true, tho' this Ceremony were performed but by one Bishop at a time. Thus we may say, that our *English* Presbyters are Ordained

* Cited by *Justellus Notæ in Cod. can. Eccl. p. 90.*

Ordained by Bishops; but we may not thence infer, that there is a concurrence of more than One Bishop at any particular Ordination. However,

2d. SUPPOSING that more than one Bishop did lay their Hands upon a *Chorepiscopus*, he might be no more than a *Presbyter* all the while; for though one Bishop be sufficient to make a Priest, yet there is no *Law*, or *Canon*, which forbids the concurrence of several in the very same Solemnity if they think fit. Thus *Eusebius* tells us, 'That *Origen* was Ordained a *Presbyter*, as he was Travelling thro' *Palestine*, receiving Imposition of Hands from those Bishops that happened to be then at *Cæsarea* *. The main Question therefore is, Whether these *Chorepiscopi* were first *Presbyters*, and had then an Episcopal Character super-added to their former? And this is that which can never be proved.

3d. BUT lastly, 'tis owned, that there is no General Rule without an Exception: I am ready to allow, that tho' those Officers were usually ordained by a single Bishop, and were in Truth meer *Presbyters*, yet some Extraordinary cases might happen, in which a real Prelate might be obliged to move in a lower Sphere, and act but the part of an inferior common *Clergyman*. As this Council of *Antioch* makes an Honourable Mention of that of *Nice*, and was held but a few Years after; so 'tis highly probable, and I think very evident, that this *Canon*, out of which the Objection is taken, has a Relation to the Eighth *Canon* of the *Nicene Synod*, in which 'tis decreed, 'That if a *Novatian* Bishop would be reconciled to the Church, he should still be retained amongst the *Clergy*, that the Episcopal Dignity should be reserved for the *Catholic Bishop*, and that the *Novatian Convert* should have provided for him the place of a *Chorepiscopus*, or a *Presbyter*. Now as it may truly be affirmed of these *reduced Presbyters*, that they received Imposition of Hands from several Bishops, and yet this cannot be affirmed of all, or the Generality of other *Presbyters*, so the same may be said of the *Chorepiscopi*, that though some few of them might upon this, or the like account, obtain *Episcopal Consecration*; yet it by no means follows, that the Generality of 'em could make such high Pretensions.

TO this we may add, that the manner of introducing the Expression on which this Objection is founded, implies the case

* *Hist. Ecclesiast.* l. 6. c. 23.

case to be *rare* and *unusual*; *ἐν τῷ*, if it should so happen, if upon an *extraordinary Occurrence*, as in the case of the *Novatian* Penitents, it should so chance that One who had received *Imposition of Hands* from several *Bishops*, should now officiate as a *Chorepiscopus*; Altho' this should be the case, however, let such a Person keep his Distance, observe the Rules prescribed to him, and act in *Subordination* to the City *Bishop*.

THIS Interpretation is fairly consistent both with the *Grammatical Construction* of the Words, and the *History* of those Times; Whereas, they that raise the Objection, make the *Fathers* of this *Council* contradict themselves in the very same Breath; for if the meaning of the Sentence in *Controversy* be, that the *Chorepiscopi* were real *Bishops*, being consecrated like others by a *Concurrence* of several Prelates, this is absolutely irreconcilable with the latter Clause of the same *Canon*, in which they decree, 'That a *Chorepiscopus* shall be constituted by that *single Bishop* to which he is a Subject. On the contrary, all *Circumstances* will sweetly Harmonize, by supposing this to be the General Rule, tho' there may be in some particular Cases an *exception* to, and *deviation* from it.

I have insisted the longer upon these *Chorepiscopi*, because if it be made appear, that these *Ecclesiasticks* were no more than *Presbyters*, all those *Vainglorious Rants*, which my *Antagonist* has made about the *Sense and Practice of the Church for 1500 Years together*, will in a Moment vanish. And *Presbyterian Ordination* will appear to be no such *Novelty* in the *Christian Church*, as he would fain persuade his *credulous Admirers*. Upon a Review of the whole Matter; there is not one *Ancient Writer* to be found (as far as I can learn) which clearly pronounces these *Persons* to be *real* and *proper Bishops*. On the other Hand, I have produced several *Fathers* and *Councils*, which positively affirm, *That they succeeded the Seventy, and were meer Presbyters*: I must therefore leave it to the *Reader's Judgment*, Whether *Probability*, *Conjecture*, and *meer Guesses*, are of sufficient Weight to be laid in the Balance against *positive Testimony*, and *direct Evidence*.

I shall dismiss this Subject with this One Remark, That supposing the *utmost* which the *Friends of Prelacy* can desire, that these *Persons* were real *Bishops*, though this Instance will not then prove the *Validity* of *Presbyterian Ordination*, yet it enervates the *Force* of the most *plausible Argument* that is, or
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can be produced against it. 'Tis urged by our *Episcopal Brethren*, That in the *Primitive Church* meer *Presbyters* were not permitted to Ordain; whence 'tis inferred, that they never had such an *Inherent Right or Power* belonging to their Order. But now this Instance of the *Chorepiscopi* cuts in pieces the very Sinews of this Argument; for here were Persons who (tis confess'd, had an *Episcopal Character*, and by Consequence an *undoubted Power* of Ordination, and yet the Exercise of this *Power* was restrained by *Ecclesiastical Laws* and *Church Canons*: So that *Human Constitutions* are not a Standard by which we are to measure that *Authority* which *Christ* hath conferr'd on *Gospel Ministers*.

MY Third Argument may be thus formed.

Arg. 3. IF Presbyters were allowed in the Primitive Church to Ordain with the Bishops Leave, then they had in the Sense of that Church an Inherent Power of Ordaining.

BUT Presbyters were thus allowed in the Primitive Church, and therefore in the Sense of that Church they had an Inherent Power of Ordaining.

THE Reason of the Consequence is this, because no Officer whatsoever, either Sacred or Civil, can Authorize one that is not an Officer like himself, to do those Things which are peculiar to his Office. Thus 'tis the Office of a *Justice of Peace* to issue out his Warrants, to commit *Malefactors* to Prison, to keep Sessions, and determine such Causes as shall be legally brought before him; but he cannot Authorize a *Tything-man*, or *Petty-Constable*, to do any of these Things. 'Tis Mr. *Agate's* Office, as a *Priest* of the *Church of England*, to Preach, and Administer the Sacraments; but he can't give a *Commission* to his *Sexton*, to Baptize an Infant, or celebrate the Communion; for this would make him as much a *Priest* as himself. Just so, if the *Power of Ordination* belongs peculiarly to a *Bishop*, he can by no means Authorize one that is no *Bishop* to perform this part of his Office. But this is a Thing so plain and obvious, that I am confident no Man of Sense will pretend to contradict it.

WHAT therefore I have to do to make good my Argument, is to prove, That *Presbyters* were allowed to Ordain by the *Primitive Church*, with the good liking of their *Bishop*. This appears

appears by the 13th Canon of the Council of *Ancyra*, held in the Year of our Lord 314, which runs in these following Words: ' It shall not be allowable for the *Chorepiscopi* to ordain *Presbyters* or *Deacons*, nor yet for the *City Presbyters* to do it, without a Permission from the *Bishop* in Writing, [when] in another's *Diocefs* *. The plain meaning of which is this: That though a Verbal Permission might serve the turn, when officiating in their own Precincts, yet they might not presume to act in another's *Diocefs*, without a License under the *Bishop's* own Hand. Or if we read ἐκείνη instead of ἐτέρη, (as *Salmasius* tells us the most Ancient Copies have it †) the meaning will be, that they must have a written License from the *Bishop*, in whatsoever *Diocefs* they took upon them to Ordain.

THESE Canons are as Ancient as any of those we can certainly affirm to be the Result of a General or Provincial Council; they bear Date several Years before those of *Nice*, and were with them taken into the Code of the Universal Church. They were drawn up in that Age, whilst the *Presbyters* retained some of their Original Rights and Priviledges.

I know 'tis pretended by our *Jure Divino* Men, That the Words of this Canon are obscure and unintelligible; and therefore the Jeuite *Petavius* fancies, that there is a Sentence too much †; others, that there is a Sentence too little, and that the Original must be corrected by a Latin Translation made some Hundreds of Years afterwards. But are they countenanced in this their Conjecture by any Ancient Manuscript? Not one as far as I can learn. The Greek Copies all agree in the usual Reading; and if Men may assume to themselves a Liberty of subtracting from, or adding to these Canons, which do not countenance their Notions, or support their own Prejudices: Fathers and Councils must be discarded; nothing in Antiquity can be depended on; but all Things will be precarious and uncertain. I can't imagine what should make the

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* χωρεπισκόποις μὴ ἐξεῖναι πρεσβυτέρους ἢ διανόντες χειροτονεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴδὲ πρεσβυτέρους πόλεως, χωρὶς τῆ ἐπιτεταπῆναι ὑπὸ τῆ ἐπισκόπου μετὰ γράμματος ἐν ἐτέρᾳ παρεκκλήσῃ; vel ἐκείνῃ, as *Justellus* has it in the Margin. *Con. Anc. c. 13.*

† *Walo Messali. p. 304.*

‡ *Petavii Animadv. in Epi-*

pha. Her. 69.

fore-mentioned Words so *dark* as is pretended, unless it be that they *obscure* the *Lustre* of *Episcopacy*; or what makes them *unintelligible*, unless it be that some people are unwilling to *understand* that ever *Presbyters* had a *Power of Ordination*; which *Power* is evidently acknowledged by the *Fathers* of this *Synod*, if their *Determinations* are truly conveyed to us; the which we have no more *Reason* to doubt of, as far as I can see, than of any other of the same Nature.

NOR let it shock the Reader, because 'tis said, *That Presbyters shall not Ordain without the Bishop's Leave*; For whilest a *Bishop* was no more than the *Pastor* of a single *Congregation*, the other *Clergy* were but as his *Curates*; and *Ignatius* tells us, that 'twas not allowed them so much as to *Baptize without the Bishop's Leave* *. Yet no Man doubts but that *Presbyters* have an *Original Power* of *Baptizing*, without depending on a *Bishop's License*.

WHAT was determined by this Council, seems to have been suggested by *St. Cyprian* some time before. In that *Bill of Complaint* which he exhibits against *Novatus*, a *Presbyter* of his own, he lays this to his *Charge* amongst several other Things: 'This is the Man (*says he*) who ordained one *Felicissimus*, a *Partizan* of his own, to be a *Deacon*, without my knowledge or permission †. So that the thing *St. Cyprian* blames him for, was not his *arrogating* to himself a *Power* to which he had no *Title*; but his exercising that *Power* without his *Bishop's Leave*. Should *Mr. Agate* write his *Friend*, That at such a time his *Sexton* was so *Audacious* as to *Baptize* a *Child* without his *permission*. This would look very odd and ridiculous, because every person knows that he can give him no such *permission*. And when *St. Cyprian* complains of this person for *Ordaining* a *Deacon* without his *Leave*, 'tis a plain *Intimation*, that there was nothing but his own *Consent* wanting, to make the *Action* regular and authentick.

Arg. 4. THEY who in the *Primitive Church* had a *Power* of laying on *Hands* in *Ordination*, had also a *Power* of *Ordaining*,

BUT *Presbyters* had then a *Power* of laying on *Hands* in *Ordination*.

THEREFORE *Presbyters* had then a *Power* of *Ordaining*.

THAT

* *Ignat. Ep. ad Smirn.* † *Nec permittente me, nec Sci-
ente, Cyp. Ep. 49. ad Corne.*

THAT *Presbyters* did *impose Hands* in this *Solemnity* is evident beyond all Dispute from the *Fourth Council at Carthage*, which determines thus : ‘ When a *Presbyter* is Ordain’d, and the *Bishop* Blesses him, and puts his Hand upon his Head, let all the *Presbyters* then present lay on their Hands together with the *Bishops* *. This is in Truth no more than what is this Day practis’d in the *Church of England*. And the retaining of this *Custom*, seems to be a Shadow and Acknowledgment of that *substantial real Power*, which *Presbyters* did formerly enjoy, and which, according to their Original Institution, is a *Right* belonging to their *Order*.

THAT the *Imposition of Hands* infers a *Power of Ordaining*, will, I conceive, appear evident to every one, who considers that this is *that very external Act* and *solemn Rite* by which *Ordination* is perform’d: And therefore, none may concur in the *Act*, but such as have an Influence upon the *Effect* produced by it. This *Rule* will hold good in all *Transactions* of a *sacred* and *civil Nature*. None may pour *Water* on a Child’s Face in *Baptism*, but such as have a *Power of Baptizing*: None may administer the usual *Oath* to the *Mayor of a Corporation*, but such as have a *Power* of Inaugurating him into his Office. When several Persons concur in Signing, Sealing and Executing the same *Deed*, ’tis taken for granted, that they have all a *power* to transfer that *Right* or *Title* which is convey’d by it.

IN one Word; I may challenge my *Antagonist* to produce one Instance, in which Persons concur in that *Act* by which a *Right* or *Title*, *Privilege* or *Authority*, is convey’d, who at the same time have no *power* at all to convey such *Rights* or *Privileges*. Let him give an Instance, in which Persons transact that very *Solemnity*, by which another is *invested* in an Office, whilst the Persons so transacting have no *Authority* at all to *invest* him with it. And then I shall confess, that something may be offered like an Answer. But if no such Instance can be given in *Church* or *State*, my Argument will remain unshaken, That because *Presbyters* may lay on Hands in *Ordination*, they have a *Power of Ordaining*.

I know ’tis pretended, That this is done for the better *Grace* of the Matter; and that the *Action* may look more *Venerable*. But if this be all, why are not the *Mayor* and *Aldermen*, or the *Deputy-Lieutenants*, and *Justices of the Peace*, desired to impose Hands together with the *Bishop*? For this would

* *Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 3.*

would look as August in the Eyes of the World, and conciliate Respect to the Ordained Person, as much as when 'tis done by 2 or 3 Ordinary Priests.

MY Fifth Argument may be thus formed :

Arg. 5. If that Difference which there Now is between Bishops and Presbyters be owing to Custom and Ecclesiastical Laws, then Originally they were the same, and had the same power of Ordaining.

But that Difference which there Now is between Bishops and Presbyters, is owing to Custom and Ecclesiastical Laws. Therefore they were Originally the same, &c.

WHAT I have to do to make good this Argument, is to prove the *Minor Proposition*, That the Ascendency of Bishops over the Inferior Clergy, owes its Original to Ecclesiastical Constitutions.

1. THE First Witness I shall produce to this purpose, is *St. Jerom*, who for Learning, and Knowledge in Antiquity, was second to none in the Age in which he lived, and who has given us his Sentiments of this Affair in the following words : ' Let Bishops know, says he, that they are greater than Presbyters, rather by CUSTOM than a Divine Institution *. If it be objected, That this Father was partial to his own Order,

2. LET us next hear the Opinion of his dear Friend *Saint Austin*, the Famous Bishop of *Hippo*, who thus expresses himself in one of his Epistles : ' Altho' according to those Titles of Honour, which do now obtain by Reason of the CUSTOM of the CHURCH, the Episcopacy is greater than the Presbytery, yet in many Things *Augustin* is less than *Jerom* †. The Question betwixt me and *Mr. Agate* is this, What is it that renders a Bishop more Great and Honourable than a Priest? Is it the Institution of *Christ Jesus*, or an Apostolical Appointment? No! If this Renowned Father deserves any Credit,

* Ita Episcopi noverint se magis Consuetudine, quam Dispositionis Dominicæ Veritate Presbyteris esse Majores. Hieron. Comment. in Tit. 1. 5.

† Quamquam enim secundum Honorum Vocabula, quam Ecclesiæ usus obtinuit, Episcopatus Presbyterio major sit, &c. Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron.

Credit, 'tis *usus Ecclesiae*, the *Custom of the Church*, which has made this vast Distinction between them.

3. MY Third Testimony is what Mr. *Agate* cannot object against, because he has himself produced it with a great deal of Triumph, when he thought it made for his purpose. 'Tis the *Second Council of Sevil*, in which the *Fathers* having spoken of *Ordination*, the *Consecration of Churches*, *Confirmation*, and several other things, 'All these things, say they, are forbidden Presbyters, by certain *Novels* and *Ecclesiastical Rules*, 'and 'tis injoined by the Authority of the *Canons*, that none 'but Bishops do these things, that so the Difference of Degrees, and Dignity of the Chief Priest might be hereby demonstrated *. By this 'tis evident, that Prelacy, according to these Venerable Fathers, was founded, (not on the Word of God) but the Authority of *Church Canons*; and that the very End for which they were enacted, was to declare the (*Dignitatis fastigium*) high Dignity of the Pontificate.

I shall conclude my Arguments from Antiquity, by producing some Instances, in which the power of *Presbyters* to Ordain has been acknowledged; and begin with the Testimony of *Firmilian*, Bishop of *Cæsarea*, who expressly affirms, 'That 'all Grace and Power is appointed in the Church, where *Seniors* preside, who have the power of Baptizing, Confirming 'and ORDAINING †. The *Seniors* mentioned by this Father, are the same with *Presbyters*; all the Difference is, that one of these Words has a *Greek*, and the other a *Latin* Original: But the Signification is the very same, as is confessed by every one that understands these Languages. Nor was it an unusual Thing in those Days for *Presbyters* to preside in *Church Assemblies*. Thus *Cyprian* writes to *Cornelius*, Bishop of *Rome*, 'Not doubting but he would cause his Epistle to be 'read to the most flourishing Clergy, who did preside together with himself ‡. Of these *Seniors* 'tis affirmed, in direct Terms, that they have a power of *Ordaining*: And what plainer Evidence can be desired.

2dly, MY Second Instance is *Cyprian*, who being in Banishment, writes a Letter to his people, acquainting them, 'That
'one

* *Quod solis debere Episcopis, Authoritate Canonum præcipitur, &c. Conc. Hupal. 2 can. 7. † Ubi præsident Majores natu, qui & Baptizandi, & Manum imponendi, & Ordinandi possident potestatem, apud Cyp. Ep. 75. pag. 200. ‡ Florentissimo illic Clero tecum præsidenti. Ep. Cypri. 55.*

one *Aurelius*, a Confessor, having deserved a Clerical Ordination, he would have them to know, that this Man was Ordain'd by him, and such of his *Colleagues* as were present with him *. In this Citation 'tis observable, that the Ordination of this Man is, by St. *Cyprian*, ascribed to such *Presbyters* as were present, and concurred in the Action, and that in as ample and full a manner as to himself. 'Tis not said, That he *had* their Approbation and Consent; but 'tis positively affirmed, That *Aurelius* was *Ordained* by them. Nor can it be pretended that these *Colleagues* were real Bishops; for 'twas never known that a Bishop would call in the Assistance of other Prelates, to ordain so mean an Officer as a *Reader* in the Church. Besides, 'twas usual with *Cyprian* to call his Presbyters his *Colleagues* †. And this was so agreeable to the Language of the *African* Churches, that the Fourth Council of *Carthage* made a Canon, which determines, ' That though a Bishop should sit above his Presbyters at Church, yet when at Home, he ought to look upon himself as their COLLEAGUE ‡.

3dly, ANOTHER Instance we may find in the same Father, which I have already hinted at; 'tis that of *Felicissimus*, who was constituted a *Deacon* by *Novatus*, a Presbyter of *Carthage* †. 'Tis true, St. *Cyprian* complains, that this was done without his Knowledge and Permission; but he no where pretends, that the Act was null and invalid. And tho' this *Felicissimus* was Excommunicated for his Adulteries, Tumults, and many other Crimes; yet I no where find it objected to him, that he had usurped the Deacon's Office, or that his Title to it was Invalid in itself, though irregularly obtained.

4thly, I conceive that I may, in the next place, very safely appeal to the Council of *Nice*, as an Evidence for me in the present Controversy; which established this Decree amongst divers others, that if any of the *Novatian* Clergy would reconcile themselves to the Church, they should be permitted to discharge their Ministerial Function ||. As for the *Novatians*, of whom this Canon speaks, they derived their Name and Original from *Novatian*, a Roman Presbyter, who disagreeing with the Bishop of that City, about receiving those to the Communion of the Church, who in Times of Persecution had

* Hunc igitur, fratres dilectissimi, a me & a Collegis qui presentes aderant, ordinatum Sciatis, Cyp. Ep. 33. † V. Ep. Cyp. 28. ad Clerum. ‡ Conc. Carthag. 4. can. 35. † Cyp. Ep. 49. || Conc. Nicæn. can. 8.

had laps'd into *Idolatry*; and being Ambitious of an Higher Title, had Inveigled Two or Three of the most *Ignorant Bishops* in all the Country to come to *Rome*: And when he had shut them up in a House, and made them very Drunk, about Ten of the clock at Night, he constrained them by force to make him a *Bishop*. I would fain know, what can Invalidate an *Ordination* if such a Conduct will not do it? Should three or four *Russians* trepan my Lord *Chancellor*, and force him to affix the Great Seal to a *Patent* which they had provided, I don't think this would be looked upon as a good Conveyance, or entitle these *Fellows* to any thing but the *Gallows*. And the case is much the same in relation to this *Sham Bishop*. And therefore *Eusebius*, who gives us this Account, affirms, 'That he received his *Episcopacy* by a vain and imaginary Imposition of Hands *.' And St. *Cyprian*, who was his Cotemporary, assures us, 'That he could not have either the honour, or the power of a *Bishop* †. Notwithstanding all which, tho' he had but the *Shadow* of *Consecration*, and no *Episcopal power*, yet he was an undoubted *Presbyter*; and the Ordinations derived from him, were allowed to be Valid and Authentick by the renowned Council of *Nice* itself.

5thly, A Fifth Witness confirming my Assertion, is *Leo*, surnamed the Great, who flourished in the middle of the Fifth Century. We have an Epistle of his written to *Rusticus*, Bishop of *Narbon* in *France*, in which he gives this as his Judgment concerning some, who went up and down the Country, pretending to be *Bishops*, and officiating as such: Though, as he tells us, 'They were neither chosen by the Clergy, nor desired by the People, nor yet consecrated by the Bishops of the Province, with the Consent of the Metropolitan. Concerning whom his Holiness determines, that the Dignity which was never conferr'd upon them, ought not to be given to them. But (says he) if there be any Clergymen ordained by these Counterfeit Bishops [*Pseudoepiscopis*,] if their proper Bishops will consent unto it, such an Ordination may be esteemed Valid †. Here is an Ordination determined to be Valid, tho' performed by such as could not pretend to an *Episcopal Consecration*, nor could the Bishops Consent afterwards make that Authentick which was Originally null and void.

P

6thly,

* ἐκτονιστὶ τῶν ἐν ματαίᾳ χειροτονία, *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 43.* † *Episcopi nec potestatem possit habere nec Honorem*, *Cyp. Ep. 52.* † *Leon. Mag. Ep. 92.*

6thly, THE Sixth Testimony which I shall produce, is the Council held at *Ries* in *France*, in the Year 439, upon the Account of *Armentarius*, who acted as Bishop of *Ebredunum*, tho' he was never consecrated by three Bishops as the Ecclesiastical Laws required. Upon which, the Fathers assembled resolve, that his Consecration was null, and he no Bishop; but as for the Ministers ordained by him, his Successor at *Ebredunum* was left at his Liberty, whether he would retain or dismiss them. Perhaps it will be objected, That this *Armentarius* was a real Bishop, tho' his Admission to his Office was uncanonical. To which I answer, That this does not alter the Case at all; for whatever he was in himself, yet in the Opinion, Esteem and Apprehension of this Council, he was no real Prelate. ' They declare his Ordination to be absolutely Null and Void; nay, that there was nothing at all ' did appear to them which could make him a Bishop *. I don't see how 'tis possible for Men to make use of Words that are more significative and expressive. Notwithstanding all which, they allow the Persons ordained by him to officiate as Gospel Ministers †; which they would never have done, had they thought a Bishops Hand Essential, and absolutely Necessary to the conveying Holy Orders.

7thly, ANOTHER Ancient Author, who asserts the Validity of a Presbyterian Ordination, is *Isidore*, Bishop of *Sevil* in *Spain*. I have already taken Notice of the Second Council of *Sevil*, which positively affirms, ' That the *Chorepiscopi* and *Presbyters* were One and the Same Thing †. St. *Isidore* was at that time Bishop of the City, and his Name is first upon Record amongst those who subscribed the Determinations which were then made. The Christian World is also Obligated to this great Man for several Learned Treatises, which he has left behind him. Amongst others, we have some which treat particularly concerning Ecclesiastical Offices; in which he allows these *Chorepiscopi* a Power to Ordain *Sub-Deacons* and *Readers* in the Church, and even *Presbyters* themselves, provided they have the Bishop's Leave ‡. I have already proved, that no License whatsoever could authorize them to do this Act, if it was by the Law of God appropriated to an Higher Order of Men. Thus we see this Renowned Prelate, who was as Famous as any of the Age he lived in, has given it under his Hand, that the

* Proorsus nihil quod Episcopum faceret ostensum est, Conc. Regen. cap. 1. † Ib. cap. 3. ‡ Conc. Hispal. 12. c. 9. § De Officiis Eccles. l. 2. c. 6.

the *Chorepiscopi* were meer *Presbyters*; and yet has published his Opinion to the whole World, That the Ordinations made by these very Men were Valid and Authentick.

IN my Defence, p. 109, &c. I produced the Testimony of St. *Jerom*, who affirms, 'That at *Alexandria*, from the Days of St. *Mark* to the Time of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*, (*i. e.* near 200 Years) the *Presbyters* did always name one to be their Bishop, who was chosen from amongst themselves, and placed in an Higher Degree, just as an Army makes a General or Emperor *. To this Testimony Mr. *Agate* replies as follows.

I. HE accuses me of *Acting an unfair part*, in leaving out a Sentence to be found in the same Epistle, what doth a Bishop which a *Presbyter* may not do, Ordination excepted? Hence he says, 'Tis as plain as Words can make it, that *Presbyters* cannot ordain, even in the Opinion of St. *Jerom* himself [Pl. Truth p. 266.] To which I subjoin this Answer.

THAT these two Passages in this Epistle refer to two vastly different Times, and so are fairly consistent with one another, and with my Assertion. In the former, he speaks of the first Ages of the Church; in the latter, of that Age in which he lived. He no where insinuates, as if *Presbyters* never could Ordain; but owns, they were not allowed to do it at the time of his writing that Epistle. 'Tis confessed by all, That in the Fifth Century, (when this Father flourished) Ordination was generally appropriated to Bishops: But this was done by Ecclesiastical Laws, and Canons purely Humane; from the Beginning it was not so. This is positively affirmed by St. *Jerom* in the preceding part of this Epistle. 'By the words of St. *Paul*, (*says he*) 'tis manifestly proved, that a Bishop is the very same with a *Presbyter* †. And he is very large in insisting on this Topick. But now if one had a vastly greater Power than the other, if one were a *Ruler* and the other *Ruled*, one a *Prince* and the other a *Subject*, how could they possibly be the same? So that the Case, as St. *Jerom* represents it, was plainly this: At first, Bishops and *Presbyters* were the same, this Method continued in the Church for some time, particularly at *Alexandria*; but when this Father wrote, (*i. e.* some Hundreds of Years afterwards) the Case was altered, and *Presbyters* were not permitted to Ordain.

P 2

Mr.

* Hieron. Ep. ad Evag. † Manifestissime comprobatur eundem esse Episcopum atq; Presbyterum. Ib.

Mr. Agate further objects, [p. 267.] *That all that St. Jerom means was, that the Alexandrian Bishops were not chosen out of the Order of Deacons, but from amongst the Presbyters. That they were elected out of that particular Body of Presbyters that lived at Alexandria, and not from amongst the Presbyters of the whole Province. He concludes representing it as a monstrous thing that Presbyters should Ordain the Great Patriarch of Alexandria. To all which I reply :*

THAT in the Time of which St. *Jerom* speaks, these Pompous Titles of *Patriarchs* and *Primates* were utterly unknown, but owe their Original to the *Policy* of succeeding Ages: Nor is it supposed by us, that this *Alexandrian Bishop* had any *New Ordination* conferr'd upon him. But it seems evident, from the *Relation* which this Learned Father gives us of the Matter, that these *Presbyters* chose One of their own *Body* to be, as it were, the Mouth of their Assembly, and to preside in all Debates, and him they called *their Bishop*. Just as the *Jurists* of the *Peace* place one of their Members in the Chair, who is to regulate all *Proceedings*, and deliver the Sense of the *Court*; and this Gentleman is call'd *Judge of the Sessions*; tho' the *Queen's Commission* gives no more *Authority* to him, than to any of his Brethren. Thus the *Alexandrian Bishop*, of whom we are speaking, had no manner of *Power* and *Jurisdiction*, but what the *Presbyters* themselves gave him. They chose the Man, they placed him in an *Higher Degree*, and gave him his Name; And what could any other Persons do more? This is further evident by that Example which St. *Jerom* makes use of to Illustrate this Affair; He resembles this Action of the *Presbyters* to an *Army's* making an *Emperor*. Now if Mr. Agate knows any thing of the *Roman History*, he must acknowledge, that when their *Victorious Legions* had a *Fancy* to make such a Man their *Emperor*, they did it without waiting for the Concurrence of any other Power; nor did the Person so chosen expect the *Approbation* of the *Senate*, but held the Empire by the same Title by which he got it, which was the *Power of the Sword*. Just thus (if this Learned Father deserves any Credit) the *Presbyters* of *Alexandria* made their own *Bishop*: And by Consequence, his *Consecration* by other *Bishops*, could not be then thought Necessary; nor can these *Gentlemen*, who pretend the contrary, produce one *Testimony*, that ever I saw, to support their Conjecture.

Mr. *Agate* indeed pretends, that all St. *Jerom* means was, That the Presbyters of Alexandria chose their own Bishops, and that out of their own Body; not from the Inferior Order of Deacons, nor from the Presbyters of another City [p. 267.] But this is a Comment which is inconsistent with the Text; in which 'tis plainly intimated, that the custom of which it speaks, remained no longer than the Days of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*. Whereas Presbyters continued to choose their Bishops throughout the Christian World for many Ages afterwards; nor have we clearer Footsteps of it any where than in this very City of *Alexandria*. ' Thus *Athanasius* was importunately desired by the whole multitude of Christians inhabiting that Famous City to be their Bishop *. And after his Decease, one *Peter* was chosen by the unanimous Suffrages both of the Magistracy and Clergy †. And as the Presbyters were concerned in choosing their Bishop, so werethey obliged to choose him out of their own Body. And this continued for Scores of Years after the period mentioned by this Learned Father. The Translation of Bishops from one Diocese to another, is very strictly forbidden by Canons commonly called Apostolical ‡, by the Council of *Nice* §, and many other Synods. And when *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, the Famous Patron of the *Arians*, attempted a Remove from his own See to that of *Constantinople*, *Theodoret* exclaims against him for such an Innovation ||. When Bishops lay under such a Restraint, we may very well suppose that the Inferior Orders were not allowed a greater Liberty; and therefore, Priests and Deacons are, in the Canons just now mentioned, forbidden to Remove from one City to another. And the great Council of *Chalcedon* decrees, ' That they shall Officiate only in that Church in which they were Ordained (*).

THIS is enough to satisfy an Impartial Reader, that what Mr. *Agate* has advanced concerning the *Alexandrian Presbyters*, and their advancing Priests of other Cities to be their Bishops, is a groundless Fancy and Conjecture, inconsistent with that Church Discipline which did then prevail; nor can he give one Instance of their ransacking a whole Province upon such an Occasion. In Opposition, therefore, to the Interpretation which has been given, I may thus fairly argue, That Custom, of which St. *Jerom* speaks, continued only till the Days

* *Athanasii Apol.* 2. p. 726. † *Theodor. Hist. Eccles.* l. 4. c. 20. ‡ *Can.* 13. § *Can.* 15. || *Hist. Eccles.* l. 1. c. 19. (*) *Conc. Chalced.* c. 10.

Days of *Heraclas* and *Dionysius*; but the *Custom* of *Presbyters choosing a Bishop from amongst themselves*, continued many Ages after: Therefore, this could not be the *Custom* of which *St. Jerom* speaks.

BESIDES, whoever reads this *Epistle*, must needs perceive, that the very *End* and *Reason* for which this Instance of *Alexandria* is produced, is to prove, that *Bishops* and *Presbyters* were Originally the same. But if nothing else be intended by it, but that *Presbyters chose their Bishop*, this will not answer his Design, nor prove the Thing for which it is produced.

TO conclude; *St. Jerom* declares it to be Matter of Fact, That the *Alexandrian Presbyters did, for some Scores of Years, make their own Bishop*. Nor is he contradicted in this *Relation* by any Ancient Historian. Hence I infer, That they who made a *Bishop* could make a *Priest*; and that these two were not then look'd upon as Persons of a *distinct Order*; nor have the *Quibbles* and *Distinctions*, made use of by *Mr. Agate*, any Weight at all to overthrow this Argument.

IF Enquiry be made concerning the *Sentiments* of those Eminent Writers who flourished in the succeeding Ages of the Church, we shall find Abundance of the *Fathers* and *Schoolmen* embracing the Opinion of *St. Jerom*, concerning the Identity of *Bishop* and *Presbyter*. 'Twould be tedious for me to recount all their *Expressions*; the Reader, who desires Satisfaction, may consult *Marinus*, who, tho' a *Papist*, was yet a Learned and Ingenuous Author*. Nay, the *Jus Divinum* of *Episcopacy*, is a Doctrine that has not long been current amongst the *Papists* themselves. The *Trent Catechism* lays down this Position, 'That the Sacerdotal Order, [which comprehends both *Bishops* and *Presbyters*,] is BUT ONE; tho' it has various Degrees of Dignity and Power in it †. And the *Fathers* of that Council would not allow that the Superiority of *Bishops* should be founded on a *Divine Right* ‡.

BEFORE I dismiss this Topick of Antiquity, 'tis requisite that I take some further Notice of that celebrated Instance of *Ischyrras*, so often objected to us, who was deposed by a Synod at *Alexandria*, because Ordained by a meer *Presbyter*, whose Story is as follows.

* V. Morini de sacris Ordinatis. pt. 3. Exercit. 3. c. 2.

† Catechis. ad Parochos. p. 363. ‡ Hist. Conc. Trident. p. mihi 501.

Athanasius had appeared with so much Zeal and Vigour against the *Arians*, that the whole Party were exceedingly enraged against him. The principal *Patron* of that *Faction* was *Eusebius*, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, an Intriguing Cunning Man, and a Great Courtier. Whether *Ischyrras* was Influenced by him, or prompted by his own *Ambition* and *Revenge*, I cannot determine: But so it was, that this Person accused *Athanasius* of many Horrible and Outragious Crimes; which his Enemies at Court did not fail of improving to his great Disadvantage. That the *Emperor* might be satisfied of the *Innocence*, or *Guilt*, of this topping *Patriarch*, who had such an Influence on Church Affairs, he caused an *Assembly of Bishops* to meet at *Tyre*, where *Athanasius*, by the Artifices and unfair Dealing of his Adversaries was Condemned, and a little after sent into Banishment by *Constantine the Great*. Upon the Death of that Emperor, he returned to his own *See*, and was acquitted by a *Synod* of *Neighbouring Prelates*, convened at *Alexandria*. This *Council* passed a Censure upon *Ischyrras* his Accuser, adjudging him to be *no Priest*, because Ordained by *Coluthus*, a *Presbyter* but *no Bishop*. Mr. *Agate* indeed talks of Four Synods called about this Matter [p. 256.] ; but the truth on't is, there was never one Synod called on purpose to determine of the *Validity* or *Invalidity* of *Ischyrras* his Ordination. But to judge of the *Truth* or *Falsbood* of his Accusations. *Athanasius* had not been long at *Alexandria*, before he was driven thence a second time, and forced to fly for Protection to *Rome*, where he was kindly received by Pope *Julius*, and pronounced *Innocent* by a *Council of Bishops*, which he convened on that Occasion. Things stood in this Posture 'till the Year 347, when the Emperors summoned both the *Eastern* and *Western Bishops* to meet at *Sardica*, in Order to put a final Determination to this Affair; when they came there, the *Eastern Prelates* refused to assist at the *Council*, unless *Athanasius*, whom they had deposed, should appear as a Criminal, and not sit as a Judge. And when the others would not agree to this Condition, they withdrew to *Philippopolis*, whence they sent abroad their circular Letters, most bitterly exclaiming against *Athanasius*, and all his *Partizans*. On the other hand, the *Bishops* from the *West*, to the number of about an Hundred, (as *Dupin* computes them *) remained at *Sardica*, and wrote a *Synodal Epistle* in his Vindication: In this Epistle they stile *Ischyrras* *A Man full of all Wicked-*

* *Dupin's Eccles. Hist. Vol. 2. p. 259.*

Wickedness, (not because he was Ordained by a meer Presbyter, as is unfairly Insinuated in a late *Visitation Sermon* †) but because he had forged a gross Lye, in affirming, *That Athanasius had burnt the sacred Volumes*; for these are the very Words of the Council †. As to the Pretences made by *Ischyrras* to *Holy Orders*, the Synod declares, 'That they were well assured by two *Egyptian* Priests, that he never was a Presbyter, and 'that *Meletius* had never a *Church* or *Minister* in *Mareotes*, 'the Place of his Abode. But, in this Epistle, there is nothing said of *Colluthus*: So that, in all probability, this Council apprehended, that he never was Ordained either by *Presbyter* or *Bishop*. However, 'tis owned, that the *Synod* of *Alexandria* pronounced him a meer Layman, for the Reason already mentioned. And to this Instance I reply,

1. THAT this was but a *Provincial Synod*, and that the sense of the *Catholick Church* cannot be inferr'd from a few Bishops met together in a Corner of the World. Besides, tho' he was condemned for an Usurping Layman, by the *Alexandrian Bishops*, he was allowed to pass for a *Priest* by the Bishops assembled at *Tyre*; for when *Athanasius* excepted against him as no *Presbyter*, tho' he went under that denomination in the Libel which he had exhibited to the Council: 'The *Historian* tells us, that his Judges had no regard at all to this exception *. An evidence that these Fathers look'd upon him as a Man in Holy Orders. Nay, the Prelates of *Eusebius* his Faction, were so far from degrading him amongst the *Laymen*, that they advanced him to a *Bishoprick*, and gave him an *Episcopal Consecration* †. Which argues him to be a *Priest* in their Opinion, when they confer'd an higher Dignity upon him: So that whoever gave this Person his Ordination, it was approv'd by the *Eastern Bishops* though condemned by such as dwelt in the *West*. I appeal to any Impartial Reader, whether our Brethren of the *Episcopal persuasion* have any reason to lay so great a stress upon this Person, concerning whom the Christian World was so very much divided. Nay, this Instance may serve my purpose as well as Mr. *Agates*; I may argue that *Presbyterian Ordination* is valid, because *Ischyrras* was ordain'd by a *Presbyter*, and yet own'd for a *Priest* by the Council of *Tyre*, consisting of about 60 Venerable Fathers, and summon'd

† Robert's *Visit. Sermon*. p. 23. † Theodor. *Eccles. Hist.* l. 2. c. 8. * Socrat. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 1. c. 31.
 † Theodor. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 2. c. 8. Athan. *Apol.* 2.

mon'd by the exprefs command of the Renowned *Constantine* the Great.

NOR will it avail much to object that thofe *Bifhops* were *Arians*, for fupposing that they were Heterodox in their *Doctrine*, it by no means follows, that they muft be more mistaken in the *Churches Discipline*, than others of their Brethren. But this *Objection* vanifhes, when we confider, that the Generality of this *Council* were not infected with the *Errors* of thefe Men; for they wrote a Synodal Epiftle to the Church of *Alexandria*, acquainting them, ' They had received *Arius* to their Communion, becaufe he had Repented of his *Error*, and acknowledged the *Truth* *. A Demonftration, that they had not embraced his *Herefies*; for they would not then have exacted a *Repentance* of him. If they were deluded by the *Sophiftry* and *Equivocations* of that *apoftate*, or alfo was *Constantine* the Great; and fo might the Beft and Wifeft Men on Earth, for God alone can know the Heart.

NOR is it true in Matter of Fact, that all the other Enemies of *Athanasius* had imbib'd the Heresy of *Arius*: Thofe *Eastern Prelates* which affembled at *Philippopolis*, have left us a *Creed*, to which they fubfcribed, in which they profefs ' their Belief in *Jesus Chrift*, the only begotten Son of God, ' begotten of the Father before all Ages, God of God, and ' Light of Light, by whom all Things were made, &c. And they condemn all thofe who fay, There was a Time when this Son of God was not †. Whereas the *Grand Error* of the *Arians* lay in this Maxim, *ὅτι πότε ἦν ὁ υἱος τοῦ θεοῦ*, *There was a Time when the Son of God had no Exiftence*; and yet thefe Prelates wrote a *Synodal Letter*, full of violent *invectives* againft *Athanasius*, representing him as guilty of Sacrilege, Murder, and the moft Deteftable Enormities ‡. How far they were impofed upon by others in this hard Cenfure, or gave way to their own Prejudices and Animofities, 'tis none of my Buifnefs to enquire. All that I inftit upon is this, That though *Ischyra* was pronounced a *Layman* by fome *Bifhops*, there were others who own'd him for a *Prieft*, and made him a *Prelate*: And for ought appears to the contrary, the Number of thofe that did acquit him, was as Confiderable as of thofe that did condemn him.

2. I muft, in the next place, more largely inftit upon what I formerly hinted at in my *Defence*, viz. That *Ordinations*, in their

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* Socrat. *Hift. Ecclef.* l. 1. c. 33. — † V. apud Binium. Tom. 1. p. 450. ‡ lb.

their own Nature *valid*, have been frequently declared *null* and *void*, because the *Customs*, at that time prevailing in the Church, were not observed, nor those *Constitutions*, which were the Result of meer *Humane Prudence* and *Authority* complied with. So that had *Ischyra*s been degraded by the *whole Christian World*, all that can be thence inferr'd amounts to no more than this, That his *Ordination* was not agreeable to those *Canons* by which the Church, at that Time, thought fit to govern it self. Nor can the *Original Right* of *Presbyters* be judged of by such a *Determination*. I concluded this *Observation* by producing divers Instances, in which *Clergy-men* were deposed for putting Money to Use, and for their *Non-Compliance* with several other *Ecclesiastical Canons*, which were far from having a *Divine Authority* stamp'd upon them.

TO this Mr. *Agate* replies, confessing, That if I can Instance in any such Canon to which the Ordination of *Ischyra*s was contrary, it will be a Point gained [p. 257, 258.]

IT might justly be expected, that One who pretends to know the *Sense of the Universal Church* for 1500 Years together, should not be to Seek for such a Canon; but since 'tis so, I shall, at present, desire him to consult the Second of those *Canons*, commonly called *Apostolical*; which determines that a *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, shall be Ordained by one *Bishop*. Now if *Ischyra*s was Ordained by a *Presbyter*, this Canon was transgressed, which might occasion his *Degradation*: And if Mr. *Agate* will stand to his own Concession, by producing this Instance I have gained my Point.

'TIS further urged by this Gentleman, That I am mistaken in my Notion of *Degrading* and *Deposing*: That those Clerks who received their Ordination irregularly, were not Degraded so as to become Laymen; but were only *Suspended*, ab *Officio*, for some Time [p. 259.]

BUT to show the Insufficiency of this Quibble, I shall present the Reader with Instances of Ordinations performed by *Bishops* themselves, and therefore confessedly *valid* in their own Nature, which yet have been adjudged to be absolutely *null*; for their real or supposed *Irregularity*, and for their *Nonconformity* to such Constitutions as were purely *Humane*. Thus the Council of *Nice* decrees, 'That if a Bishop ordains a Clerk belonging to another Diocese, without the Consent of his own Bishop, such an Ordination shall be Null (*). The Council

(*) *ἡννεγς ἐστὶν ἡξεροτορία*, Can. 16. *Con. Nic*

Council of *Sardica* (at which, according to Mr. *Agate's* Computation, there were 300 *Bishops* present) decreed, 'That if a Bishop constitutes a Clergy man, tho' of the most Inferior Degree, in another Bishops Precincts, and without his Leave, such an Ordination shall be Null, and of no Force (*). And the Synod of *Antioch* determines, 'That all Things of this Nature transacted by a disorderly Prelate, shall be Void and Null (†). Nor were the *Greeks* singular in this Matter; the *Latin* Church chimed in exactly with them: And the Second Council of *Arles* decreed, 'That if any Person, leaving his own Church and residing in another, should have Holy Orders conferred upon him by the Bishop of that place in which he had taken up his Abode, without the Consent of his own Dioceſan, such Ordination should be esteemed a meer Nullity (‡). I would fain learn of my Opposer, in what *Lexicon* or *Dictionary* the Words made use of by those Councils do signify no more than a *Suspension*? Or whether any Words can be found out more expressive of an absolute *Nullity* in the whole *Transaction*? This may be enough to satisfy the Reader, that Mr. *Agate* has not the least Pretence of *Reason* to conclude, That those Clerks which received their Ordination irregularly, were not so Degraded as to become Laymen. For what is there but Ordination which puts a Difference betwixt the Clergy and the Laity? And if this be null and void, the Persons receiving it are just as they were before, that is meer Laymen.

LEST it should be objected, That these Ecclesiastical Laws were never executed; I shall next present the Reader with several Instances of Persons ordained by real and confessed Bishops, and yet their Ordinations declared null, and they rank'd amongst meer Laymen; because the Rules and Customs at that Time prevailing in the Church, were not observed by them. Of this we have a very Remarkable Instance in the *Meletian* Clergy. 'Tis not consistent with the intended Brevity of this *Treatise*, to confound the Reader with the different Accounts given us of this *Meletius* by *Epiphanius* on the one hand, and *Athanasius* on the other: Let it suffice, at present, to observe, that he is affirmed, by both these Authors, to be an *Egyptian Bishop*,

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of

(*) ἀνωγεις ἐν ἀλλόθεν, &c. Can. 15. Con. Sardic.

(†) ἀνωγει μὲν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπερασμένα, Can. 13. Con. Antioch. (‡) *Hujusmodi Ordinatio irrita habeatur. Con. Arelat. Can. 13.*

of great Note and Eminence (§). Upon some *Misunderstanding* betwixt Him and the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, this Prelate, to encrease the Number of his *Faction*, made Priests in the Precincts of other Men, and was guilty of several other Irregularities. When the Council of *Nice* assembled, they took this Affair into their Consideration, and resolved, amongst other things, *That this Meletius should have his Wings clip'd, and his Episcopal Power circumscribed, for the future, within a narrower compass.* As for the Priests which had been constituted by him, the *Synod* consents, *That they be received to the Communion of the Church, being confirmed by a more sacred Ordination* (*). I look upon this as a Demonstration, that these *Fathers* took their *Irregular Ordination* to be null, and themselves to be mere *Laymen*. Had their *first* Ordination been *valid*, they would never have enjoy'd them a *second*. Here we see a great *Body of Men* receiving Orders from One, who was undoubtedly a *Bishop*, and who (if there be any such thing as *Apostolical Succession*) could make as High Pretences to it as any person living; who yet were treated by the Church as a Company of *Laymen*, because of their *disorderly* and *uncanonical Admission* to the sacred Office; which is as much as can be affirmed of *Ischyas* himself.

THE next Instance of this Nature I shall present the Reader with, is that of those *Clerks* who were Ordained by *Maximus*, surnamed the *Cynick*. The Ambitious Patriarch of *Alexandria*, being willing to have a Friend of his own at Court, or influenced by other *sordid Motives*, prevailed with some *Egyptian Bishops* to consecrate this *Maximus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, in Opposition to the Famous *Nazianzen*, who then possessed that *Dignity* †). Though this New Prelate was not able to carry his point, yet he proceeded so far as to Ordain Priests and Deacons of his own *Faction*. And having had himself an *Episcopal Consecration*, he must be Invested with such a Power, our *Adversaries* themselves being Judges. About this time the *Second General Council* was assembled at *Constantinople*, where they came to this *Resolution* concerning the *Intruder*: 'That *Maximus*, for his Irregularities committed in that City, should not be taken for a *Bishop*, nor the Persons Ordained by him be reckoned amongst the *Clergy*;

(§) Athanas. *Apol.* 2. p. 777. Epiphan. *Hæres.* 68.

(*) *μυστωτέρῃ χειροτονία ἐξελαιδεντάς*, Theodor. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 1. c. 6. (†) Sozom. *Hist. Eccles.* l. 7. c. 9. Vid. etiam Nazianz. *Vitam a Gregorio Presbyt. conscriptam*,

‘ *Clergy*; but that all things done by him should be absolutely
 ‘ *Null*, and of *no Force* (*). Thus we have the two First Ge-
 neral Councils adjudging the *Ordinations* made by *real* and
confessed Bishops to be *Null*, and of *no Force*, purely because
 they were *uncanonical*. And therefore, all that can be cer-
 tainly concluded from the Case of *schyras* is this, that he was
 not Ordained pursuant to *those Rites* and *Canons* which at that
 time prevailed in the Church.

AS the *Ordinations of Priests* have been adjudged *Null*, so
 also have the *Consecrations of Bishops*, and that for no other
 Reason but because they were *uncanonical*. The Council of
Nice decreed, ‘ That if any Person be made a Bishop without
 ‘ the Consent of his *Metropolitan*, he ought not to be a Bi-
 ‘ shop †. The Synod of *Antioch* hath determined, ‘ That such
 ‘ an Ordination [*μὴδὲν ἰσχύει*] is of no Force or Efficacy ‡.
 And that of *Arles* speaks to the same purpose ||. ‘ It belonged
 ‘ to the *Archbishop* or *Metropolitan* (says Dr. *Cave*) either to
 ‘ Ordain, or to Ratify the *Elections* and *Ordinations* of all the
 ‘ *Bishops* within his Province, inasmuch that, without his
 ‘ Confirmation, they were looked upon as *null* and *void* †.
 ’Tis the prevailing Opinion of our *Episcopal Brethren*, that
Bishops are *Successors* to the *Apostles*, and by consequence
 there can be none Superior to them in the Government of the
 Church by a Divine Appointment. ’Tis also generally confess’d
 that *Archbishops* derive their Jurisdiction from *Ecclésiastical*
Laws, and the Consent of Churches. And yet the Acts of those
 Officers who are supposed to be of a *Divine Appointment*, are
 made to depend, for their Validity, upon the Consent of such Of-
 ficers whose Institution is *purely Humane*. This is the considera-
 tion which will easily solve the most material Objections that
 are, or may be brought against the Validity of a *Presbyterian*
Ordination. It is confess’d that *Bishops* have an Original, in-
 herent Right of continuing their own Succession, and consecrat-
 ing other *Bishops*. Notwithstanding all this, such Consecra-
 tions have been declared Null, when performed without
 the consent of (an Officer of their own making, call’d) an
Archbishop. Just thus, though *Presbyters* have an inherent
 Power of Ordaining other *Presbyters*, yet such Ordinations
 have

(*) *πάντων παρ’ αὐτῆς γενομένων ἀνυποθέτων*, *Con.*
Constant. can. 4. † *Con. Nicæ. can. 6.* ‡ *Con. Antioch.*
can. 19. || *Con. Arel. can. 6.* † *Primitive Christiani-*
ty, pt. 1. p. 225.

have been sometimes declared void, because done without the concurrence of a *Prelate*. The truth of it is, these two Cases are parallel, and whensoever Mr. *Agate* will shew me the time when, and the means by which, the *Metropolitans* obtain'd a *Negative Vote* upon other *Bishops*, I will demonstrate the same concerning the Jurisdiction which these have assumed over *Presbyters*.

THUS have I endeavour'd to prove the *Validity* of *Presbyterian Ordination*, in which attempt, I have not only pleaded the *Cause of the Dissenters* at Home, but of all the *Protestant Churches* beyond the Seas, not one excepted. The truth on't is, the absolute *Nullity* of such an *Ordination*, is a Doctrine abhor'd by our first *Reforming Bishops*; a Notion introduced by the *Laudean Faction*, and chiefly supported at this very time, by Dr. *Hicks* and Mr. *Lestly*, who are the Heads and Oracles of the *Non-jurant Clergy*. Whereas should *Ridley*, *Hooper*, *Jewel*, with the rest of that *Noble Army* of *Confessors* and *Martyrs* arise from the Dust, they would disown these furious *Levites*, who by their narrow and uncharitable Principles, gratify the *Roman Catholics*, and Condemn and Un-church two parts in three of the whole *Reformation*. I might demonstrate to the Reader, how our Modern *Hot-spurs* are degenerated from the *Charity* and *Temper* of their *Renowned Predecessors*, the *Fathers* and *Founders* of their own Church. But I shall refer the Reader for satisfaction in these particulars to *Stillinfleet's Irenicum*, *Owen's Plea for Scripture Ordination*, and Mr. *England* against *Lacy*: Where he may find *Crammer*, *Jewel*, *Whitaker*, *Bilson*, with others of our most *Eminent Reformers*, acknowledging the *Validity* of the *Presbyterian Ordination*, and Confessing *Episcopacy* to be only a *prudential Constitution*. Omitting therefore such Testimonies as those, I shall relate a few Matters of Fact, which seem more fully to express the Sense of the *Church of England* on these Heads.

IN the Reign of K. *Edward VI.* several *German Divines* were invited over into *England*, to assist in carrying on the *Reformation*; of which number *Paulus Fagius* was one. I find that this Learned Man was Ordained in *Germany* after his Marriage*, and by consequence not by a *popish Bishop*; for then he must have vowed a single Life. Nor can we suppose it done by a *protestant Bishop*, where none of that Character were to be found: However, his *Presbyterian Ordination* was so far

* *Adm. in Vit. Fagii.*

far from hindring his *Reception in England*, that he was made the KING's *Hebrew Professor* in the Famous University of *Cambridge* *. When Q. *Elizabeth* had re-established the *Protestant Religion* in this Kingdom, Mr. *Travers*, who was Ordained by a *Company of Presbyters* at *Antwerp* †, was yet admitted a *Lecturer* in the *Temple* for several Years together, where he had the greatest *Lawyers* in the Kingdom for his Auditors and Admirers. And though his clashing with Mr. *Hooker* in some doctrinal Points occasioned his Silencing here, he was invited over to *Ireland* by the Archbishop of *Dublin*, who made him *Provost* of *Trinity-Colledge* in that City ‡. Nay, we are informed by a *Gentleman*, whose Skill in the *Records* of the Kingdom was unexceptionable, 'That one or two of these Refugees, who, during the *Marian Persecution*, had been Ordained by *Presbyters beyond the Seas*, were made Bishops in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, without any previous *Episcopal Ordination* §.

UPON K. *James* the First his Accession to the *English Throne*, those *Canons* were compiled by the Two *Houses of Convocation*, to which Mr. *Agate* and his Brethren do now swear Obedience. The 55th enjoys them, 'To pray in an especial Manner for the Churches of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND. 'The Church of *Scotland*, at that time, was *Presbyterian*, as it is now; and yet all the Clergy in *England* then were, and still are, obliged to pray for it as a true Sister Church. An Argument that the Reverend Compilers of these *Canons*, did not look upon *Prelacy* as absolutely Necessary to the Being of a Church; and that they were Strangers to those *High-flown Notions* which intoxicate our Modern Zealots. Though I have taken Notice of this in a former Treatise, I hope the Reader will pardon my Repetition of it in this place.

IN 1604, Dr. *Laud* performed his Exercise for Batchelor of Divinity, in which he maintained this Point, *That there could be no true Church without Diocesan Bishops*; for which he was shrewdly ratted by Dr. *Holland* ||, the KING's Professor in *Oxford*. By which we may guess at the Temper of our Universities at that Time: And had Mr. *Agate* lived in that Age,

* Fuller's *Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 128. † Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* l. 9. p. 214. ‡ *Ibid.* p. 218. § Prynne's *Post-script to Unbishopsing Tim. and Titus*, p. 35. || Heylin's *Life of A-bp. Laud*, p. 54.

Age, his *Fantastick Notions*, and *bitter Principles*, would have been *exploded* by his own *Fathers* and *Tutors*.

'TIS very well known, that *Q. Elizabeth* gave Countenance and Protection to those *poor Dutch men*, who were forced to leave their Native Country, by the *Terrors of the Inquisition*, and the *Duke d'Alva's Cruelty*. On whom she conferred many Priviledges, and gave them Leave to form themselves into Churches, after the *Presbyterian Model*. In the Year 1567, some Members of the *Dutch Church* in *London* revolted from it, to avoid the Censures they had incurred by their Miscarriages: This Matter being laid before the *Bishop of London*, and the rest of the *Queens Commissioners for Causes Ecclesiastical*, they made a Decree, 'That the said *Dutch Church* should continue in its First Constitution, under its own Discipline, and in its Conformity with other *Reformed Churches*; confirming the *Ministers, Elders* and *Deacons* in their Administrations. They further declared all such as had made a Defection from this Church, *To be stubborn and unquiet Persons*. The like Favour was expressed to this Church, upon the very same Occasion, by a succeeding *Bishop of London*, *Dr. King*; who made an Order, bearing Date *August 9th 1615*, for the Maintenance of this Churches Custom, by which he enjoined, 'That no Member of the said Churches that had offended, and thereby deserved their Censures, should depart from those Congregations, and joyn themselves to any *PARISH CHURCH*, before he had been censured for his Offence, or otherwise Reconciled himself *. Here we have a *Famous Bishop* Forbidding Persons to leave a *Presbyterian Congregation*, to Joyn themselves to an *Episcopal Church*. Did he and his Brethren condemn these *Dutch Ministers* as so many *Usurpers*? Did they look upon their Congregations as out of the Church, and cut off from *Christs Mystical Body*, because not united to the *Episcopate*? No! These *Worthies*, who were first concerned in the *Reformation of this Kingdom*, would have abhorred those *peevish Principles* which my *Antagonist* glories in. There is no Occasion to produce other Instances of this Nature, when we have the Author of *The Clergy mans Vade Mecum*, who was far enough from being a Friend to the Dissenters. openly confessing, 'That where there was One Man in the Time of *Q. Elizabeth*, that believed *Episcopacy* to be of *Apostolical* or *Divine Original*, there are many Hundreds that believe

* *Strypes Hist. of the Reformation*, p. 507.

* believe it now both at *Home* and *Abroad*, &c.* Whether this *Alteration* be owing to the *greater Illumination*, or *Ambition* of the present Age, 'tis none of my Province to determine.

HOWEVER, though *Presbyterians* may be condemned by some as *no Christians*, yet I hope this is the Sense but of a *particular Faction*, and that the *Church in general* may be Vindicated from those *Uncharitable Principles*. Mr. *Agate* indeed very confidently affirms, *That Valid Ordination is an Essential Point; That Presbyterian Ordination has never been esteemed Valid; And that Dissenting Meetings are no Churches*, [p. 350.] And in a former Pamphlet he declares *Episcopacy necessary to the Being of a Church; and that Foreign Protestants despise God's Ordinances, and UN-CHURCH themselves*. [p. 109.] So says this *modest Gentleman*. But that the *Church of England in general* has not espoused his *perish Principles*, may (I humbly conceive) be demonstrated from her *publick Offices and Prayers*. On *June 5th 1689*, there was a *publick Fast* appointed, to beg of God *Success in the War*, just then declared against the *French King*. I have by me the *Form of Prayer* used on that Occasion: There is One that carries this Title, *A Prayer for all the Reformed Churches*; which thus begins: O God the Father of Mercies--- We now present our *Supplications and Prayers at the Throne of Grace, in behalf of all the Reformed Churches, beseeching thee to look down with an Eye of Mercy and Pity, upon the sad and mournful Estate of such of them wh in thou hast delivered over to the Hands of superstitious and merciless Men, who have compelled so many of them to defile themselves with their idolatrous Worship, &c.* This Prayer has a plain Reference to the persecuted Protestants in *France*, who were constrained to go to Mass against their own Consciences. 'Tis known to the whole World, that they were all *Presbyterians*, and yet acknowledged to be *real Churches*, by all our *English Clergy*, in their most solemn Acts of Worship. I find the very same Expressions in the *Form of Prayer* appointed for the *Fast* observed on *March 12. in the same Year*. Since Her Majesty's Accession to the Throne, we had a *Fast-Day* on *Jan. 19. 1703-4*. Another on *April 4th 1705*. And in the publick Offices of these Days, there are particular Prayers for *all the Reformed Churches*, containing the same Petitions with those already mentioned, the last Clause only

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* Preface to the 2d pt. p. 41.

excepted. In the *Collect* used *April 4.* God was addressed, *To make Her Majesty an instrument of preserving his true Religion in ours, and all other Reformed Churches.* On August 23. 1705. we had a Day of Thanksgiving for the Success of Her Majesty's Arms. In the publick Forms appointed for that Day, I find a *Collect* with this Title, *A Prayer for all Mankind, especially for the Reformed Churches;* which thus begins: *O God, the Creator and Governour of the World--- We beseech thee to extend thy Compassion and Favour to all Mankind, more especially to the Reformed Churches abroad, &c.* This very Form was also used in our Churches on the Thanksgiving-Day *Decemb. 31. 1706,* and on *May 1. 1707.* I have proved in a former Treatise, by many and unexceptionable Testimonies, that all the Ministers of the *Reformed Churches,* both *Lutherans* and *Calvinists,* have no other than a *Presbyterian Ordination.* Which, according to Mr. *Agate's* Doctrine, is a meer Nullity, and their Assemblies are no Churches. But then why doth this Gentleman pray for them as real Churches? What can we think of him and his hot-headed Faction, who say one thing in the *Desk,* and the quite contrary in their *Pulpits?* Who tell their people, that *Presbyterian Congregations* are no Churches to gratify their Malice, and yet can acknowledge to God, that they are Churches to save their Benefices? Either they believe their own Doctrine, or they do not; if they do, then when they offered up the fore-mentioned Petitions, they compassed God with Lies, and their Creator with Decent; if they do not believe it, why do they obtrude it upon their credulous Disciples as an important Gospel Truth? Is it not the ready way to make Men Infidels and Atheists, when some who serve at the Altar shall thus prevaricate with God, the World, and their own Consciences? If Mr. *Agate* has any Modesty left, he must no more object against Occasional Conformity, when his own Prayers, so inconsistent with his avowed Actions, look so very well like an Hypocritical mocking with God, and dallying with sacred Things. And since Mr. *Roberts,* in his *Okehampton Sermon,* p. 28. hath thought fit to make *Episcopacy* necessary to the Being of a Christian Church, I would recommend it to him before the Return of the next Visitation, to reconcile these Principles with his own Prayers, *Et erit mihi Magnus Apollo,* he shall have me for a Profelyte.

UPON mentioning Mr. Roberts, it may not be amiss to make a few Remarks on that Scheme of Church Government, which that Gentleman has presented to the World in his late *Visitation Sermon*, being invited thereunto by Mr. Agate. 'Tis granted in this Sermon, *That meer Presbyters are Scripture Bishops: That these might rule and govern the Affairs of the Church in the Apostles Absence, and when they had no fixed Bishops among them: That the Persons called Bishops in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus were of the Second Order*, pag. 18. i. e. meer Presbyters: *That at the first planting of Churches, the Presbyters were for some time intrusted with the Government of them; the Apostles not thinking it necessary to fix Bishops every where immediately; But afterward finding that this Parity among the Governours was Inconvenient, they fixed some of the highest Order in all Churches, and confined them within certain Limits: That the Unity of the Church might be preserved by the constant Residence of a Supream Governour among them, &c.* p. 20. He owns, *That Bishops were not generally fixed when St. Clemens wrote his Epistle, throughout the whole of which by Bishops and Presbyters we are to understand those of the second Order*, p. 19. On which Scheme I would remark.

I. THAT this Hypothesis destroys either the Divine Institution of Episcopacy, or the Infallibility of the Apostles; for when they intrusted the Government of the Church with Presbyters, they either acted as meer Men, and pursued those Methods which common Prudence did suggest unto them, or else they acted as divinely inspired Persons; for in one of these two Capacities they must necessarily be supposed to act. If they acted as meer Men in settling Church Government, it must be of a variable Nature, and may at any time be altered by a Humane Authority. If they acted as divinely inspired Persons, how came it to pass that they could not foresee that this Parity among the Governours would prove Inconvenient. Nothing is more usual than for Worldly Politicians to change their Measures, because of sudden and unforeseen Emergencies. But that the Spirit of God, which guided the Apostles, should be ignorant of an Inconvenience that would arise within the compass of 40 or 50 Years; this looks extremely odd. However, the Dissenters may pardon this Gentleman, if he turns them out of the Covenant, when he advances a Notion so derogatory to the Apostles, and to that Holy Spirit, which they were influenced by.

2. AGAIN; this Scheme is contradictory to it self; for he pretends, that when the *Apostles* saw a *Parity inconvenient*, they *fixt some of the Highest Order in all Churches*. [p. 25.] And yet confesses, that when St. *Clement* wrote his Epistle to the *Corinthians* Bishops were not *generally fixed*. [p. 19.] Whereas this Epistle was written after the Death of the *Apostles*. St. *Clement* particularly affirms, 'That both *Peter* and *Paul* had suffered Martyrdom. And of the *Apostles* in general, whom he calls the *Pillars of the Church*. He asserts, 'That they had been persecuted unto Death *'. Nor have we reason to suppose that any one of the sacred Colledge was at that time living, St. *John* perhaps only excepted. So that Mr. *Roberts* supposes the *Apostles* to fix some of the *Highest Order* in all *Churches*, when according to his own calculation they must be silent in their Graves.

3dly, 'TIS worthy our Remark, that this Gentleman's Arguments against the *Validity of Presbyterian Ordination* are purely *Negative*, and therefore of no Value. He urges, That St. *Paul*, in his Charge to the Elders of Ephesus, says not a word about Ordination, nor gives them any caution about such as were to be admitted into Holy Orders; and therefore, the Power of Ordination did not belong unto them, [p. 16, 17.] and he argues mostly from the *Apostles* silence on this Head, when he gives the *Presbyters* directions about other Matters. But I may as well urge, That because St. *Paul* said nothing to these Elders about Baptizing, or consecrating the Eucharist, therefore they had no Power to administer the Sacraments. This Argument is as good as his, viz. Because St. *Paul* made no mention of Ordination, therefore they had no Authority to Ordain: But the Truth of it is, they are both *Negative Arguments*, and therefore conclude just nothing at all.

4thly, ACCORDING to this Gentleman's Reasoning, the *Presbyterian Government* will be the safest Method. He Argues, That it is acknowledged on all Hands, that those which are Baptized by Men in Episcopal Orders, are admitted into the Christian Church. And therefore this must be the safest Course, the *Validity of others Baptism being a Disputable Point*. [p. 20.] But I may as well argue thus, 'Tis agreed by both Parties, (supposing he speaks the sense of his Friends) that in the first planting of Churches meer *Presbyters* were intrusted with the Government of them. But it is denied by one Party, that the *Apostles* did afterwards fix Bishops of an higher

* Clem. Rom. Ep. 1. ad Cor. p. 13.

er Order in all Churches ; therefore the safest Course is to Conform to what both are agreed in, and so continue to govern the Church by *Presbyters*. This Argument will be found of as much weight as his.

I might make other Remarks on this *Gentleman's* performance ; But since his Sermon is thought worthy a 2d. Impression, my intelligence deceives me very much, if one or other betwixt *Berwick* and the *Lands-end*, will not vouchsafe it a full and formal Answer, and shall not anticipate what may be done by an abler Hand.

THUS have I prov'd, That a *Presbyterian Ordination* makes us Lawful Ministers ; That our *Assemblies* are *Parts* of CHRIST's *Catholick Church* ; That our *Non-subjection* to *Episcopacy* makes us not *Scismaticks*, because the *same Authority* which gives the *Bishops* their *Jurisdiction* hath exempted us from it. Mr. *Agate* thinks fit to tell the World, *That I have declared again and again, That 'tis indifferent whether People Communicate with the Establish'd Church, or with the Conventicle*, [p. 344.] But in this he has misrepresented me ; There are some think it *unlawful* to worship God in a *Meeting*, others perhaps in a *Church* : And I never thought it a *Thing indifferent* to Persons under these *Perswasions*. I have indeed owned to him, That Men may *chuse* their own *Ministers* as well as their own *Physicians* ; Nor has he produced any Argument to the contrary ; Nor has he any *just reason* to exclaim against me, for *dissenting* from a Church confess'd by me to be a *NOBLE PART* of the *Reformation* [p. 343.] For I am united with Her in those Things which really *Ennoble* Her, that is, Her *DOCTRINE*, and the *ESSENTIALS* of *WORSHIP*.

Mr. *Agate* has been very inquisitive concerning Me, *whether I am a Presbyterian, or an Independent* ? I know no obligation I am under to satisfy him in these Enquiries ; however, to prevent his *spoiling more Paper* by such *impertinent Demands*, I tell him, That I am not ashamed to own my self of the Number of those *Protestant Dissenters*, who go under the Denomination of *Presbyterians* : But if the Question be, *Whether the Scottish or Genevan Platform* be in all its Branches, a *Divine Institution*, and therefore *unalterable* ? I am no *Presbyterian* in that Sense, and know but few that are. My *Principles*, which Mr. *Agate* pretends I am *afraid* or *ashamed* to own, may be considered, either as they relate to *Christian Doctrines*, and these may be found in the *Articles* of the *Church of England*, to which I have cheerfully subscribed ; Or as they

relate

relate to *Church Government*, and these may be found in *Bishop Stillingfleet's Irenicum*. I look upon *Magistracy* as an *Ordinance of God*; But he has not made *Monarchy* or *Aristocracy*, or any particular *Species of Government*, necessary to all Mankind. Just so, I am fully perswaded that the *Gospel Ministry* is an *Institution of Jesus Christ*; But I cannot find that he has particularly determined, that every *National Church* must be necessarily cast either into an *Episcopal* or *Presbyterian Model*: And see no reason, why the *Queen and Parliament* may not Establish the one in *Scotland*, as well as the other in *England*.

AFTER all, 'tis *Necessity* not *Choice*, that makes me a *Dissenter* from the *Bishops*. I was designed for the *Ministry* by my *Parents*, who gave me an *Education* suitable to such an *End*, being excluded the *Publick Establishment* by such *Oaths* and *Subscriptions*, as under my *present apprehensions* I cannot comply with; I conceive I may innocently accept that *indulgence* the *Law* allows, and preach to those that are willing to hear me; which hitherto I have done, I thank *GOD*, without making it my *Business* to *Revile* or *Censure* those that differ from me. As for the *Laiety*, I take it to be every Man's *Duty* to *Worship God* in the best manner he can. If a Person finds a stunted *Liturgy* is best adapted to excite his *Devotion*, I will not dissuade him from the use of it. If another finds that the constant repetition of the same Words dulls his *Affections*, and on the other hand, that a *Variety of Expression* tends to command his *Attention*, and enflame his *Desires*; I make no doubt but he may warrantably attend on our *Assemblies*. And I can see no Reason why a Man may not judge for himself without condemning another. If there be some who think it *lawful* to communicate with the *Established Church*, but more eligible to do it in a *Dissenting Congregation*, I know not why the *Occasional Conformity* of a few such should be Damned for a scandalous *Hypocrisy*, when 'tis fairly consistent with their avow'd Principles. I hope the Reader will pardon this short *Digression*, which the repeated *Insults* of my *Adversary* have made necessary.

Mr. Agate pretends, That the *Church of England* is so far from laying any great *Stress* upon particular *Ceremonies*, that they have desired the *Dissenters* to name those *Ceremonies* which they would have altered or laid aside [p. 306.]; and they are ready to gratify 'em, as far as the *Honour of God*, the *Catholic Church*, and *Rules of Decency*, will give leave. But the *Dissenters* won't bring in a *List* of their *Exceptions*. Whereas
all

all this is a perfect *Fiction*, and directly contrary to what is true in Matter of Fact, as will appear by those Steps that were publickly taken by both Parties at the late *Revolution*.

When the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*, the Bishop of that City, with his Clergy, waited on him, to return him their Thanks for his generous Assistance. And there being several Dissenting Ministers in his Train, his *Lordship* was pleased to take particular Notice of them in his Address to the *Prince*. A few Days after, Dr. *Bates*, with the rest of the Dissenting Ministers, paid their Acknowledgments unto him, telling him, ' They should all most willingly have chosen *that* for the Season of paying this Duty to his *Highness*, when the Lord Bishop and Clergy of *London* attended his *Highness* for the same purpose, had their Notice of that intended Application been so early as to make their more general Attendance possible to them at that time. There ore, though they did now appear in a *distinct* Company, they did not on a *DISTINCT ACCOUNT*--- &c. * When the *Prince* and *Princess* were declared *King* and *Queen*, they were congratulated by the *Dissenting Ministers*, who desired their Majesties, *To use their Wisdom and Authority to establish a firm Union of their Protestant Subjects, and to compose the Differences between them in things of less Moment concerning Religion* †. So that by their putting themselves under the *Bishop of London's* Protection, and by these publick Declarations, they did demonstrate to all the World their Desire of a Coalescence, without the Extirpation of Episcopacy. Nay, 'tis confessed by a Dignitary of the Church, *That the more moderate and wiser part of the Dissenters, would have been glad to be taken into the National Establishment* ‡. On the other hand, when the *Convocation* met, and an *Accommodation* was proposed, Dr. *Jane* was chosen *Prosecutor* on purpose to prevent it, who concluded his Latin Oration with *Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari*, We will not have the Laws of *England* changed. ' And though many Arguments were used to bring the most Stiff of the Inferior Clergy to a charitable Condescension, and the much desired Union; yet all to little purpose §. There was (*says the Bishop of Sarum*) a formed *Resolution* of consenting to no Alterations at all in Order to that Union †. Now to what End shall we propose the Alterations we desire, when the *Convocation*

* *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 522. † *Ib.* p. 523.

‡ *Ib.* p. 551. § *Ib.* p. 552. † *Reflections on the Rights, &c. of an Eng. Convocation*, p, 16.

vocation has told us, that none at all will be consented to.

UPON the mentioning of this, I think my self obliged to Vindicate the *Memory* of King *William* from those *Aspersions* which Mr. *Agate* has cast upon him, on the Account of that *Accommodation* which he attempted between the Church and the *Dissenters*. This *Gentleman* gives us a strange *Model of Discipline*, consisting of many odd particulars: One of which was, That Laymen were to be allowed to administer the Sacraments, if they had a Fancy for it, without any Ordination. And positively asserts, That King *William* designed to set up this Moderate *Episcopacy* in all his Three Kingdoms [p. 352.] For the proof of which Assertion he quotes *the Wolf script*: But the Author of that Pamphlet has not the Impudence directly to affirm this scandalous Tale; and only offers some *Presumptions*, as he calls them *, to induce us to suspect a Thing of this Nature. But what are these *Presumptions*? Nothing but this: There was a Book published by some French Refugees in Holland, in which they proposed Expedients for Reconciling the Church of England and the *Dissenters*. These Gentlemen suppose that Laymen may administer the Sacraments by an Extraordinary Call. But what is all this to the late King? 'Tis not pretended that this Book was written by His Direction, or that he ever so much as saw it: So that Mr. *Agate* has no Foundation at all to support that outrageous Calumny, which he has published against His late Sovereign. The truth on't is, King *William* attempted to compromise the Differences betwixt the Church and the *Dissenters*: To this end he appointed, by special Commission, all the Bishops in England, who owned his Authority, with several other Eminent Divines, To consult of proper Expedients for the healing of our Breaches †. Dr. *Nichols*, a celebrated Author, gives us the Names of those Reverend Persons who actually revised the Liturgy and Canons, and prepared a Scheme to be laid before the Convocation; and these were the A-bps. *Tillotson* and *Tennison*, the Bps. *Burnet*, *Kidder*, *Stillingsfleet*, and *Patrick* ‖. And can it be imagined that these Learned Worthies would consent to such a Hotch-potch of *Episcopacy* as Mr. *Agate* talks of? Or that they would allow Laymen to administer the Sacraments? Either these Venerable Fathers must be in a Conspiracy

* *Wolf script*, &c. p. 33. Ed. 4. † *Hist. of England*, Vol. 3. p. 552. ‖ *Apparatus ad Defens. Eccles. Anglican.* p. 96.

spiracy against their own Church and Order, or else our Author has published a downright *Falshood*, and most egregious *Calumny* against King *William*. But he that, in Defiance to the *Votes* of the *House of Peers*, durst tell his Congregation, *that if the late King had not died when he did, the present Queen must*, may assume to himself a Liberty of saying what he pleases.

IN my *Defence* I urged, That *Dissenting Congregations* are as so many *Independent Troops*, that whilst we are ready to joyn against the *Common Enemy*, our Fellow-Soldiers have no Reason to quarrel with us, for not observing exactly the same Modes and Postures that they are ranged in. In Answer to this, Mr. *Agate* urges, *That instead of ruining Satan's Kingdom, we build it up. That the Deists and Libertines give us the Right-hand of Fellowship, and are our Guides*, [p. 237, &c.] Filling several pages with a malevolent Harangue to this purpose, but not producing one Evidence to support so Black a Charge: I shall therefore pass by his *Romantic Declamation*, only observing this one thing to the Reader, That if he pleases to consult Dr. *Sacheverell's* late Collection, under the Head of *Blasphemy, irreligion and Heresy*, he will find no *Dissenters* charged with the Impieties there complained of; whilst several *Clergymen* are in his Black List, and one of them is at this Day officiating as such in the Established Church. And where is the Justice? Where is the Conscience of making us responsible for the Heresies of these Men, who were nursed up in the Church, who served at its Altars, or lived and died in its Communion? I don't think there is any Just Reason to impute the Irregularities of a few particular Members to the Church in general; but sure there is much less Reason to impute them to the *Dissenters*.

Mr. *Agate* fancies that the bare resembling of our *Congregations* to *Independant Troops*, is enough to expose the *Notion*: For should our English Soldiers quit their *Regiments*, and refuse Obedience to the *Duke of Marlborough*, or his Officers, they would be hang'd for *Deserters*; all which is true, but nothing to the purpose. For Her Majesty has not given any Person a *Commission* to Command a *Troop* or *Regiment* independent on the said *Duke*: But had She granted such a *Commission*, his Grace would have no *Authority* over those who acted in Pursuance of it. This is our Case, the *Queen* and *Parliament* have exempted us from the *Bishops Jurisdiction*, and therefore our *Non-Subjection* to them is not Criminal; nor is the Objection urged by our *Author* any way pertinent,

that the Toleration doth not exempt any Persons wholly from the Bishops temporal Jurisdiction [p. 330.] 'Tis own'd that their Lordships are Peers in Parliament, and a part of the Legislature, that they are usually Justices of the Peace, and have a Power to keep Courts for the Probat of Wills and other things. Nor do I know any Dissenters so filly as to pretend an Exemption from their Authority in these Respects.

'TIS pretended by our Author, that there are still several Laws and Ecclesiastical Canons in Force, (besides those mentioned in the Toleration Act) whereby all People are required to Conform to the Episcopal Church [p. 297.] And in the Margin he cites *Magna Charta*, 25. Hen. 8. Cap. 19. I fear this Gentleman is as bad a Lawyer as he is a Historian; or otherwise he must have known that an Ecclesiastical Canon, has no Validity at all without, much less against the Sanction and Authority of the Civil Powers. And that an Act of Parliament, supercedes all former Statutes, as far as they are inconsistent with the main intent and purpose of it: Which is the Case of that Act of Indulgence under which we Claim. I cannot find any thing in *Magna Charta*, which may seem to make for his purpose; unless it be this Clause, *That the Church of England shall be free, and shall have her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable.* I hope Mr. Agate does not expect that our Bishops should assume the same Liberty that the popish Prelates then had, of bearding their King, and exempting the Clergy from all temporal Jurisdiction. Nor can I imagine what Liberty they are now deprived of, unless it be that of Persecuting and Oppressing their Neighbours: Which I hope, the best, wisest, and greatest part of them do not desire.

AS for the Statute of 25 Hen. 8. Cap. 19. it was made on purpose to lessen the Authority of the Bishops, and to exalt the Regal Supremacy. For which Reason I am apt to think Mr. Agate never read it; and that if he had, he could not have been so weak as to produce it on this occasion.

THIS Gentleman falls foul upon me as if I did reproach the Church of England, when I challenged him to name one such VOLUNTARY Penitent as J. H-----n of this City. I hope there are in the Established Church many real and sincere Penitents. 'Tis plain enough, that the weight of my Expression lay on the Word Voluntary. And I don't think that he can name me one of his Church, who did Freely and Voluntarily, without any Compulsion or Order from the Court, beg publick Pardon of God and the Congregation, for the Scandal which he had given. This was done by J. H. some 7 or 8 Years ago.

ago. Since which time his Conversation hath been unblamable for ought ever I heard to the contrary. And I appeal to all Mankind, whether Mr. *Agate* discovers a *Christian Spirit*, in taking all Occasions to insult this Man upon the Account of those Miscarriages he hath *confessed* and *forfaken*. When such a perpetual Noise and Clamour is made about one *scandalous Person*, I hope such are not very frequent in our *Assemblies*.

IN my *Defence* I quoted Bishop *Stillingfleet* affirming that no Church can be charg'd with Separation from the true *Catholick Church*, but what may be proved to separate its self in something necessary to the Being of the *Catholick Church*. And so long as it doth not separate as to these *Essentials*, it cannot cease to be a true Member of the *Catholick Church*. Whence I inferr'd that we are not *Schismaticks*, because we do not separate in any *Essential Point*. To which Mr. *Agate* Answers, that *Obedience to the Bishops and Valid Ordination are Essential Points* [p. 350.]; and in these things we separate, but these Objections have been largely considered in the Body of this Treatise, to which I refer the Reader.

BUT by quoting this Bishop, I have exposed my *Honesty*: Why so I wonder! Have I quoted him as Mr. *Agate* did *Oliver Cromwell* and Mr. *Love*, and foisted in whole Sentences directly contrary to his declared Sense? No! 'tis not denied that I have cited his very Words. But the Bishop in another Book declares us to be *Schismaticks*, and what can I help that? If he lays down such *Principles* as will acquit us in one Book, and yet condemns us in another, I see no reason that I have to be blamed, if I rather choose to credit him, when arguing coolly and without any *Prepossession*, than when engaged in *Controversy* and heated by *Opposition*.

I concluded my *Defence* with an Appeal to the *House of Lords*, who in their Debates about the *Occasional Bill*, declared, 'They could not think the *Dissenters* can be properly called *Schismaticks*, at least that differ in no *Essential Point*. To this Mr. *Agate* Repleis, That this was only the talk of one of their *Managers*. [p. 356.] But it was spoken in their Lordships *Names*, and published by their express *Command* and *Order*: Which I humbly conceive infers their *Approbation* of it: for had they disliked the Notion they would not have caus'd it to be *Printed*.

'TIS further urged, That the *Lords* declared against *Occasional Conformity* [Ibid.] But not in those words which Mr. *Agate* has huddled up together; but this is their real Expression. 'They own it a Scandal to *Religion*, that Persons should con-

‘ *form* ONLY for a Place. And if there be any who make their Interest their *only* or *principal* End in Religious Duties, I think them deserving a very black Character. But how will this *Gentleman* prove this against any Dissenter? Besides, their *Lordship* s very justly observe, ‘ It is no certain Inference, that ‘ because a Man receives the Sacrament in the Church, he can ‘ therefore *conform* in every other particular *.

THE last Resort which Mr. *Agate* has, is to the Bishop of *Sarum* s Letter [p. 359.] in which he charges the *Dissenters* with *Schism*. On which I would observe :

[1.] THIS Letter bears date *June* 27. 1708, and yet Mr. *Agate* s First Part of *Plain Truth*, in which we were threatned with this very Letter, was published some Weeks before ; the which is a Mystery he hath not unriddled in any of his subsequent Performances.

[2.] ALLOWING it to be Genuine, we may wonder at the Confidence of this *Gentleman*, how he could write to the *Bishop of Sarum* after he had so unworthily Abused him in Print. And to convince his *Lordship* that his *Gratitude* is equal to his *Modesty*, he has never published a Pamphlet since, without passing some *scurrilous Reflection* or other upon the *Bishop of Sarum*.

[3.] THO’ the *Bishop* thinks us Faulty, he doth not Unchurch us, nor rank us amongst *Jews* and *Pagans* : But supposes that a *Mistaken Dissenter* may be in a State of *Grace and Pardon*. And Mr. *Agate* s violent Temper is as much condemned as our Separation.

[4.] I made no Appeal to the *Bishop of Sarum*, but to the *House of Peers* ; and though his *Lordship* makes a shining Figure there, he is but a single Star in that Bright Constellation. And though the *Bishop* may think me in an Error, I shall not scruple to acknowledge that his Services to Church and State have been so Eminent, as to deserve Respect and Veneration from every *True Protestant* and *Good English-man*.

IF Mr. *Agate* thinks fit to make any Reply to what has been now offered, I would recommend this to his Consideration ; Whether it would not conduce more to his own Honour, and

* Proceeding relating to the Bill for preventing, &c. p. 36.

and others Profit, to endeavour our Conviction by *Argument* and *Reason*, rather than to make us Odious by *scandalous* and *false Representations*. I shall conclude with this Desire, that both *Churchmen* and *Dissenters* would follow *St. Paul's Counsel*, Eph. 4. 1, 2, 3. *To walk worthy of the Vocation wherewith they are called, with Lowliness and Meekness, with Long-suffering FORBEARING ONE ANOTHER IN LOVE,* thereby endeavouring to keep the *Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*.

*The FATHERS I had Occasion to cite
are of these following Editions.*

	Printed at	In the Year
Clementis Romani Epistolæ	Oxon.	1677
Ignatii Epistolæ	Amsterda.	1646
Irenæi Opera	Basil.	1526
Tertulliani Opera	Paris.	1641
Clementis Alexandrini Opera	Cologn.	1688
Justini Martyris Opera	Cologn.	1686
Cypriani Opera	Paris.	1633
Eusebii, Socrati, Sozom. Evag. Theod. Hist. Eccles. 3 Vol.	Mayence.	1679
Athanassi Opera, 2 Vol.	Cologn.	1686
Epiphani Opera, 2 Vol.	Cologn.	1682
Greg. Nazianzeni Opera, 2 Vol.	Cologn.	1680
Hieronimi Opera, 4 Vol.	Basil.	1524
Augustini Opera, 16 Vol. 8vo.	Lyons.	1563
Basilii Opera, 3 Vol.	Paris.	1638
Optatus de Schismate Donat.	Antwerp.	1702
Salviani Opera	Paris.	1617
Leonis magni Opera	Antwerp.	1589
Rabanus Maurus de Clericorum Institut.	Cologn.	1532
Concilia Gener. & Provin. Gr. Lat. per B. nium, 5 Vol.	Cologn.	1618

Post-

Post-script.

MR. *Agate* continuing to make a Clamour about a CONFERENCE, and *Subscribing* of Principles, I sent him lately the following Letter.

SIR,

March 27.

BEing inform'd that you took Occasion to insult me on *Jan. 30.* as well as on *Friday* last, for declining a Conference, and being willing to obviate that Clamour for the future; I have now address'd my self unto you, to let you know, that though I am not tend of a publick Disputation, nor to be halloo'd along the Streets, (which was the Treatment you know a Dissenting Minister met with, not many Months ago, from your civil and well-instructed Auditory) yet, if the Publication of my Sentiments to the whole World will not content you, I will meet you and half a dozen of your Friends with an equal number of mine, and *subscribe* my Principles upon these following Conditions:

1. If the Gentlemen present, upon view of the Books which I produce, will subscribe a Certificate, attesting, that those *Quotations* of yours, which I object against as Forgeries, are, or are not to be found in the *Authors* you have cited.

2. If they will also certify, that you have, or have not proved these Matters of Fact, which I declare to be downright Falshoods.

3. If lastly, you will Answer my Demands, and *subscribe* your Principles relating to the State, I will then *subscribe* mine which relate to the Government of the Church. Sir, you have your Choice, either to forbear your *Insults* on this Head, or to accept the *Proposals* of,

Your Humble Servant,

JOHN WITHERS.

TO this Letter I have yet received no Answer, When Mr. *Agate* will answer me, Whether the Princess of *Denmark* and Bishop of *London* were guilty of a *Damning Sin*, when they went to *Nottingham*, and joyn'd with such as declared for *Resistance*; He may then ask me, Whether there be any Thing Faulty in the *Common-Prayer*: For I have as much Authority to Catechize him, as he me.

The INDEX.

	page
T HE <i>Introduction.</i>	1
All <i>Schism</i> cuts not off from <i>Christ's Body.</i>	2
The True Notion of <i>Schism.</i>	5
<i>Dissenters</i> united to the Church in Faith and Love,	6
-----And the Essentials of Worship.	7
The <i>Texts</i> examined, which are produced by Mr. <i>Agate</i> to prove us <i>Schismatics.</i>	9
Our <i>Dissent</i> no <i>Violation</i> of the <i>Laws of the Land.</i>	14
What that <i>Toleration</i> was which the <i>Old Presbyterians</i> exclaimed against	16
Our not being united to <i>Episcopacy</i> the main Hinge of the Controversy	17
In what Sense I hold the Jurisdiction of <i>Bishops</i> over <i>Pres-</i> <i>byters</i> to flow from the <i>Law of the Land.</i> This <i>No-</i> <i>tion</i> not borrowed of the <i>Rights.</i>	19
The 1st <i>Argument</i> to prove their <i>Jurisdiction</i> derived from the <i>Law</i> , taken from the Power the said <i>Law</i> has to deprive them of it.	21
2d <i>Arg.</i> <i>Episcopal Jurisdiction</i> exercised in the Church of <i>England</i> by such as are no <i>Bishops.</i>	26
3d <i>Arg.</i> Many <i>Parishes</i> exempted from all <i>Episcopal</i> <i>Jurisdiction.</i>	29
4th <i>Arg.</i> The <i>Bishops Jurisdiction</i> limited by <i>Law.</i>	30
5th <i>Arg.</i> Appeals from <i>Bishops</i> to <i>Lay-Delegates.</i>	31
<i>Bishops</i> owning their <i>Jurisdiction</i> over <i>Presbyters</i> to flow from the <i>Law</i> in the Reign of K. <i>Edw. 6.</i>	32
This the Sense of the Church in the Reign of Q. <i>Eliz.</i>	ib.
The same acknowledged by K. <i>James</i> his <i>Bishops,</i>	34
-----And by the Clergy in the Reign of K. <i>Charles,</i>	35
-----And the <i>Scottish Bishops</i> in the Reign of <i>Charles 2d.</i>	37
The Sense of the <i>Lower House of Convocation.</i>	39
No <i>Episcopal Colledge</i> appointed by <i>Jesus Christ</i> to go- vern the <i>Catholic Church.</i>	42
Mr. <i>Burroughs</i> Notion of one <i>Episcopacy</i> disproved	46
Whether <i>Bishops</i> are Successors to the <i>Apostles.</i>	49
Several Customs and Institutions said by the Ancients to be <i>Apostolical</i> , which in truth were not so.	50
The Argument considered which is taken from that gene- ral Entertainment <i>Episcopacy</i> met with in the Church.	58
Church	

The INDEX.

Church-History for the first 300 Years defective.	page 58
The Primitive Bishop no Dioceſan	59
Several Officers in the Primitive Church not Apoſtolic	60
Metropolitans got into Power as ſilently as Biſhops	61
Presbyterian Ordination proved from 1 Tim 4. 14.	64
Mr. Agate's Objections to this Text answered	69
Other Scripture Arguments hinted at	76
Presbyterian Ordination proved from Antiquity	78
1 Arg. Presbyters Succellors to the Apoſtles.	ib.
This confirmed by many Ancient Teſtimonies.	79
2 Arg. The Chorepiſcopi had a Power of Ordaining.	84
Theſe proved to be meer Presbyters.	86
Objections againſt their being meer Presbyters answered	92
3 Arg. Presbyters allowed to Ordain with the Biſhops	98
Leave, which argues an inherent Right.	
4 Arg. Presbyters laid on Hands in Ordination.	100
5 Arg. The Difference between Biſhops and Presbyters	102
owing to Cuſtom and Eccleſiaſtical Laws.	
Several Inſtances of Ordination by Presbyters.	103
St. Jerom's Teſtimony vindicated	107
The Caſe of Iſchyraſ conſidered at large	111
He was own'd for a Priest by the Council of Tyre	112
Ordination made by Biſhops declared Null, becauſe ſome	114
Humane Canons not obſerved	
Conſecrations of Biſhops declared Null for the ſame Cauſe	117
The Validity of Presbyterian Ordination own'd by the	118
Church of England.	
The ſame proved from the Canons	119
And from the Prayers of the Church	121
Some Remarks on Mr. Roberts his Viſitation Sermon	123
The Diſſenters willing of an Accommodation	127
But the Convocation averſe to it	ib.
K. William Vindicated	128

F I N I S.

ERRATA.

Page 7 l. 38 read *Brethren*. p. 14 l. 36 r. *Act*. p. 28 l. 26
for *of r. ſq.* p. 51 in Margin l. 4, for p. 14 r. p. 27. p. 58
l. 10 r. *Rule*. p. 77 l. 21 r. *take*. p. 81 in Margin l. 5. read
ſtra. p. 82 l. 8 r. *run*, l. 11. r. *conſirmate*. p. 86 in Mar-
gin r. *Chorepiſcopi*. p. 90 in Margin l. 3. for p. 38 r. *Ep* 38.
p. 95 l. 11 r. *meant*. p. 114 in Margin r. *н херговия*.
p. 119 l. 21 r. *enjoyns*.

THE
HISTORY
OF
RESISTANCE,

As PRACTIS'D by the
Church of *England* :

IN WHICH

'Tis proved, from most *Authentick Records*,
That in every *Reign* since the *Reformation of Religion*, the said CHURCH hath Aided and Assisted,
Justified and Approved of, such *Subjects* as have De-
fended themselves against the *Oppressions* of their
Tyrannical, tho' Natural PRINCES.

WRITTEN

Upon Occasion of Mr. AGATE's SERMON
on the 30th of *January*, and in DEFENCE of
the Late *Revolution*, the Present *Establishment*, and
the *Protestant Succession*.

The Second Edition.

By JOHN WITHERS.

LUKE 11. 46. *Ye lade Men with Burdens grievous to
be born, and ye your selves touch not the Burdens
with one of your Fingers.*

Quis tulerit Gracchum de Seditiōe querentem ?

EXON: Printed by J^s. Bliss in the *Exchange*, and
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THE
HISTORICAL
RESISTANCE
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND

IN THE
REIGN OF
HENRY VIII.
BY
J. H. M.
M.A.
OF
TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
Resistance, &c.

HISTORIANS tell us, *That when the Tongue-ty'd Son of Cræsus saw the fatal Sword just ready to be sheath'd in his Father's Bowels, his Surprise and Indignation raised such an Emotion in his Blood and Spirits, as tore asunder those little membranous Fetters, which held the grand Organ of Speech a Prisoner from his very Birth.* I doubt not but every True English-man will readily confess Her present Majesty to be the Common Mother of Her People; when, therefore, such Doctrines are divulged from the Pulpit, as will blacken Her Conduct, and weaken Her Title, I need no other Apology to justify this present Essay, in Vindication of them both.

IT might have been expected, that Mr. *Agate's* Splenetick Temper should have been fully eased by that Torrent of Gall which he has poured forth on the Dissenters; and that the Members of his own Church might have obtained a fairer Quarter from him: But so flagrant is this Gentleman's Zeal, that it burns up every thing which stands in its way. Of this the CITY had a Notable Instance on the Thirtieth of January last, when taking for his Text *God's sending his Prophet to a Rebellious Nation*, and having a *Fling* at the HOUSE OF COMMONS, by remarking, *That God's Ministers must tell People of their Faults, though Find and IMPEACH'D for their Labour*; He undertakes to prove this Proposition, *That Resistance to the Higher Powers, upon any Pretence whatsoever, is absolutely Unlawful.* But suppose (says he, in the midst of his Declamation) the Prince should endeavour to

overthrow the Constitution, and bring in Popery, may he not be Resisted in such a Case? Oh No! God forbid! For he that Resisteth, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and shall receive to himself Damnation.

NOW, 'tis known to all the World, that the late King *JAMES* did endeavour to *bring in Popery*; that in this Attempt he was *resisted* by the *Prince of Orange*, with whom concurred our *QUEEN*, our *Nobles* and *Bishops*, our *Gentry* and *Clergy*, who, if this Doctrine be true, are all involved in the Guilt of a *Damnable Rebellion*. Besides, if the Nation was guilty of a *Damning Sin* in *resisting King JAMES*, they are obliged to *Repent* of it, as they value the *Salvation* of their own *Souls*. Now, *Repentance* is the *undoing* what was *done amiss*: If I have wronged and cheated my Neighbour, 'tis a vain Thing for me to pretend *Repentance*, unless I make him *Reparation* as far as I am able. Mr. *Agate's* Friends, the *Non-Jurors*, will tell him of a *Gentleman* on the other side the Water, who was acknowledged in all the Churches in *England* to be King *JAMES's* Son, and that in the most solemn Acts of Worship, when Men can never be excused if they *peak* what they do not *think*. And that the Nation can never Repent of *resisting King JAMES*, but by making Satisfaction and Restitution to ----- Accordingly, the Grand Patrons of *Passive Obedience* actually refuse to Recognize *Her Majesty's* Title, and reserve their *Allegiance* for the *Pretender*. 'Tis to promote his *interest*, no doubt, that these *High Fantastick Principles* have been so zealously inculcated by the *Rehearser* and his Party; and I wish that others may not espouse them for the same Reason.

BUT let us hear a little more of Mr. *Agate's* Oratory: If *any* (says this *Declaimer* on the Thirtieth of *January*) *who have been Baptized into our Church, are for the Doctrine of Resistance, I PRONOUNCE them to be Enemies both to our Church and Constitution.* And so made it the main Drift of his *Discourse* to persuade his Hearers, That none but *Atheists* and *Deists*, *Papists* and *Dissenters*, ever thought it *lawful* to resist the Higher Powers upon *any Pretence whatsoever*.

I have read, that before the *Reformation*, the A-bp. of *Canterbury* was called *alterius Orbis Papa*; the Pope of another World: But that the Curate of *St. Mary Arches* should set up for a *British Pope*, that he should assume to himself a Power of *pronouncing* who shall be esteemed a *true Churchman*, and who not, this I confess is *new*, and would surprize me

me, were not the *Humour* of the Man pretty well known, and that he is remarkable for nothing more than an *uncommon measure of Assurance*.

THE Design, therefore, of these *Historical Collections*, is to convince this Part of the World, that the *Church of England* in former Ages, did not espouse those Slavish Principles which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be its *standing Doctrine*: And that no more is now said by *Whigs* or *Dissenters* on the Point of *Resistance*, than what has been formerly practised by *Bishops* and *Convocations*. To make this Matter clear, I would premise Two or Three Things, which no Reasonable Man can deny me.

First, MENS *Actions* are the best Expounders of their *Intentions*, and their *Principles* may be best discovered by their *Practices*.

Secondly, IF all *Resistance* of Subjects to their Princes be *Rebellion*, then all such as *aid* and *abet* such Rebels involve themselves in the same Guilt. Our *Lawyers* will tell us, ' That in *Treason* there are no *Accessaries*, but all are *Principals* *. We may partake in other Mens Sins, by administering ' Counsel, Direction or Assistance towards them; as the Famous Dr. *Sacheverell* has very truly determined †. When, therefore, our *Church* gave *Aid* to such as *defended* themselves against the *Oppression* of their own Princes, this is the same thing as if they had themselves *resisted*. These things premised, I come to prove the Point proposed by me in these Sheets.

AS the *Reformation of Religion* in the *Church of England* may be dated from the short Reign of King *EDWARD* the Sixth, so that the *Protestants* of that Age did not look upon *Resistance* upon any *Pretence whatsoever* as absolutely unlawful, may be demonstrated from the Conduct and Demeanour of these very Persons under his immediate Successor Queen *MARY*. 'Tis known to every one who has the least Acquaintance with our *English Histories*, how that Young Prince was prevailed upon by the Artifices of the Duke of *Northumberland*, when in a Languishing Condition, to nominate the Lady

* *Hale's Plea of the Crown*, p. 215.
by, p. 10.

† *Sermon at Derby*.

Lady *Jane Grey* for his Successor to the Crown; a Young Lady of most incomparable Parts and Virtues, and a zealous Lover of the *Reformation*; but who, though she had Royal Blood in her Veins, had yet no Title to the Crown, either by Virtue of *H. irship*, or any Parliamentary Settlement. That which principally influenced King *Edward* to this Act, was the known *Bigotry* of his Sister *Mary*, and her passionate *Devotion* to the See of *Rome*; which made him fear that she would destroy what he had done, as accordingly it came to pass. Upon the Death of this Excellent Prince, the Lady *Jane* was proclaimed in *London*; but the Generality of the Nation adhered to the Princess *Mary*, on whom the Succession was entailed by the Estates of the Realm in *Parliament* assembled. Whilst the two *Rival Queens* were contending for a Diadem, Dr. *Ridley*, at that time Bishop of *London*, renowned for his Piety and Learning, and above all Things for his Constancy in Martyrdom, and the Generous Testimony which he bore to his *Redeemer's Cause*; this great Man preached a Sermon at *St. Paul's Cro's*, to advance the Title of Queen *Jane*. Amongst other things, 'He pressed the Inconveniences which might arise, by receiving *Mary* for their Queen, prophesying that which after came to pass, namely, that she would bring in a Foreign Power to reign over this Nation; and that she would subvert the true Religion, then established by the Laws of this Realm *.' So that this great *Prelate* was so far from believing all *Resistance* to be a Damnable Sin, that he publicly exhorted the People to defend their Religion and Liberties against the Right Heir to the Crown. Nor can it be pretended that he was a *Puritanical* Bishop, his Contest with Bishop *Hooper*, in Defence of the *Habits* and *Ceremonies* of the Church will evince the contrary.

Q. Mary had not long been in the peaceable Possession of her Kingdom, before the Promises made to those who drew their Swords in her Quarrel were quite forgotten, and she display'd the perfidious Cruelty, not so much of her Nature as her Religion: The *Protestant* Bishops were displaced; the Supremacy of the *Pope* recognized; and that Structure which her Brother had been so many Years in raising, was in a little time razed to the very Ground. In one word; The Goals were quickly crowded, and the *Roman Vulturs*, those Birds of Prey, were whetting their greedy Beaks and Talons, and preparing

* Heylin's *History of the Reformation*, &c. Edit. 2d. pt. 1. page 162.

paring their Stomachs for a bloody Banquet. This, together with the *Queen's* throwing her self into the Arms of the King of *Spain*, created a general Dissatisfaction throughout the Kingdom; insomuch, that *Conspiracies* were formed, and *insurrections* intended, in divers parts; all which came to little, except that headed by Sir *Thomas Wiat*, a *Kentish* Gentleman, of great Estate and Interest, who marched up to *London* with an Army of some Thousands at his Heels: And if the *Love* proved abortive, 'twas because his Treason fell in Labour some Weeks before the full Time thereof; as Dr. *Fuller* expresses it *. Dr *Heylin*, who was one of *Laud's* Chaplains, and a most bitter Enemy to the *Presbyterians*, assures us, 'That it cannot be denied but that the Restitution of the Reformed Religion, was the Matter principally aimed at in the Rebellion of these Men, though nothing but the Match with *pain* appeared on the outside of it †; and that Dr. *John Pomet*, Bishop of *Winchester* in *K. Edward's* Days, was not only of Council in the Plot, but put himself into their Camp ‡. So that here was one Bishop preaching against the *Queens* iit e, another actually joyning with such as were in Arms against her; and sure *absolute Non-Resistance* could not be an Article of their Faith. Nay, the *Protestants* of the Church of *England*, at that time, were so far from thinking it their Duty to stand still whilst their Throats were cutting, that, it this *High-Church* Historian deserves any Credit, they were generally disposed, throughout the Nation, to defend their Religion and Liberties with their Swords; for, speaking of *Wiat's* Insurrection, he tells us, 'That all they that wished well to the Reformation were hooked in [to approve his Design,] upon the like Hopes of restoring that Religion which had been settled by the Care and Piety of the good King *Edward*, but now suppressed, contrary to all Faith and Promise, by the *Queen* and her Ministers. The Doctor adds, That the Contagion was so generally diffus'd over all the Kingdom, that if it had not accidentally broke out before the time appointed by them, it was conceived, by many Wise and Knowing Men, that the Disease might have been incurable ¶. If this be a true Relation, we may conclude, that our First Reformers had not imbibed those slavish Principles which Mr. *Agate* pretends to be the standing Doctrine of his Church.

TO

* *Church Hist.* l. 8. p. 11.
pt. 2. p. 34.

† *Ibid.* p. 35.

‡ *Heylin's Hist. of Reform.*
¶ *Ibid.* p. 33.

TO Queen Mary succeeded Queen Elizabeth, to whose Auspicious Influence and Wise Conduct the Church of England owes its present Establishment. During her Glorious Administration, both Bishops and Nobles, Clergy and Laity, concurred in lending their Helping Hand both to the French, Scots and Dutch, when defending themselves against the Violence and Oppression of their own Princes. A Demonstration, that the Doctrine of the Bowstring was not at that time the Doctrine of the Church of England. To give some Instances.

IN the Year 1559, such of the *Scotish Gentlemen* as had embraced the Reformation, and who were called the *Lords of the Congregation*, thinking they had just Reason to defend themselves against the Oppression of the *Queen Regent*, and her *popish Faction*, took up Arms, and craved Aid of Queen Elizabeth. Mr. *Cambden* tells us, That this Matter was seriously consulted of in England, and the result of all was, that to fail the Professors of the same Religion seemed a Point of IMPIETY*. Hence I infer, that the Scots at that time professed the same Religion with the English; and that the Resistance which the former made, was not look'd upon by the latter as a Damnable Rebellion; for then it had been impiety, not to desert, but to assist them: Whereas a stout Band of Soldiers, with a Train of Artillery, was sent into Scotland to their Aid.

IN the Year 1562, the Protestants in France, being made desperate by the many Butcheries and Massacres that they were exercised with in divers parts of the Kingdom, thought it lawful for them to stand upon their Guard, and repel Force by Force. This they did, being headed by the *Prince of Conde* and the *Admiral de Coligny*: In these Circumstances they address themselves to Queen Elizabeth, who sent over the *Earl of Warwick*, with a well-appointed Army, to their Assistance †; and, at the same time, earnestly solicited the Protestants of Germany to relieve Conde, and defend the Common Cause of Religion ‡. In the latter end of this Year, the Estates of the Realm were assembled in Parliament and Convocation, Who granted the Queen, the ECCLESIASTICAL Men one Subsidy, and the Laity another, with two Fifteenths and Tenths; and this Grant was declared to be made, amongst other Reasons, for the LAUDABLE ENTERPRISE in

* *Cambden's Hist. of Q. Eliz. Edit. 4th, p. 36*
 † *Ibid. p. 62*
 ‡ *Ibid. p. 64*

† *Ibid.*

‘ in *France* ||. That the Reader may have a clearer Notion of this matter, he must consider, that tho’ at present our *Clergy* are taxed by *Parliament*, and pay for their Benefices as *Gentlemen* do for their Estates, yet, before the Restoration of King *Charles* the Second, they were taxed by their Representatives in *Convocation*. In the Instance now before us, the *Bishops* and *Dignitaries* of the Church were so far from looking upon that *Resistance* which the *French Protestants* made to their perfidious *Queen Regent*, the *King* her Son being then a Minor, to be a *Damnable Rebellion*, that they called the Design of aiding and abetting of them a *Laudable Enterprize*, and contributed largely thereunto. An. now let Mr. *Agate* tell us what he will pronounce of these Men, who were the *Fathers* and *Founders* of his own Church.

UPON the breaking out of the Second Religious War in *France* in 1569, ‘ The *Queen of England* failed not to relieve ‘ the *Protestants* in that Kingdom, and exhorted the *Princes* ‘ of the same profession to take upon them the *Defence* of the ‘ *Common Cause* *. The *Sieur d’ Aubigne*, a *French Historian*, tells us, That she remitted over an *Hundred Thousand Angelots*, (by which I suppose he means *English Angels*, for I can’t learn that there is any *French Coin* so called, a very considerable Sum in those Days) with a *Train of Artillery* †. And no doubt but she was encouraged hereunto by the Determinations of her own *Bishops* and *Clergy*.

THE Story of the Unfortunate *Scotish Queen* is known to most, who being driven out of her own Kingdom, took Sanctuary in *England*, where she was kept a Prisoner many Years, and at last lost her Head on a Scaffold. During her Captivity, the Duke of *Norfolk* had formed a Design to marry her, and so raise Disturbances in the Nation. This allarumed the *Parliament*, who made very severe Votes and Petitions against her, in one of which they thus address themselves to *Queen Elizabeth*: We Your Majesties most humble and faithful Subjects assembled in Parliament---- A Queen of late Time, and yet through her own Acts now JUSTLY no Queen, a nigh Kinswoman of Your Majesties, and yet a very unnatural Sister, Lady Mary Steward, late Queen of Scots, &c. ‡ I find by the *Queen’s Answer*, reported to the House by Mr. *Treasurer*, That the Lords joyned with the Commons in this Petiti-

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|| *Cambden’s Hist. of Q. Eliz.* p. 64 * *Ibid.* p. 137

† *Histoire Universelle*, l. 5. c. 10

‡ *D’ Ewe’s Journal of Parliaments*, &c. p. 215

on ||; which I desire the Reader to remark for the *Bishops* sake. Should any person affirm, that King *Charles* was justly put to Death, Mr. *Agate* would represent him as much a Regicide as *Cromwel* or *Bradshaw*; and no doubt but he would be a Sharer in their Guilt. *We may be partakers of another Man's sin, in commending, approving, excusing, or defending it afterward*, as the High-Church Hero Dr. *Sacheverell* has very orthodoxly determined*. In the Instance just now cited, we have the *Bishops*, the *Nobles*, and *Gentry* of the Church of *England*, with all solemnity declaring, *That the late Queen of Scots was then justly no Queen*; that is, in other words, she was justly deprived of her Regal Dignity. And by this Declaration they did justify that *Resistance* which her Subjects made unto her: This they could not have done, had they then looked upon all such *Resistance* as an enormous Crime.

A little after this, the Natives of *Flanders* and *Holland*, being harass'd by the *Terrors* of the *Inquisition*, and the *Barbarity* of the Duke of *Alva* their Governour, thought it lawful for them to defend their *Lives* and *Religion* against those *Instruments* of *Cruelty*, that were made use of to Oppress them. Under these Persuasions several *Provinces* and great *Towns* revolted from the King of *Spain*, their Natural Sovereign, under the Conduct of the Prince of *Orange*; and the better to secure themselves against the formidable power of that haughty Monarch, they offered to transfer their *Allegiance* to the Queen of *England*, and become her Vassals. But though *Her Majesty* did not think fit to accept of this proposal, yet after serious Deliberation, she resolved, That it was CHRISTIAN PIETY to Relieve the *Afflicted Netherlanders*, Embracers of the same Religion which she professed †. And accordingly a well appointed Army, both of Horse and Foot, was actually sent over to their Assistance: This was done about the latter end of the Year 1585. The next Year there was a Session of Parliament; I find in the printed Journal of the House of Lords, that the Commons made humble suit to their Lordships, to join with them in a Contribution or Benevolence for the Charges of the LOW-COUNTRIES WARS ‡. The Lords appointed a Committee of their own Body to consider this Motion, of which Number were the two Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*,

|| D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 219

* Sermon at Derby Assize, p. 11. † Cambden's Hist. of Q.-Eliz. p. 321. ‡ D'Ewe's Journals of Parliaments, &c. p. 386.

Turk, the Bishops of London, Winchester and Salop. Upon Conference amongst themselves, 'Twas resolved and agreed to by the whole House, that a *Subsidy* of Two shillings in the pound should be granted by the Temporal Lords, in as much as the Lords Spiritual had made former Offers of *Contribution* to Her Majesty, [*i. e.* in *Convocation*] ||. I must leave the Reader to judge, whether *absolute Non-Resistance* could be a Doctrine of the Church at this time, when the Bishops and Convocation of Clergy, laid a Tax on themselves and their Brethren, for the Charges of the Low-Countries Wars. That is, in other Terms, for the aiding and abetting those very persons who were at that time actually resisting their own Lawful but Tyrannical Prince. I would crave Leave to make this one Remark more, That the Clergy were not at that time headed by *Seheverel's perfidious Prelate* Grindal; but the Metropolitcal Dignity was then possessed by Dr. *John Whitgift* *, whose Zeal against the Puritans, and for the Discipline and Ceremonies of the Church, are notorious to all such as have the least Acquaintance with our English Records.

IN the Year 1593, the Estates of England were again assembled in Parliament at Westminster; Who taking into their Consideration the Bent of the Enemies to work the Destruction of England, by suppressing its Confederates in France, Scotland, and the Low-Countries, and the great Expence Her Majesty had been at, not only in defending her own Kingdoms, but also in JUSTLY relieving her Confederates according to Contract; they with most thankful Hearts granted, the CLERGY two entire Subsidies, and the Laity three, with six Fifteenths and Tenths †. Here again, we have the Convocation and Parliament, the Representatives of the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England, declaring, in the most publick solemn manner, That Qu. Elizabeth did JUSTLY in relieving her Confederates, [the Dutch-Men] for Mr. *Cambden* assures us, that these are the very Words of the Act of Parliament ‡. Whereas, had they looked upon that Resistance, which these Men made to their Natural King, to be a Damnable Rebellion, the aiding and assisting of them in such an Enterprize, would have been a most Barbarous Injustice. And the Clergy would have been guilty of a most inexcusable Prevarication, in approving a known Injury; but if they had

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|| Dr Ewe's Journal of Parliaments, &c. p. 387 * Vid.
 Cambdens Hist. of Q. Eliz. p. 288 † Ibid. p. 469
 ‡ Ibid. p. 468

any thing of Sincerity in them, as I hope and believe they had, they must be *Strangers* to Mr. *Agate's* slavish Doctrine.

I have one Remark more to make on this *Parliament*; It was so far from being a *puritanical Assembly*, that this is the *very Parliament* which made that severe Law, which inflicts *Death* or *Banishment* on those who *absent* themselves from the Service of the *Church* for a *Months Time*, and will not *recant* their *Nonconformity*. I hope the *Authors* of such an Act may pass for *true Sons of the Church*, and yet these *very Gentlemen* gave Large supplies to enable the *Dutch* to *resist* their own Prince.

THE Instances I have given are a Demonstration that Mr *Agate's* Notions were not the *standing Doctrines* of the *Church* during *Q. Elizabeth's* Glorious and Triumphant Reign.

TO *Q. Elizabeth* succeeded King *James* the First in 1602, who delighted to be called a *pacifick King*; and a little after his access to the *Throne* made Peace with the King of *Spain*: However, he still maintained a fair Correspondence with the *revolted Hollanders*; and as they had put into the Hands of Queen *Elizabeth* the strong Fortresses of the *Brill*, *Flushing*, and *Ramechins*, as Cautionary Towns for the Money she had lent them; so King *James* kept them Garrisoned with *English* Soldiers till the Year 1616, when he delivered them up to the *States-General* *. Whereas, had he looked upon the *resisting Dutch-men* as involved in the Guilt of a Damnable Rebellion, he ought in *Conscience* and *Honour* to have surrendered them to the King of *Spain*, their rightful Owner.

I find it affirmed by an unexceptionable Historian, That the *chiefest Strength* of the United Provinces consisted in *English* and *Scotish Soldiers*, who were in their Army †; this was in the Year 1607 ‡, when King *James* had been several Years possessed of the *English* Crown. An Argument that the *British* Subjects were permitted to List themselves in the *Dutch* Service, which I hope our *Government* would not have allowed of, had they looked upon this as the *aiding* and *abetting* a pack of *Rebels*, and the hardening them in a DAMNING SIN.

IN the Year 1609, I find mention of 4000 *English*, commanded by Sir *Edward Cecil* at the *Siege* of *Juliers*, assisting the *Dutch* in the recovery of that Town out of the *Spaniards* Hands;

* *Hevlins Cosmography*, Edit. 2d, p. 385
 † *Bentivoglio's Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, p. 373
 ‡ Ibid. page 369.

† *Bentivoglio's Hist. of the Wars of Flanders*, p. 373
 ‡ Ibid. page 369.

Hands *; and in the Year 1624, four *English* Regiments of Foot, of 1500 Men each, were sent into *Holland*, to countenance the same *Resisters* †. One of the *Colonels* commanding these Regiments was the Lord *Willoughby*, since Earl of *Lindsey*, who was so far from being a *Puritan* or a *Roundhead*, that he was King *Charles* his General in our late Civil War, and lost his Life whilest fighting under the Royal Banner ‡.

ABOUT this time there were Commotions in *France*, and the Duke *de Soubise*, one of the Protestants Generals, being routed, made a shift to escape into *England*; and though he failed in his Attempt of perswading King *James* publicly to espouse their Quarrel, yet the *French* Historian assures us, That he was so much favoured by the *English* in general, that they gave him such considerable Succours as enabled him to lade ten or a dozen Vessels with all sorts of Necessaries for the Relief of *Rochel*, at that time Besieged by the King's Forces ||. It can hardly be conceived, that this Preparation should be made without the Connivance of our Court. I must leave the Reader to judge, whether the Instances produced are not a Demonstration, that Mr *Agate*'s slavish Doctrine was a Stranger in the Gates of *English-men*, during the Reign of King *James*.

TO him succeeded K. *Charles* the First, in the Year 1625, who being disgusted with the *Spaniard*, resolved upon a War with that Crown; but having dissolved his Parliament abruptly, (who were willing to supply him in a Legal Way) because they clashed with his mighty Favourite the Duke of *Buckingham*, his ill-advised Council perswaded him to raise Money by way of *Loan*; that is, particular Men had Privy-Seals sent to them, requiring them to Lend the King such sums of Money as his Commissioners thought them capable of bearing. This had a harsh sound in the Ears of free-born *English-men*, and therefore, that they might be charmed into a Compliance, his Majesty was advised to tune the *Pulpits*, as Dr *Heylin* calls it; and accordingly Instructions were ordered to be drawn up, in order to be communicated to all the *Bishops* and *Clergy* in *England*, according to which they were to govern themselves in recommending this *Loan* unto their people. The person appointed to prepare these Instructions was Bishop *Laud*, and I hope Mr *Agate* will pronounce him a true *Church-man*. This Talk he performed to the Satisfaction of the Court, amongst other

* *History of England*, Vol. 2, p. 683 † *Ibid.* p. 787

‡ *Ibid.* p. 790 || *Histoire de P Edit ile Nantes*, Tome 2d, liv. 8.

other Arguments to excite the *Generosity* of the *Subjects*, the Necessity of putting a Check to the growing Greatness of the *House of Austria* and *King of Spain*, who had over-run almost all *Germany*, was principally insisted on; *Nor can it be thought* (say these Instructions) *the Low-Countries can HOLD OUT LONG AGAINST Him, if he once become Lord of the upper parts* *. The Inhabitants of the *Low-Countries* had at this time been struggling hard against the *Spanish Power* for more than 40 Years, with little Intermission. And our *Bishops* and *Clergy* were so far from thinking them guilty of a *Damning Sin*, that they exhorted their people to a *Liberal Contribution*, to enable them to *hold out long*, or, in other Terms, to persevere in that *Resistance* which they were then making to their *Hereditary Monarch*. It is further worthy our Observation, that *Sybothorp*, *Manwaring*, and the *Laudean* action, were most Zealous to promote this *Loan*, whilst the *Puritans* and *Low-Churchmen* were more on the Reserve, as disliking the *Arbitrary Methods* made use of, in raising Money without Consent of Parliament.

A little after this a War broke out betwixt *England* and *France*, at the same time the *Reformed* in that Kingdom having received *Encouragement* from hence, and seeing the most solemn Treaties violated by their *prfidious Enemies*, endeavoured to re-establish their Affairs by force of Arms: Upon this the *King of France* laid Siege to *Rochel*, a populous and wealthy City, and so prodigiously strong, that the Enemy could not reduce it but by Starving it into a Surrender. During this siege, the *English* made great preparations to relieve the Town, and several Fleets were sent out to that purpose, though all without effect. The Bishop of *Sarum* tells us, *That in the Year 1628, during the siege of Rochel, there was a publick Fast appointed upon that Account over England; and the Besieged were prayed for as our Brethren, and SUCCESS to them was by that Form prayed for: I have* (says his Lordship) *the Form of Prayer* †. We are told by a *French Historian*, that whilst the *English Fleet* lay before the Town, the *French King* did, in his own person, every Day visit those *prodigious Works* which were built a good way out in the Sea,

* Heylins *Life of A-bp. Laud*, p. 163
Sarum's Vindication, &c. p. 70

† *The Bishop of*

Sea, to hinder any succours from being thrown into it †. The *Rocquellers* at that time did certainly *resist* their *King*, if *shooting of Musquets* and *firing of Cannon* against him and his *Army* may deserve that term; and yet all the *Bishops* and *Clergy* of *Englnd* did beg of *God* to give them *Success* in this very *Enterprize*. Certainly, if our *Words* and *Thoughts* should at any time harmonize, 'tis when we lye prostrate before the *Supreme Majesty*, that *God* who sees the secret Springs and Principles, by which we are moved, and whose *Eyes* can penetrate the dark *Recesses* of *Humane Souls*. Did our *Clergy* look upon these *Resisters* engaged in a *Damning Sin*, when they prayed *God* to SUCCEED them in it? This would be such a cursed *Hypocrisy*, such a *prophane Mocking* with the *Almighty*, that we cannot in *Charity* or *Justice* accuse them of it.

TO King *Charles* the First succeeded his Son of the same Name, during whose Reign the Doctrines of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance* were recommended in some Pulpits as so many Articles of Faith.

HOWEVER, though the *Courtiers* encouraged the preaching up this Doctrine for *Reasons of State*; yet I think it may be demonstrated, that those who sat at the Helm did not themselves believe one Word of it; and that by their own Conduct in Relation to other *Kingdoms*. Some Years before the *Restoration*, the *Portuguese* revolted from the *King of Spain*, to whom they had 'worn Allegiance, and to whose Ancestors they had been subject for 60 Years successively, having shaken off the *Spanish Yoak*, they advanced *John Duke of Braganza* to the Throne, and invested him with the Royal Purple.

IN the Year 1662, King *Charles* 2d married the Princess *Catharine*, Daughter of King *John* lately deceased, and sent over a stout Band of *English* Soldiers to the Assistance of his New Relations *, by whose Valour and Resolution the *Spanish* Armies were entirely defeated, and the *House of Braganza* established in the Throne.

IF it be said, *That in this Instance, the English did only assist the right Heir against an Usurper, I have these two things to offer:*

I. IN

† Sa Majesté n'en passa pas un jour, qu'elle ne Visitast la Digue, & tous les Travaux, &c. Jean de Serres Inventaire general de l'Histoire de France, p. 1063. * Hist. of Portugal, p. 503, 509, &c.

1. IN the Year 1580, *Henry* King of *Portugal* having no Issue, and foreseeing that after his decease there would be several Competitors for the *Crown*, (of whom *Philip* 2d, King of *Spain*, his Sisters Son, was one) with the consent of his *Cortes*, or Parliament, appointed a Committee of *Lawyers* and *Statesmen*, to govern the Kingdom upon his Death, and declare the Right of Succession. All persons were sworn to stand to the Determination of these Judges, and the Duke of *Braganza* amongst the rest *. A little after this, King *Henry* died, and some time before his Death, declared himself publickly for *K. Philip* †. After his decease, the Governours gave their *Definitive Sentence* in favour of the said King ‡; And the *Dutchess* of *Braganza* (from whom the present Kings of *Portugal* do claim) *surrendred also all her Interest and Pretensions to him* ||. And all this was followed by a peaceable possession of the Kingdom for 60 Years successively by the said *Philip*, his Son and Grandson Kings of *Spain*. I must leave it to the *Civilians*, and *Dealers* in *Politicks*, whether all this will not give a Valid Title.

2. BUT supposing the King of *Spain* to be never so much an *Ursurper*, yet the Family of *Braganza* (for whom our *English* fought) were not the next Heirs to the *Crown*, nor could they claim it by virtue of the Right Line of Succession. The Duke of *Braganza* was descended from *Catharine*, second Daughter to Prince *Edward*, fourth Son to *Emanuel* King of *Portugal*. On the other hand, the Dukes of *Parma* are descended from *Mary* Eldest Daughter to the said *Edward* |||. And every person knows, that the Posterity of the *Elder* Daughter ought to inherit before that of the *Younger*; so that King *Charles* and his Church of *England* Council (for I hope Mr *Agate* will allow that Character to the Earl of *Clarendon*, at that time prime Minister) did aid and assist the *Portuguese*, in setting up and maintaining a King of their own chusing, who was not the next Heir to the *Crown* in the Right Line of Succession †||. This is Matter of Fact, and undeniable.

IN 1656 died *John* King of *Portugal*, leaving behind him two sons, *Alphonso* and *Peter*, both Minors, under the Tutition of their Mother the *Queen Regent*. In 1663, King *Alphonso*, the Elder, took the Reins of Government into his own Hands; but being of an extravagant Humour, and guilty of
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* *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 352 † *Ibid.* p. 353 ‡ *Ibid.* p. 357
 || *Heylins Cosmography*, Edit. 2. p. 279. ||| *Ib.* p. 280. †|| *Hist of Portugal*, p. 563.

some unaccountable odd Actions, which I believe were aggravated by his Enemies, to make him Odious. He was deposed by the *Assembly of Estates* in 1668, and condemned to a *perpetual imprisonment*; whilst his Younger Brother *Peter* was made Regent of the Kingdom, and at last King *.

IN this mighty *Revolution* (which was far from being so *Just* or *Necessary* as that in *Great Britain* some 20 Years ago) the *King of England* was one of the first who *acknowledged* the *New Regent*; and by the Interposition of his Ambassadors, the Earl of *Sandwich* and Sir *Robert Southwell*, a Peace was presently concluded between the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; His *Britannick Majesty* being declared the Mediator and Guarantee of it †. So that if the *Spaniard* should have attempted to restore King *Alfonso* to his former Dignity, the *English*, by virtue of this *Guarantee*, stood obliged to assist the Prince Regent against his deposed Sovereign and Elder Brother: This is a Demonstration, that the prime Managers in King *Charles* his Reign, who encouraged the Preaching up the *absolute Unlawfulness of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever*, did never intend to govern themselves by such a rigid Maxim. This is further evident by their Demeanour towards his Brother and Successor,

K. *James* the 2d, whose Zeal for Popery, and Love of Arbitrary Power, tempted him to make large Breaches in the *Constitution* of the Kingdom, both *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical*: Upon this the Prince of *Orange* was invited over, who came with a well-appointed Army, and being assisted by all sorts of people, the late *Revolution* did ensue. But how is this reconcilable with Mr. *Agate's* Notions? Our *Adversaries* (says this *Eccho* of *Sacheverell* in his Declamation on *January* 30th) *object to us the late Revolution; but the Prince himself has answered this, for he declared against Resistance*. Certainly this Gentleman must have a very Contemptible Opinion of his own *Auditory*, when he supposes them so despicably credulous to believe his idle Rant before their own Eyes. Are there not Thousands still living within the Walls, who saw those armed Legions which passed through the City; who saw the Church-yard crowded with Canons and Mortars, and the River covered with Ships full of Warlike Stores and Ammunition? And can any of these be so abandoned of Common Reason, as to imagine, that the Prince intended no Opposition to King

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* *Hist. of Portugal*, p. 563. *England*, Vol. 3. p. 270.

† *Ibid.* p. 564. *History of*

James's Forces? Besides, had he *declared against Resistance*, as *Mr. Agate* most foolishly and falsely affirms, would any *Gentlemen* have joyned him, to be sacrificed to the *Resentments* of a *Bigotted Prince*, and that without Remedy? Would any have Lifted under his Banner to be cut in pieces without *Resistance*? A Man must first shake Hands with *Humanity* it self, before such a senseless Imagination can find any Harbour in his Bosom.

'TIS true, the *Prince* declared, that he came not to conquer and enslave the Nation, as was suggested by his Enemies; Nor can it be imagined (says his Highness) that those who have invited us, can join in a wicked Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own Lawful Titles to their Honours, Estates and interests *. The plain meaning of which is only this, that his Design was not to make us *Vassals* to the Dutch, and divide the *Gentlemens Estates* amongst his own Troopers, as *William* surnamed the Conqueror had done. But that he should declare against resisting King *James* and his Ministers, who were at that time the Highest Powers in the Nation, this is a groundless Fiction, and I fear a premeditated wilful Falshood.

THE Truth on't is, though the very word *Resistance* be not found in his Declaration, yet there be other Expressions which do necessarily suppose and infer it. In his First Declaration, dated Octob. 10. having enumerated those Grievances in Church and State which he came over to redress, He invited and required all Persons whatsoever to come and ASSIST him, in order to the executing his Design, AGAINST all such as should endeavour to OPPOSE him †. And tis impossible this should be done without resisting such Opposers. In a Second Declaration, which disclaims a Design of Conquest, His Highness thus expresses himself: After we had printed our Declaration, we have understood that the Subverters of the Religion and Laws of these Kingdoms, hearing of our Preparations to ASSIST the People AGAINST them, have begun to retract some of the Arbitrary Powers that they had assumed--- The Sense of their Guilt, and a Distrust of their Force, have induced them to offer to the City of London some seeming Relief from their great Oppressions †. Now it was King *James*, who had sent for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen

* Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 493. † Ibid.

dermen of London, when terrified with the Noise of an Invasion, and told them with his own Mouth, That he would restore their Ancient Charters to them *. 'Twas he and his Council who had retracted their Arbitrary Powers in relation to the Bishop of London, and Magdalen-Colledge. These are the Subverters of whom the Prince speaks, and he declares to all the World, That he came to assist the People of England against them. But how could this be done without relinishing those Oppressors? Should the Queen's General in Spain declare, that he was sent over by his Mistress to assist the well-affected people against the Duke of Anjou and his Faction; is not this the same thing as to declare for Resistance against the said Duke? The same must be said in relation to the Prince of Orange.

ADD to all this, that Mens Intentions may be as fully declared by their Actions as by their Words: When His Highness brought over an Army of 14000 Men, this was a more full and ample Declaration of his Design to awe King James into a Compliance, than any Words that he was capable of using. Beside, there was Resistance actually made by his Troops at Wincanton and Reading, where several Men were killed and wounded †: And when he came near London, the Dutch Guards marched through St. James's Park, with lighted Match, and in a fighting posture, in order to relieve the Posts at White-Hall ‡; and would have cut King James his Guards in pieces had they not dislodged, or lost their own Lives in the Attempt.

AFTER all this, what can we think of this Gentleman, who in Defiance to this Notoriety of Fact, durst tell his Congregation, That the Prince of Orange declared against Resistance? Nothing can be more Astonishing than the Confidence of such a Declaimer, unless it be the incorrigible Silliness of those, who are resolved to believe his Furious Rants before their own Sense and Reason.

UPON this Occasion, it may not be amiss to consider what was said and done by our Nobles and Gentry, who Invited over the Prince, and who acted in Concert with him when he came. One of the chief of these was the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Devonshire, who with divers of the Nobility and Gentry Rendezvouz'd at Nottingham, where they subscribed a Declaration, in which they thus expressed themselves: He

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* Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 490 † Ibid. p. 498, 499
 ‡ Ibid. p. 503

own it Rebellion to resist a King that governs by Law; but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law, and to RESIST such an One we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a Necessary Defence, &c. * A few Days after this, the Princess of Denmark, (now our most Gracious Queen) the present Bishop of London, with others of the First Rank, retired to Nottingham, and actually joined those Gentlemen, who declared their Resolution to resist in the most express and formal manner †. Fain would I ask our profound Casuist, Whether the Princess and Bishop were guilty of a Damning Sin in that Affair? For he must necessarily condemn his Doctrine or his Sovereign.

WHILST the Prince was in Exeter, he was joined by the Gentlemen of the Eastern Counties, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir William Portman, Col. Lutterel, with many others of great Estate and Interest, who were never in their Lives suspected of Whiggism, much less of Fanaticism: These Gentlemen entered into an Association, in which they did engage to God, and one another, that if any Attempts were made upon His Highness's Person, we will pursue (say they) not only those that made them, but all their Adherents, and all we find in Arms against us, with the utmost severity of just REVENGE in their Ruin and Destruction ‡. Certainly this is declaring for Resistance with a Vengeance.

ABOUT the same time the Lord Lovelace, coming with a Train of Gentlemen to joyn the Prince, was intercepted and taken prisoner at Cirencester; but not before he had resisted unto Blood, there being Ten or Twelve Men killed in the Scuffle §.

During these Transactions, the Cittadel of Plymouth was secured for the Prince, the Earl of Huntington, and others, who had King James's Commission, being made prisoners. The Earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise forced the Duke of Beaufort to surrender to them the City of Bristol |||. The Earl of Danby (now Duke of Leeds) wrested York out of the Hands of the Duke of New-Castle. Hull was surprized by Col. Copley, and the Governour made a prisoner ||||. And to conclude all, the two Arch-bps. Sancroft and Lamplugh, the Bps. of Winchester, St. Asaph, Ely, Rochester, and Peterborough,

* History of K. Will. 3d, V. 1, p. 368. † Ibid. p. 369.

‡ History of England, V. 3, p. 496

V. 1, p. 358

|| Ibid. p. 367

|| History of K. Will. 3.

|||| Ibid. p. 368

borough, met at the Guild-Hall, London, with several Temporal Lords, where they declared for the Prince of Orange; telling the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, That he had undertaken to rescue them from Popery and Slavery *. Which how it could be done without resisting such as would enslave them, is hard to be conceived. They also turned Col. Skelton, who had K. James's Commission to be Lieutenant of the Tower, out of his place, and put the Lord Lucas in his room †. If Mr Agate will consult our Law-Books, or Lawyers, they will tell him, That the holding a Fort or Castle against the King, [much more then the wresting of them out of his Hands,] is a Levying War against him ‡. And sure, the levying War against the King is resisting of him, if there be any such thing in Nature. And this is what A-bp. Sancroft, with many of his Brethren, were guilty of, and that before the Abdication. But will Mr. Agate therefore pronounce them to be no true Church-men? This may serve for a Specimen of what was done and said by the Prince of Orange, and his Adherents.

IF it be demanded, Whether our English Clergy were merely passive in that great Turn of Affairs? We are assured of the contrary by Dr. Atterbury, Dean of Carlile, against whose Testimony Mr Agate durst make no Exception. Speaking of the Lords of the Articles in Scotland, he tells us, 'This was thought a Badge of Slavery by the Scotch; and therefore, towards the beginning of this Revolution, when the Chains were knocked off every where from His Majesties Subjects, this Committee was abolished. And had the English Clergy then lain under any undue Restrain, they too might have hoped for a Relief from it, as soon as any Men; since none had been more Instrumental than they in PROMOTING the Common Deliverance †. But how did they promote it? Was it by preaching up Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance? By telling people, that 'twas not lawful, upon any pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against their Lawful King, or those that were Commissioned by him? And that they that did so should receive to themselves Damnation? Had this Doctrine been preached and believed then, instead of knocking off the Nations Chains, it would have rivetted them the faster on us; and King James, with one Troop of his dear Irish-Jays, might have cut the Throats of all such as stood in the

* History of England, V. 3, p. 500.
 † 174. Hulse's Plea of the Crown, p. 54.
 ‡ An Eng. Convocation, &c. Edit. 2. p. 392

† Ibid. p. 51.
 ‡ The Rights, &c.

the Gap, to prevent a Deluge of Popery and Slavery from breaking in upon us.

THAT Learned *Dean* who gives us this Account of the *Clergies* Conduct, wrote a Book in the last Reign, to prove that, according to our *present Constitution*, the *Convocation* has a Right of *meeting* and *sitting*, as often as a *New Parliament* is summoned, as also of Deliberating about Ecclesiastical Affairs, without License under the *Great Seal*. He urges, amongst other things, 'That the *Convocation*, sitting with the *Parliament*, might be useful to the State, as well as to the *Church*; that so they [the *Lower House of Convocation*,] may be in Heart, and always at Hand, to stand up with them, [the *House of Commons*,] in behalf of Liberty, when it shall be attacked, and to RESIST a growing Tyranny either in *Church* or *State*, as it may happen. For Arbitrary Government is a spreading and contagious thing *. I don't think there is any *Doctor* in *England* subtil enough to let us know, how we may resist Tyranny, without resisting the Tyrant: Which is all that Mr. *Hoadly*, or any of his principles contend for. From the general Approbation that this Book hath met with amongst the *Clergy*, I may reasonably infer, that seeing one great Use of a *Convocation* is to resist Tyrants, that therefore the *Clergy* cannot look upon all Resistance to be unlawful; for sure they cannot be fond of a Liberty to damn their own souls, nor yet be angry when they are denied it.

IF we cross over into *Ireland*, to see how Affairs were managed there, tis known to all the World how *Londonderry* defended it self against King *James* in person, the Garrison being commanded by Mr. *Walker*, a Clergyman. In the Year 1690, King *William*, Prince *George*, abundance of the Nobility and Gentry, with a gallant Army, were waisted over into that Kingdom, where, on *July* 1st, they fought that memorable Battle at the *Boyne*, when King *James*, who commanded the *Irish* Army in his own person, was entirely defeated, and so driven out of all his Dominions †. I kope Mr *Agate* will allow this to be a resisting of him. I have now by me the Form of Prayer that was used *March* 12th 1689, being a publick Fast-Day, appointed, To implore God's Blessing in the preservation of His Majesties sacred person, and the prosperity of

* *Rights of Convocation*, Ed. 2d, p. 137; † Note, thro' the Printer's Error, there be in this Book two pages marked 137, at a little distance. My Quotation is in the first.

‡ *History of England*, Vol. 3, p. 558, &c.

of his Arms in Ireland. There is one Collect bearing this Title, *A prayer for the King, to be constantly used during His Majesties Expedition*: In which are these Expressions, 'Almighty and most Gracious GOD, who hast been pleased to raise up thy Servant King *William*---- Vouchsafe thy Gracious Presence with him throughout his Expedition; cover his Head in the Day of Battle; ble's him with VICTORY and all good SUCCESS; bring him back in safety, to our Comfort, &c. So that whilst our *English* Soldiers were shooting their Musquets and firing their Cannon against King *James* and his Army, all the Clergy in *England*, except the *Nonjurors*, were at the same time begging God to give them *Victory* and *Success* in that very Enterprize. If they believed this *Resistance* Lawful, then Mr. *Agate's* slavish Principles were not the *Doctrine* of the Church at that time: If they thought it Unlawful, how could they pray to God for its success? This would be such a scandalous Hypocrisy, that I cannot be so Uncharitable as to accuse them of it.

NAY, to this very Day, God is praised in the Church of *England*, for the successful Expedition of the Prince of *Orange*. Since the Year 1692, some Additions have been made to the *Form* of Prayer used on the Fifth of *November*, and in the *Communion* Service of that Day there is this Expression: *We bless thee for giving his late Majesty [King William] a safe Arrival here, and for making all OPPOSITION fall before him, till he became our King and Governour*. I hope it will not be pretended that there was *Opposition* without *Resistance*, or that there could be *Opposition* on one part, without any on the other. Mr. *Agate* has told the World in print, that *Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever is an accursed Principle* *. And yet this very same Gentleman can publicly bless God, for sending over the Prince of *Orange* to resist King *James*, and making all *Opposition* fall before him. See! see here the Conscience, Honour and Sincerity of a High Flyer! And what little Reason he has to object *Occasional Conformity* to other people! See here the Blessed Harmony betwixt the Principles and Prayers of that Faction, which has filled the Nation with Uproars and Tumults!

There is one Whimsy more which Mr. *Agate* made use of on *January* 30. as well as at other times, to perswade his credulous Disciples, that the True Sons of the Church did not resist King *James*, and that is, *That he voluntarily Abdicated the Throne*. As if he, good Man! were so tired with the Weight

* *More Plain Truth*, p. 6.

Weight of a Crown, that he was very willing to throw that Burden upon his Son-in-law : For this is the sense this *Gentleman* would put upon the word *Abdication*. But can any Man in his Wits believe, that that Unfortunate Prince was really *willing* to relinquish Three Flourishing Kingdoms, with a standing Revenue of Two Millions a Year, to be a Pensioner to the *French King*, and depend upon a Strangers Courtesy for his subsistence ? On the other Hand, did he not write Letters to the Privy-Council, to both Houses of Parliament in *England* and *Scotland* ; in all which he manifested his great Desire to Return, and laid Claim to the Allegiance of his *quondam* Subjects *. But I can hardly think any Man so void of Reason as to imagine, that King *James* left his Dominions with a full Consent of Will.

I confess, that it was voted by the *Convention*, That he had *Abdicated the Government* : But as the word *Abdicate* was seldom made use of before that time, and it being first introduced by the *Lower House*, tis all the Reason in the World we should have recourse to them, to understand the *meaning* of it, and in what *sense* they took it.

THE *Lords* and *Commons* had several Conferences about this very Word ; the Managers for the latter were Mr. *Somers*, at this Day *Lord President* of Her Majesties most Honourable Privy-Council, and *Serjeant Holt*, late Lord Chief-Justice of the *Queens-Bench* : Both Men of Renown and Eminence, upon the account of their great Abilities. But let us hear the Interpretation which they have given : ‘ The word *Abdicate* (says the first of these great Men) signifies entirely
 ‘ to renounce, throw off, disown, relinquish any thing, whether it be done by Words, or in Writing, or by doing such
 ‘ Acts as are inconsistent with the holding or retaining of the
 ‘ thing ; which the *Commons* take to be the present Case ||. Concluding his Learned Oration in these Words : ‘ By avowing to Govern by a *Despotick Power*, unknown to the Constitution, and inconsistent with it, he (*King James*) hath renounced to be a King according to the Law, such a King as he swore to be at the Coronation, such a King to whom the Allegiance of an *English* Subject is due ; and hath set up another kind of Dominion, which is to all Intents an *Abdication*, or Abandoning of his Royal Title, as fully as if it had been done by Express Words †.

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* *Hist. of K. Will. V. 1. Appendix p. 17* || *Hist. of Engl. Vol. 3. p. 511* † *Ibid. 512*

TO the same purpose the late Lord Chief-Justice delivered himself in that Famous Conference: *If your Lordships (says he) mean a voluntary express Act, or formal Deed of Renunciation, I confess I know of none in this Case. Your Lordships may please to observe, the Government and Magistracy is under a Trust, and any acting contrary to that Trust is a renouncing of the Trust, though it be not a renouncing by formal Deed; for it is a plain Declaration by Act and Deed, though not in Writing, that he, who hath the Trust, acting contrary, is a Disclaimor of the Trust. This is so plain (says he) that I need no more but repeat it, and leave it with your Lordships, that the doing an Act inconsistent with the Being and End of a Thing, or that shall not answer the End of that Thing, but quite the contrary, that shall be construed an Abdication and formal Renunciation of that Thing*.*

THIS was the Interpretation given by the Commons, and in this the Lords acquiesced. And by this it is evident, that by King James's Abdication the Parliament did not mean a voluntary Relinquishing, or willing Resignation of his Crown; but his taking those Courses which were destructive of the very Ends of Government, and inconsistent with the Trust reposed in him as the Supreme Magistrate. And had they intended any thing further by that Vote, they had made themselves Ridiculous in the Eyes of all Mankind. And so much for King William.

TO him succeeded her present Majesty, and that upon the Revolution-Bottom; who is so far from desiring to make Her Subjects Slaves, that it has been the great Design of Her Triumphant Reign to knock off those Chains, which the Mighty Nimrod on t^other side the Water hath been endeavouring to rivet upon his own Subjects, as well as on his Neighbours. There was scarce any thing made a greater Noise in the World, a few Years ago, than the Insurrection of the Protestants in the Cevennes, a Mountainous Countrey in the South Part of France: Who being harrass'd and worn out by the intolerable Vexations of the Popish Clergy, and their Adherents, took Arms, and stood upon their Guard against their inhumane bloody Persecutors. And being befriended by those difficult and narrow Passes, which gave access to their craggy Habitations, they defended themselves against the French King's
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* Hist. of England, Vol. 3. p. 512.

Troops with unparallel'd Bravery, and for some time with astonishing Success. If we consult the *Annals of Queen Anne*, we shall find, that during these Commotions, it was resolved by Her Majesty and Council, That since all Ways to relieve the Cevenois were shut up by Land, the Fleet that was to go into the Mediterranean, under the Command of Admiral Shovel, should endeavour to carry them a Supply of Arms, Ammunition and Money*. Accordingly several French Refugees were sent into France, to acquaint these poor oppressed People with the Queen's good Intentions. But being for the most part intercepted, they could not deliver their Message. Only Mr. David Flotard had the good Fortune to return safe, after he had staid six whole Days among the Cevenois, 'And acquainted them with the Signals that the English Fleet would make, and how they should answer them by other Signals†. These Measures being concerted, there were 3 French Gentlemen sent on Board the English Fleet, to be Witnesses of the Queen's good Intentions to relieve their Brethren. In order hereunto, the Admiral detached two Men of War from the main Body, the *Pembroke* and the *Tartar*, with a good Quantity of Arms, Ammunition and Money; who entered the Gulf of *Narbonne*, and approaching as near to the Shore as they were able, 'They there made the Signals, as they were directed from Court, under the LORD NOTTINGHAM's OWN HAND‡. But the Signals were not answered by the *Camisars*, for the French Court, having Intelligence of their Design, had taken effectual Measures to prevent it.

I hope Mr. *Agate* will allow the Noble Peer just now mentioned to be a true Son of the Church; I am therefore very willing to be informed by him, Whether that Lord, with the rest of Her Majesties Council, were guilty of a Damning Sin, when they did all that possibly they could to abet, support and aid those very Persons, who were then defending themselves against their Persecuting Monarch, and his Bloody Agents?

IN the Year 1706, A Resolution was taken by the Queen of Great-Britain and the States-General to disress the common Enemy, and attempt the reducing his Exorbitant Power, by making a Descent on the French Coasts; to this end a fine Body of Troops, with a vast quantity of Arms and Am-

* *Annals of Q. Anne*, V. 3. p. 11.
† *Ibid.* p. 104.

† *Ibid.* p. 102.

Ammunition were embarked, under the Command of the Earl of Rivers. But the Fleet lying Wind-bound for two Months in Torbay, and the Winter season advancing, that Expedition was laid aside, and the Forces otherwise employed. However, we have upon Record the *Manifesto* intended to be publish'd by the Earl of Rivers upon his Landing on the *French Coasts*, in which are these following Expressions---- *We therefore make known by these presents, That the High Allies have no manner of Purpose to make Conquests, or commit Devastations; but, on the contrary, that they design to employ their Forces, only for the Protection of such of the French Nation, as shall take up ARMS, in Order to restore the Parliaments of the said Nation, the Nobility and People to their Ancient Rights, and make those of the Reformed Religion, enjoy the Priviledges stipulated by the Edict of Nants.---- For these Reasons We most earnestly exhort all those whose Heart is truly French, and wish to see their Country delivered from the hard Slavery in which it has groan'd for so many Years past, to improve the Opportunity that now offers, by JOYNING themselves with the Troops of the High Allies ** : This Manifesto was drawn up by the Order of Her Majesty, with an intent to be publish'd in France had not the Design been disappointed.

UPON this I would willingly be inform'd by Mr. Agate what he will pronounce of the *Queen* and Her Council, and whether he will allow them to be *Members* of the Church of England? For certainly they would never have invited and encouraged the poor Protestants in France, and others of that Nation to defend themselves against the *Violences* and *Cruelties* of their grand Oppressor, had they look'd upon *Non-Resistance* in that Absolute and Unlimited Sense, in which 'tis preach'd up by Mr. Agate, to be an indispensable Duty. Did they look upon all Arms in a Subjects Hands to be *unlawful*, besides *Prayers* and *Tears*, when they sent 'em over *Swords* and *Musquets*? If the taking up of Arms in Defence of their *Religious* and *Civil Liberties* be a *damning Sin*, then they that prompt them to, and assist them in it, must be the Authors of their Ruine, and the Causes of their *Damnation*. But will the Gentleman draw up so black a Charge as this against his Sovereign? I never heard that any of our *Bishops* did ever remonstrate to Her Majesty, that Her Design to relieve the

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* Appendix to the Annals of Queen Anne, Vol. 5. p. 72.

poor *Hugonots* in such a manner, was a Conspiracy against *Christ's Laws*, and destructive to the Souls of Men.

THUS have I made good the *Province* I undertook, and demonstrated, That in every *Reign* the most *Eminent* Members of the *Church of England* have, in Cases of extreme *Necessity*, allow'd Subjects to defend their *Liberties* and *Religion* against the unjust *Invasions* of their own *natural Princes*: In performing of which Task, I have only acted the part of an *Historian*, Nor do I think my self obliged to *Vindicate* every Matter of Fact I have related, only I beg the *Reader* to take Notice, that the *Authors* I have produc'd are of a most established *Reputation*, not like those *Grubstreet Pamphleteers* who have furnished my *Adversary* with so much *Scandal*, and who are ashamed to set their Names to their own *Libels*. By what I have produc'd it plainly appears, either that those rigid *Notions*, of which I have been speaking, were not the standing *Doctrines* of true *Churchmen*, or else that they never practised their own *Doctrine*, and Mr. *Agate* shall take his Choice.

'TIS insinuated, indeed by such as have a mind to foment *Jealousies*, and create *Divisions* in the *Nation*, that the *Whigs* and *Dissenters* do embrace *Republican Principles*, and would fain reduce the *British Monarchy* to a new fangled *Commonwealth*. But is there any real Ground for such a *Calumny*? Not the least shadow of a *Reason* as far as I can see. I have proved in a former *Treatise*, that both the *English* and *Scottish Presbyterians* did earnestly protest against the Subversion of the *Government* by *Cromwel*, and did contribute their good Offices to restore the *Royal Family*. But we have a fresher instance, which must silence this *Obloquy*, would Men but act as becomes *Reasonable Creatures*. When King *James* broke the *Original Contract*, and left the *Kingdom*, this Question was strenuously debated in the *House of Peers*; *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent or a King*? If the *Reader* consults the *Records* of that Time, he will find those *Noble Peers* arguing for a *Regent*, who are at this Day look'd upon as at the greatest Distance from *Whigish Principles*, 'And of all the [then] *Bishops* none but those of *London* and *Bristol* were for a King *'. As for the *House of Commons*, I find the late *Sr. Edward Seymour* at the Head of those *Devonshire Gentlemen*, who Voted for a *Regent* †. On the other hand

* *Appendix to Hist. of King William. Vol. I. p. 21. † Ibid. p. 61.*

hand, the *Low Churchmen* and *Dissenters* were unanimous for a King. Yet see now the Modesty of our *High-Flyers*! that very Party which were against filling up the Vacant Throne with a *Monarch*, will pretend forsooth to be the only Friends to *Monarchy*. Whilest those who were hearty and zealous for a King, must be stigmatized with the odious Name of *Republicans*, and Enemies to the *Kingly Government*. This is a Mystery I am not able to unriddle, unless it be, that they who have a mind to get themselves *In* by turning others *Out*, must offer something that is *Popular*, though they know it to be *false*. So much I am certain of, that I may avouch for all the *Dissenters* of my Acquaintance, and believe for all others, that they look upon a mixt *Monarchy*, as ours is, to be the Best *Form of Government* in the whole World.

'TIS objected further by our *Passive Obedience Men*, That the Whigs and Dissenters pretend a Power of calling their Sovereign to Account for every Mismanagement, and to have recourse to Arms on every frivolous Pretext. But these are Principles we do as much detest and abhor as Mr. *Agate*. We count no Curses, no Execrations too bitter for him who shall involve the Nation in Blood and Confusion, because his Ambitious Expectations are not gratified, or even because there may be some Mistakes in Government. We look upon Magistrates as God's *Vicegerents* upon Earth, and that they ought to be Respected and Obeyed by us in Lawful Things. We think nothing but extreme Necessity can justify Resistance to them. I have been certainly informed, That even Dr. *Sacheverell's* Counsel did acknowledge, at the Bar of the Lords, That in such Cases 'twas lawful for Subjects to resist, and that this was the Case of the Late Revolution. And I know no Dissenter that pleads for more than what these Learned Gentlemen have granted on that Head.

WHAT I object to Mr. *Agate*, is his affirming in the Pulpit, That though a Prince should endeavour to bring in POPERY, he must not be resisted, and that under pain of Damnation. By which Assertion he DAMNS the Late Revolution, and all concerned in it, the Queen Herself not excepted. By a Statute made 1 W. & M. Seff. 2. Cap. 2. 'tis enacted, 'That if any Person shall profess the Popish Religion, or marry a Papist, he shall be for ever incapable to Inherit or ENJOY the Crown and Government of this Realm; and in every such Case, the People of these Realms shall be, and are hereby,

by absolved of their Allegiance. Thus says the Statute. On the other Hand, this Gentleman pronounces *Damnation* on those that shall *resist* such a *Prince*. So that we are come to a fine pass, when an *Act of Parliament* shall be blown off by the Breath of a bold *Pulpiteer*.

THE *Protestant Religion* is like to be hope fully secured when those *Barriers*, which the Wisdom of the Nation hath raised to keep out *Poper*y, shall be thus overthrown by one Seditious Blast. The truth on't is, the Doctrines which our *High Flyers* preach up, and the Tumults which they raise, seem calculated to this very End, Even to pave a Way for the *Fre-tender*, with all the blessed Appurtenances of *French Politicks* and *Religion*, to make his Triumphant Entrance into these Kingdoms.

THOUGH my Business be only to give an *Historical Relation* of Matters of Fact, yet, lest Mr. *Agate* should complain that I have taken no Notice of his Argument, it may not be amiss to make a few Reflections on that *Text*, on which he builds his harsh ill-favoured *Doctrine*, viz. Rom. 13. 2. *Who-soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and he that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation*. On which I would crave leave to Remark:

1. THE *Greek Word* ἐξουσία, which in this Chapter is translated *Power*, most properly and commonly signifies *lawful Authority*; to resist which, I account a Damnable Sin as well as Mr. *Agate*. But the Question is, whether this condemns all *Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever*? 'Tis doubtless a Sin to oppose the *Mayor of a Corporation* in the Legal Execution of his *Office*; but should this person fall a cutting of Throats, firing of Houses, and ravishing of Wives, no Man doubts but in such Cases he may be resisted. And this would be no *Resistance* to that *Authority* of which St. *Paul* speaks, because he has really no *Authority* to play such mad Pranks as these are. So when the Nation opposed K. *James* in his Attempt to bring in *Poper*y, they did not resist Saint *Paul's Lawful Powers* or *Authority*, because he had no *Authority* to destroy GOD's True Religion, to erect Idolatry and Superstition on the Ruins of it.

2. IF this *Text* forbids Resistance to the Powers in Being upon any pretence whatsoever, it renders it unlawful to resist

an *Usurper* as well as a *Lawful Prince*; which may be thus demonstrated: 'Tis agreed on by the great Patrons of *Passive Obedience*, that this *Epistle* was written by *St. Paul* to the *Romans* during the Reign of *Nero*, and they strengthen their Argument by this Consideration, That Submission was enjoyned by the *Apostle* to such an inhumane bloody *Tyrant*. As for this Monster's Pedigree, he was the Son of *Ænobarbus* and *Agrippina*. His Father dying when he was young, his Mother had Charms enough to engage the Affections of the Emperor *Claudius*, who married this Widow; but in a little time was poisoned by the Contrivances of his Wife and Son-in-Law. * The Emperor being dead, the Crown of Right should have descended on *Britannicus*, his Son, who was then but a Lad †. But *Agrippina* had another Game to play, and so cajolled the Officers of the Army, that they passed by their Dead Masters Heir, and made her Son Emperor †. So that *Nero* got the Empire by Treason, Bribery and Murder. I would therefore demand of Mr. *Agate*, Whether the *Romans* might have Lawfully opposed *Nero* in Defence of the Right Heir? If they might, then *Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever* was not forbidden by *St. Paul* in this *Text*. If they might not, then successful *Usurpation* gives a Man a good Title: And those Gentlemen who resisted *Oliver Cromwel*, (who got the Government as *Nero* did, by the Assistance of his Soldiers, and used it much better) instead of being *Martyrs* for *Loyalty*, will deserve a quite contrary Character.

3. LET us compare *St. Paul* with our *Saviour*, who lays this Command upon us, *Mat. 5. 39. I say unto you, that you resist not Evil*. By which we are not to understand an *Evil Thing*, for that must be resisted; but an *Evil Person*, τῷ ὀνείδῳ. This Prohibition is expressed in as absolute and unlimited Terms as that of the *Apostle*: I demand therefore of Mr. *Agate*, Whether such *Evil Men* as *Robbers* and *Rebels* may not be resisted? I presume he will answer me, That there is an *Exception* or *Limitation implied*, though not expressed. But then why may not the Words of *St. Paul* be taken in a *limited Sense* as well as those of our *Saviour*? Why may not a Nation defend its Constitution against a *publick Tyrant*,

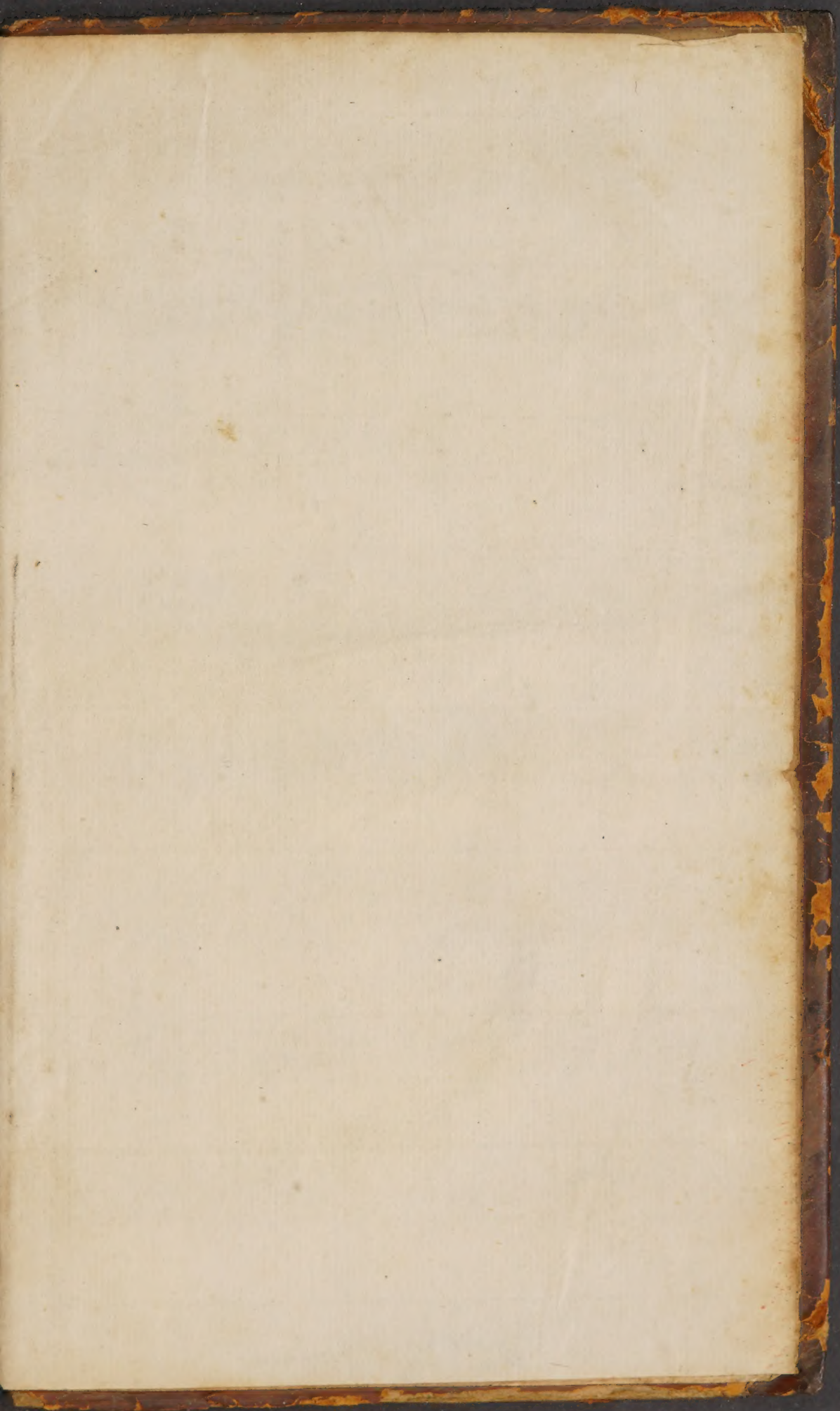
* *Vid. Sueton. in Vit. Ner. cap. 33*
citi Annal. l. 12. † *Ibid.*

† *Vid. Corn. Ta-*

Tyrant, as well as a particular Man his Purse against a *private Robber*, the one (for ought any thing appears in the Text) being as much forbidden by *Christ*, as the other by *St. Paul*? Nor does it any more follow, that a Just Prince must be *unsafe* in the Throne, because a *Tyrant* may be opposed, than that an Honest Man may not *safely* travel our Roads, because an *Affassin* or *Robber* may be knocked on the Head by any Man that meets him when in his own Defence.

BUT it not being my present Business to argue, I shall only add, that I think it a very Heinous Crime, to *despise Dominion* and *speake Evil of Dignities*, and much more to raise Tumults and Rebellions, to gratify Mens Ambition or Revenge, or even to redress Tolerable Grievances. Upon the whole; As Mr. *Agate's* Seditious Doctrine on the 30th of *January*, in which he denounced *Damnation* against such as should resist a Prince endeavouring TO BRING IN POPERY, gave birth to this Little Treatise; So, I only think my self obliged to maintain the Contrary Position, That in Cases of *extreme Necessity*, People may defend their Religion and Liberty: In this I shall be countenanced by the *Law of the Land*, the Constant Practise of the *Church of England*, without being contradicted by *Reason* or *Scripture*.

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